

REEL NUMBER

2

THE HICOG SURVEYS

Volume II

Reports 44 - 75

Volume II

44. German Youth View the American Program: VI. The German-American Exchange Program (30 October 1950)	757
45. Trend in Opinion on West German Remilitarization (31 October 1950)	766
46. Germans View the Remilitarization Issue: Urban Opinion in Western Germany (10 November 1950)	775
47. Germans View the Remilitarization Issue: Further Findings and Some Limitations on Majority Approval (18 November 1950)	794
48. An Analysis of Possible Determinants of Opposition to German Participation in the Defense of Europe (22 November 1950)	818
49. A Test of Reader Reaction to Third Reich and Defeatist Articles (27 November 1950)	831
50. German Youth View the American Program: VII. Acceptance of Democratic Responsibility and Related Political Issues (30 November 1950)	859
51. Germans View the Remilitarization Issue: Pre-Election Trend and Further Findings (1 December 1950)	880
52. Germans View the Remilitarization Issue: New Korean Trend and Further Analysis of Opposition (7 December 1950)	904
53. Germans View the Remilitarization Issue: Reactions to Korean Reverses and Associated Issues (14 December 1950)	921
54. German Youth View the Adult Education System (21 December 1950)	951
55. Germans View the Remilitarization Issue: Year-End Developments and the Present Status of Neutralism (28 December 1950)	958
56. West German Opinions on Political Parties and Election Issues (29 December 1950)	1005
57. Germans View the Remilitarization Issue: Has Western Policy Changed on German Militarism?--and Present-Day Attitudes on Nuremberg (12 January 1951)	1039
58. Germans View the Remilitarization Issue: Further Trends on Neutralism, Defense Participation, and Associated Issues (18 January 1951)	1066
59. Public Appraisal of Effectiveness of Communist Activity in West Germany (25 January 1951)	1116
60. New Light on German Neutrality Sentiments (31 January 1951)	1152
61. Defense Participation Sentiments and the Extent of "Ohne Mich": With Other Current Developments on Issues Related to German Defense Participation (22 February 1951)	1185
62. Franco-German Relations as Viewed by Residents of the U.S. Zone, Berlin, and Bremen (28 February 1951)	1219
63. West German Reactions to the Landsberg Decisions (6 March 1951)	1234
63S. Attitudes behind the Iron Curtain: A Survey Approach to East German Thinking: I. General Mood and Resistance Sentiments (9 March 1951)	1256
64. German Attitudes on Eve of Paris Deputies Conference (14 March 1951)	1279

65.	Frankfurt School-Children React to the Booklet <u>Eight Great Americans</u> (14 March 1951)	1310
66.	Ruhr Miners Specify Their Housing Wants (20 March 1951)	1334
67.	Survey Studies Among German Opinion Leaders: I. German Bürgermeisters Evaluate the Landsberg Decisions (21 March 1951)	1348
68.	Survey Studies among German Opinion Leaders: II. A Note on Bürgermeisters' Reactions to a Four-Power Conference (22 March 1951)	1370
69.	The West German People View Defense Participation, Neutrality, and Related Issues (29 March 1951)	1378
70.	Some Further Findings on West German Reactions to the Landsberg Decisions (30 March 1951)	1403
70S.	A Note on the Communist Projected Plebiscite on West German Defense Participation (2 April 1951)	1414
71.	West German Reaction to the Schuman Plan (5 April 1951)	1418
71S.	Attitudes Behind the Iron Curtain: II. Current Views on Unity, Neutrality, and Related Issues (10 April 1951)	1436
72.	West German Reactions to Increased Occupation Costs (12 April 1951)	1471
73.	Do Germans Want a Single Youth Organization in West Germany? (13 April 1951)	1487
74.	West German View on Two Current Issues: The Proposed Four-Power Conference and the Revised Occupation Statute (16 April 1951)	1496
75.	German Reactions to Three Current Economic Issues: Co-determination, Decartelization, and Freedom of Enterprise (18 April 1951)	1508

GERMAN VIEW THE REMILITARIZATION ISSUE

Further Trends on Neutralism, Defense Participation
and Associated Issues

Classification
OFFICIAL USE ONLY
Report No. 58
Series No. 2
January 18, 1951
by aulio
PUB/AS

CONFIDENTIAL

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

SOME HIGHLIGHTS

I. ~~CURRENT TREND ON GERMAN DEFENSE PARTICIPATION AND REACTIONS TO EISENHOWER'S APPOINTMENT~~

Latest Trend on the Participation Issue ...
Should German Defense Participation be Immediate or Delayed?
Do Germans Welcome Eisenhower as Supreme Commander? ...

II. PRESENT EXTENT OF NEUTRALITY SENTIMENTS

Latest Trend on Neutralism ...
Can a Neutral Germany Keep out of an East-West Struggle? ...
Could West Germany be Defended Without German Help? ...
Has West Germany Right to Western Defense if She Refuses to Participate? ...
Would the West Defend West Germany Without Her Participation? ...

III. PRESENT EXTENT OF CONFIDENCE IN STRENGTH OF THE WEST

Latest Trend on Chances of Halting any Attack at East Zone Borders ...
Can a European Defense Army be Established soon enough to be Effective? ...
Has Communism or the West had more Success in the Past Six Months? ...
Which Side Appears to be Stronger at Present? ...
Which Side has the Better Chance for Ultimate Victory? ...

IV. PRESENT EXTENT OF CONFIDENCE IN AMERICAN RESOLUTION

V. FURTHER REACTIONS TO THE GNOTEWOHL PROPOSAL

Current Extent of Familiarity With the Proposal ...
Latest Trend on Acceptance or Rejection of the Proposal ...
Is it Likely that the East Zone would Agree to Free Elections? ...
What Support would Communism Receive in Event of Free East Zone Elections? ...

VI. GERMAN EVALUATION OF THE BRUSSELS CONFERENCE

Extent of Familiarity with the Conference ...
Do Germans Welcome the Decisions Reached? ...

VII. CURRENT REACTIONS TO A FOUR POWER CONFERENCE

Latest Trend on whether such a Conference would be to German Advantage ...

- a -

INTRODUCTION

The present report continues the series of studies being conducted by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, to appraise developments in German thinking on issues related to West German participation in European defense. Results were gathered on the third and fourth of January 1951, through the operation of a "Flash" survey embracing a representative urban quota sample of 640 cases drawn from among West German cities 50,000 and over in population, and a 200 case quota sample from the three Western sectors of Berlin.

Note: This report has been somewhat delayed because of the transfer of operational headquarters from Bad Nauheim to Frankfurt.

SOME HIGHLIGHTS

I. CURRENT TREND ON GERMAN DEFENSE PARTICIPATION AND REACTIONS TO EISENHOWER'S APPOINTMENT

- ... Amidst the atmosphere of continuous Communist successes in Korea that marked the opening of the New Year, support for German defense participation has trailed down to the lowest point yet recorded. Approval now barely preponderates over disapproval in urban West Germany and in the US Zone taken singly, opposition sentiment has climbed to the point where it shows indications of becoming the dominating viewpoint.
- ... Maintaining its record of imperviousness to propaganda or events, West Berlin, it should be noted, once more comes up with its usual four out of five support for German participation in European defense.
- ... Group breakdowns indicate that the latest falling off in support of German defense participation derives from losses among all population segments rather than from any particular group. The overall pattern is as marked as ever, however, for the greatest support for defense participation to emanate from the more educated and informed levels of the urban West German population.
- ... The thought has been voiced by some German commentators that German participation in European defense should be delayed pending further clarification of the current political situation and a possible four power conference. Contrary to this viewpoint, the West Germans who approve of defense participation are three to one in favor of arming as quickly as possible. In Berlin speedy action is favored six to one.
- ... The small proportion who advocate delay argue in the main either that there should first be further efforts at the conference table, or that Germany should receive prior political advantages.
- ... At the time of the present survey (January 3-4) Eisenhower's appointment as supreme commander of the Atlantic Pact defense forces was still unknown to four out of ten urban West Germans. Favorable reactions to Eisenhower's appointment greatly outweighed unfavorable reactions among respondents who offered an opinion.

- ... No opinion responses are numerous both because many respondents have not yet had an opportunity to familiarize themselves with the situation, and because the question as posed is difficult to answer by Germans opposed to West German participation in European defense. The preponderant position among this group is "no opinion" on whether or not they welcome the appointment. Among supporters of German defense participation, on the contrary, a majority welcome Eisenhower's taking the job.
- ... Favorable reactions to Eisenhower's appointment are more frequent, group breakdowns show, among the men, the better schooled respondents, and those economically better situated - which are the same groups, it should be remembered, who are more often in favor of German participation. But definitely in the case of men and perhaps to a marginal extent in the case of the higher income respondents, unfavorable reactions also seem to be more prevalent than in their counterpart groups.
- ... The reasons put forward by the small minority who said that they did not welcome Eisenhower's appointment range from alleged lack of the necessary qualifications to alleged American domination.

II. PRESENT EXTENT OF NEUTRALITY SENTIMENTS

- ... The preceding survey revealed the attraction of neutralism under present conditions in West Germany to be such that the American policy objective of political and military integration with the West was competing hardly better than even in the minds of West German urban dwellers. If such a finding is serious then the present results are considerably more so, for with the latest survey, neutralism - as measured by the present question - has grown to be the preponderant orientation in urban West Germany.
- ... Neutrality sentiments are particularly strong, it should be noted, in the U.S. Zone where 53 per cent hold at the present time that rather than Western integration it would be better for West Germany to try to unite with East Germany, and as a neutral nation keep out of the conflict between East and West. Only in Berlin is majority opinion currently on the side of West Germany joining politically and militarily with the West.
- ... The latest trends on neutralism and on opposition to German defense participation has resulted in a relationship even closer than before between the two attitudes. Now almost three out of four of those who opposed Western defense participation (72%) also espouse a neutral policy for Germany.
- ... Group breakdowns reveal that support for Western integration as the better policy for Germany at the present time has fallen off among all rather than among particular groups. Nevertheless, support remains appreciably greater among the opinion leading levels - the men, the better educated, and the better off. It is notable, however, that in no population group listed does present support for the Western position embrace even a bare majority.
- ... Proponents of neutrality and of Western integration were asked in each case why they did not choose the opposing position. Neutralists oppose Western integration primarily, the figures show, because they fear such a course will lead to a war with Germans in the middle.
- ... Those who would cast their lot with the West oppose trying to create a neutral united Germany at this time for a number of reasons prominent among which are: fear and distrust of the East, opposition to Eastern ideology, and what is asserted to be the impossibility of neutrality under present circumstances.

- 6 -

CONFIDENTIAL

- ... Despite the now preponderant judgment that it would be best for Germany to pursue a neutral course between East and West, 56 per cent among West German city dwellers feel that the chances of maintaining such a neutral status are no better than slight. These results mean of course that a considerable proportion of those who favor neutralism as the better policy for Germany do so despite the judgment that the chances for successful prosecution of such a course are far from bright.
- ... It would be a mistake to dismiss this combination of views as simply an inconsistency or as a confused combination of wishful thinking and realism. What is possibly the case is that these respondents are so perturbed by what they consider to be the dangers of siding with the West that they choose the only other alternative (short of embracing Communism), despite considerable doubt as to its realizability. At least, they might reason, aiming at neutrality might keep Germany out of the fighting for a longer period - no small gain to a nation as intensely war-weary as the Germans.
- ... Though most supporters of German defense participation are pessimistic about achieving neutrality, the preponderant view among opponents is that the chances are fair to good for a united Germany keeping out of the conflict between East and West.
- ... That Germans are increasingly thinking in terms of neutrality instead of defense in the East-West struggle, is indirectly indicated by the results of three further queries, the first of which raises the issue of whether or not West Germany could be defended without German help. Currently, as in late November, two out of three say German help is necessary for any West German defense. But more interestingly, among those who oppose German defense participation a larger proportion than before now say that the Western powers would not be able to defend West Germany without German aid. So, obviously, these people are thinking increasingly in terms of no defense - i.e. neutrality - rather than in terms of a free ride on Western defense efforts.
- ... Currently, appreciably fewer than in late October hold that West Germans have the right to expect to be defended by the Western powers even if they should refuse to participate. The most significant element in this drop - in the present connection - is that it has occurred to its greatest extent among Germans who oppose participation in European defense. So, again, it is indicated that an increasing proportion of opponents to defense participation are thinking in terms of not being defended at all.
- ... Just as on the issue of the right to be defended by the West, somewhat fewer now than before hold that West Germany would be defended in the event that she should refuse to participate. The comparison of responses of supporters and opponents of German defense participation reveals that the drop is wholly confined to the latter group - thus once more demonstrating that an increasing proportion of opponents of German defense participation are thinking in terms of no defense (i.e. neutrality), rather than in terms of riding on the coat tails of Western defense efforts.

III. PRESENT EXTENT OF CONFIDENCE IN THE STRENGTH OF THE WEST

- ... The proportion of West German city dwellers who hold that the chances are good for halting any attack at the East Zone borders - were the Germans to participate in European defense - has dropped off sharply since late November. Currently, however, about as many hold that the chances are good to fairly good, as estimate them to be not so good to bad. The drop in optimism has been particular severe in Berlin.

... Among those who believe that the chances are good to fairly good for a unified European army to halt any attack at the East Zone borders - were such an army established - opinion splits as to whether such an army is likely to be established soon enough to be of any value.

... That confidence in the strength of the West is sharply on the wane in urban West Germany is indicated by the fact that almost two out of three hold that looking at the world situation as a whole the Communist powers have had the greater success in the past six months. Only in Berlin do opinions split on the matter. These current results are in sharp contrast to mid-April findings in the US Zone and in Berlin.*

... One thing that opponents and supporters of German defense participation appear to agree upon is their evaluation of Communist versus Western success in the past six months. In both groups two out of three give the palm to the Communist powers.

... Even more revealing of the current unfavorable evaluations of Western strength vis-a-vis the Communist powers is the finding that a definite preponderance in urban West Germany feel that the Communist powers are - all things considered - stronger than the West at the present time. Only in Berlin is the preponderant view to the contrary. These results mark a major shift from the standpoint indicated by mid-April findings in the US Zone and Berlin.

... Whether one is for or against Western policies on the key issue of participation and neutralism seems to be only moderately related to judgments on the present issue, for both among supporters and opponents of German defense participation and among supporters and opponents of Western integration, the opinion preponderates that the Communists are stronger than the Western powers at the present time.

... Through events of the past several months have sharply depressed West German evaluations of present Western strength, they have not, as far as can be judged, greatly affected the prevailing opinion that the West will ultimately be the victor in the East-West struggle.

... Confidence in the ultimate victory of the West is relatively greater among the opinion leading elements of the West German urban population - the men, the better schooled, and the economically better situated.

IV. PRESENT EXTENT OF CONFIDENCE IN AMERICAN RESOLUTION

... Whatever may have happened to opinions about Western strength, confidence in American resolution to fight communist aggression does not appear to have dropped any further from its early December level. Now, as then, the largest proportion of respondents express themselves as firmly convinced that America will take a firm stand in Western Europe in event of communist attack. These results are very important in suggesting that, as of early January at least, the West German population had not been adversely affected by the isolationists sentiments voiced by some prominent American spokesmen.

... Breakdown of attitudes on this issue of those for and against German defense participation reveals that, through December, confidence in American resolution has been growing in the former group and dropping in the latter. The net result is of course to make them differ more widely than ever in their judgments of American resolution.

- o -

CONFIDENTIAL

- ... Throughout the past three surveys, group comparisons reveal the more educated and informed levels continue to evidence more widespread expressions of confidence in American resolution to resist any communist aggression in Western Europe.

V. FURTHER REACTIONS TO THE GROTEWOHL PROPOSAL

- ... With the latest survey, two out of three in urban West Germany had come to hear about the Grotewohl letter or letters to Chancellor Adenauer. However, only a minority were sufficiently aware of the letter to correctly specify the objective.
- ... The opinion that the Grotewohl proposal should be accepted has increased slightly since the prior survey, to become more firmly established as the majority sentiment. A greater change has been in the decline of opposition to the point where now only one in five oppose acceptance of the proposal. In Berlin the preponderant sentiment continues to be opposed.
- ... The principle reasons advanced by those who favor acceptance of the Grotewohl proposal revolve about the desirability of unity and the value of negotiations in settling differences.
- ... The minority who oppose the conference in main voice variations on the theme that it is impossible to negotiate with the East Zone communist government.
- ... However widespread is approval of an all German conference on unity, the majority of West German city-dwellers are not inclined to feel that in the event of such a conference, the East zone would be likely to agree to hold free elections in their area. But even those who are pessimistic about an agreement on free elections are still in the main willing to make a try.
- ... The prevailing view is that Communists would receive less than half of the votes in the East Zone if free elections were held. Only one in ten in urban West Germany - one in 100 in Berlin - estimate that they would receive more than half in such a contest.
- ... Opponents and supporters of German defense participation show some, but not considerable, differences of viewpoint on this issue. In both groups, most believe that Communist votes in a free election would be from less than half to hardly any at all.

VI. GERMAN EVALUATION OF THE BRUSSELS CONFERENCE

- ... Awareness of the Brussels conference was not extensive among West German city-dwellers at the time of the present survey. Forty-five per cent had not yet heard or read of any of the decisions reached concerning West Germany.
- ... Among those who exhibited some awareness of the Brussels conference, opinions split on whether or not the results were to be welcomed, with the nod going to the adverse viewpoint.
- ... The single most frequent objection advanced by those who reacted unfavorably to the conference results was an alleged inadequate emphasis on German equality.

01073

CONFIDENTIAL

I. CURRENT TREND ON GERMAN DEFENSE PARTICIPATION AND REACTIONS
TO EISENHOWER'S APPOINTMENT

LATEST TREND ON THE PARTICIPATION ISSUE ...

amidst the atmosphere of continuous Communist successes in Korea that marked the opening of the New Year, support for German defense participation has trailed down to the lowest point yet recorded. Approval now barely preponderates over disapproval in urban West Germany and in the US Zone taken singly, opposition sentiment has climbed to the point where it shows indications of becoming the dominating viewpoint.

Several West European nations and America recently signed a defense pact, the so-called Atlantic Pact.

"Suppose West Germany would join the Atlantic Pact and be asked in connection with it to participate in a general army for the defense of West Europe. Would you then be for or against such participation in a defense army?"

WEST GERMANY

	Aug 15-17	Oct-Nov 31-1	November 9-10	November 15-16	November 27-28	December 4-5	December 11-12	December 19-20	Jan 3-4
For it	61%	63%	58%	51%	64%	55%	56%	53%	48%
Against it	27	30	32	41	26	36	35	36	40
No opinion	12	7	10	8	10	9	9	11	12
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

British Zone

	Aug 15-17	Oct-Nov 31-1	November 9-10	November 15-16	November 27-28	December 4-5	December 11-12	December 19-20	Jan 3-4
For it	59%	61%	59%	51%	65%	54%	57%	53%	49%
Against it	29	31	31	39	25	37	33	35	37
No opinion	12	8	10	10	10	9	10	12	14
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

US Zone

	Aug 15-17	Oct-Nov 31-1	November 9-10	November 15-16	November 27-28	December 4-5	December 11-12	December 19-20	Jan 3-4
For it	67%	65%	57%	48%	64%	59%	53%	53%	45%
Against it	21	29	32	45	24	33	41	38	48
No opinion	12	6	11	7	12	8	6	9	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Berlin

	Aug 15-17	Oct-Nov 31-1	November 9-10	November 15-16	November 27-28	December 4-5	December 11-12	December 19-20	Jan 3-4
For it	86%	89%	80%	85%	86%	88%	82%	84%	81%
Against it	12	8	16	13	8	10	14	12	16
No opinion	2	3	4	3	6	2	4	4	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Maintaining its record of imperviousness to propaganda or events, West Berlin, it should be noted, once more comes up with its usual four out of five support for German participation in European defense.

Group breakdowns indicate that the latest falling off in support of German defense participation derives from losses among all population segments rather than from any particular group. The overall pattern is as marked as ever, however, for the greatest support for defense participation to emanate from the more educated and informed levels of the urban West German population.

Several West European nations and America recently signed a defense pact, the so-called Atlantic Pact. Suppose West Germany would join the Atlantic Pact and be asked in connection with it to participate in a European army for the defense of West Europe. Would you then be for or against such participation in a defense army?

		For Defense Participation					Against Defense Participation					No opin.	No. of cases
		Aug	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Aug	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan		
		15	31	9	15	27	15	31	9	15	27		
		17	1	10	12	20	17	1	10	12	20		
WEST GERMANY													
Sex:													
Men		63%	60%	64%	53%	70%	28%	29%	31%	33%	38%	*	286
Women		54	58	53	49	58	28	31	32	37	41	*	353
Education:													
Elementary school		53%	59%	51%	43%	57%	30%	31%	35%	40%	46%	*	392
Beyond elementary school		70	67	69	64	77	25	29	27	31	30	*	245
Socio-economic Status:													
Lower class		55%	58%	48%	47%	56%	29%	32%	36%	41%	45%	*	323
Lower middle to upper class		66	63	68	54	71	26	28	27	31	35	*	315
Income (per month):													
0-14 DM		43%	40%	56%	54%	37%	42%	33%	43%	37%	42%	*	107
15 - 25 DM		52	50	60	49	46	34	30	30	44	46	*	272
30 DM and more		71	56	71	62	64	24	21	21	25	34	*	254
Age:													
Under 40 years		62%	60%	53%	50%	65%	28%	33%	24%	35%	42%	*	287
40 years and over		60	64	61	51	57	27	26	21	35	39	*	351
Religion:													
Catholics		62%	60%	57%	50%	69%	25%	33%	30%	35%	39%	*	214
Protestants		63	64	53	51	64	25	29	32	31	41	*	362

* Because of the space difficulties in presenting such an extended trend "No opinion" figures are omitted. They can be derived by those interested by summing for and against figures and subtracting from 100.

** The number of cases cited in this and following trend tables refer to the latest survey. They are approximately the same for earlier surveys.

† Income figures were not obtained in the earlier two surveys.

CONFIDENTIAL

SHOULD GERMAN DEFENSE PARTICIPATION BE IMMEDIATE OR DELAYED

The thought has been voiced by some German commentators that German participation in European defense should be delayed pending further clarification of the current political situation and a possible four power conference. Contrary to this viewpoint, the West Germans who approve of defense participation are three to one in favor of arming as quickly as possible. In Berlin speedy action is favored six to one.

"Would you prefer that West Germany participated as soon as possible in a defense army or should some time go by first?" (Asked of those who answered "For it" to previous question.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
As soon as possible.	35%	37%	29%	68%
Some time should go by	11	10	14	11
No opinion	2	2	2	2
	<u>48%</u>	<u>49%</u>	<u>45%</u>	<u>81%</u>

The small proportion who advocate delay argue in the main either that there should first be further efforts at the conference table, or that Germany should receive prior political advantages.

"Why should one wait?"

All other means (conferences, etc.) should be tried first, to avoid a war:
If there isn't any other possibility, it should be done; until there is no other way; one should wait for the outcome of the conference they are planning now; in order to avoid a war one should wait and see if perhaps there isn't some other way; etc.

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
	4%	3%	5%	5%

Germany should await certain favorable political developments: So that we have equal rights first; until dismantling has been discontinued; until Germans are recognized as equals everywhere; they have to offer us a peace treaty first; perhaps we can get some political advantages first; etc.

	2	2	3	3
--	---	---	---	---

Others: Until England, France, and the Netherlands are strong themselves; we don't have the means - no arms, no money; the conditions are impossible; etc.

	5	5	6	2
--	---	---	---	---

No answer and no opinion

	<u>11%</u>	<u>10%</u>	<u>14%</u>	<u>11%</u>
--	------------	------------	------------	------------

- 3 -

CONFIDENTIAL

DO GERMANS WELCOME EISENHOWER AS SUPREME COMMANDER ? ...

At the time of the present survey (January 3-4) Eisenhower's appointment as supreme commander of the Atlantic Pact defense forces was still unknown to four out of ten urban West Germans.

"Do you know by any chance who was appointed Supreme Commander of the West European armed forces?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Eisenhower	60%	56%	65%	64%
Others	5	4	4	4
Don't know	35	38	25	32
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Favorable reactions to Eisenhower's appointment greatly outweighed unfavorable reactions among the respondents who offer an opinion.

"Do you welcome the choice of Eisenhower for Supreme Commander or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Welcome	43%	40%	49%	74%
Not welcome	13	11	17	7
No opinion	44	49	34	19
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

* Prior to asking the present question, respondents who were not informed about the choice of Eisenhower for supreme commander were apprised of it in these terms: "The American General, Eisenhower, was recently appointed supreme commander."

No opinion responses are numerous both because many respondents have not yet had an opportunity to familiarize themselves with the situation, and because the question as posed is difficult to answer by Germans opposed to West German participation in European defense. The preponderant position among this group is "no opinion" on whether or not they welcome the appointment. Among supporters of German defense participation, on the contrary, a majority welcome Eisenhower's taking the job.

"Do you welcome the choice of Eisenhower for supreme commander or not?"

	Welcome	Not welcome	No opinion	Number of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
For participation in a European army	62%	9%	29% ..100%	304
Against participation in a European army	26	20	54	257

Favorable reactions to Eisenhower's appointment are more frequent, group breakdowns show, among the men, the better schooled respondents, and those economically better situated - which are the same groups, it should be remembered, who are more often in favor of German participation. But definitely in the case of men and perhaps to a marginal extent in the case of the higher income respondents, unfavorable reactions also seem to be more prevalent than in their counterpart groups.

"Do you welcome the choice of Eisenhower for supreme commander or not?"

	Welcome	Not welcome	No opinion	Number of cases:
Sex:				
Men	50%	20%	30% ..100%	266
Women	37	8	55	353
Education:				
Elementary school	37%	13%	50%	392
Beyond elementary school	53	14	33	245
Socio-economic Status:				
Lower class	37%	11%	52%	323
Lower middle to upper class	49	16	35	315
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	34%	12%	54%	107
150 - 299 DM	40	10	50	272
300 DM and more	51	17	32	254
Age:				
Under 40 years	42%	12%	46%	267
40 years and over	44	15	41	351
Religion:				
Catholics	44%	12%	44%	214
Protestants	42	14	44	362

CONFIDENTIAL

The reasons put forward by the small minority who said that they did not welcome Eisenhower's appointment range from alleged lack of the necessary qualifications to alleged American domination.

"Why don't you welcome this choice?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
<u>Eisenhower does not possess the necessary qualifications, in regard to his character (general disapproval):</u> He is a crook - just another Ami; because he isn't a man of character, just read his opinion on Rommel for instance; he has inflicted enough damage on us; he gave the orders for enough crimes against humanity; etc.	3%	3%	2%	1%
<u>Eisenhower hates the Germans:</u> He is a hater of all Germans; he is an enemy of the Germans; because he hasn't shown himself very friendly to the Germans; I would be for it, but not as a German, he is anti-German; etc.	2	1	7	2
<u>Eisenhower doesn't possess the qualifications in military respect:</u> It is known that he is incapable as an army leader; because I don't see the capabilities in Eisenhower that the press usually ascribes to him; etc.	2	1	3	1
<u>European defense should be in the hands of Europeans:</u> They should take a European; because the Americans are not so well acquainted with conditions in Europe; etc.	2	1	2	1
<u>General aversion to the military and war:</u> I have enough of soldiers and war - he should keep his nose out of our business; one should avoid everything that smells of war; we don't need a General, I am against an army; etc.	1	1	2	1
<u>The nomination of Eisenhower leads to American domination and the suppression of German interests:</u> We don't want to and should not bow to the Americans; then the Americans dominate; because he will not let Germany act freely, he is a foreigner; etc.	1	1	1	-
<u>Other suggestions:</u> I prefer Montgomery; they should consult German generals, we still have a number of good ones; General Clay; etc.	1	1	1	1
<u>Others:</u> There shouldn't be just one, but a council of representatives from each country which contributes militarily; I would only favor an independent German army; West Germany should not support Eisenhower because of Eastern Zone; etc.	1	1	-	-
No answer and no opinion:	$\frac{1}{14}\%$ **	$\frac{1}{11}\%$	$\frac{*}{16}\%$	$\frac{-}{7}\%$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

II. PRESENT EXPENT OF NEUTRALITY SENTIMENTS

LATEST TREND OF NEUTRALISM ...

The precoding survey revealed the attraction of neutralism under present conditions in West Germany to be such that the American policy objective of political and military integration with the West was computing hardly better than even in the minds of West German urban dwellers. If such a finding is serious then the present results are considerably more so, for with the latest survey, neutralism - as measured by the present question - has grown to be the preponderant orientation in urban West Germany.

"What would, in your opinion, be better for West Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY		British Zone		US Zone		Berlin	
	Dec	Jan	Dec	Jan	Dec	Jan	Dec	Jan
	19-20	3-4	19-20	3-4	19-20	3-4	19-20	3-4
To try to join the West politically and militarily as a free and equal nation	44%	35%	45%	35%	41%	33%	71%	65%
To try to unite with East Germany and as a neutral nation to keep out of a conflict between East and West	41	46	38	44	50	53	16	21
No opinion	<u>15</u> 100%	<u>19</u> 100%	<u>17</u> 100%	<u>21</u> 100%	<u>9</u> 100%	<u>14</u> 100%	<u>13</u> 100%	<u>14</u> 100%

Neutrality sentiments are particularly strong, it should be noted, in the U.S. Zone where 53 per cent hold at the present time that rather than Western interration it would be better for West Germany to try to unite with East Germany, and as a noutral nation keep out of the conflict between East and West. Only in Berlin is majority opinion currently on the side of West Germany joining politically and militarily with the West.

The latest trends on noutralism and on opposition to German defense participation has resulted in a relationship even closer than before between the two attitudes. Now almost three out of four of those who opposed Western dofonso participation (72%) also espouse a neutral policy for Germany.

"What would, in your opinion, be better for West Germany?"

	To try to join the West politically and militarily as a free and equal nation		To try to unite with East Germany and as a neutral nation to keep out of a conflict between East and West		No opinion	No. of cases:	
	Dec	Jan	Dec	Jan			
	19-20	Jan 3-4	Dec 19-20	Jan 3-4		Dec 19-20	Jan 3-4
For participation in a European army	65%	62%	25%	26%	7%	12%	304
Against participation in a European army	18	12	62	72	20	16	257

* Alternatives were presented on a card read by the respondents.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

Group breakdowns reveal that support for Western integration as the better policy for Germany at the present time has fallen off among all rather than among particular groups. Nevertheless, support remains appreciably greater among the opinion leading levels - the men, the better educated, and the better off. It is notable, however, that in no population group listed below does present support for the Western position embrace even a bare majority.

	To try to join the West politically and militarily as a free and equal nation		To try to unite with East Germany and as a neutral nation to keep out of a conflict bet- ween East and West		No opinion		No. of cases:
	Dec 19-20	Jan 3-4	Dec 19-20	Jan 3-4	Dec 19-20	Jan 3-4	
<u>Sex:</u>							
Men	51%	42%	39%	46%	10%	12%	323
Women	37	29	43	46	20	25	375
<u>Education:</u>							
Elementary school	35	27	45	50	20	23	392
Beyond elementary school	56	47	36	41	8	12	245
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>							
Lower class	33	28	47	47	20	25	323
Lower middle to upper class	55	42	35	45	10	13	315
<u>Income (per month):</u>							
0 - 149 DM	30	20	39	51	31	29	107
150 - 299 DM	35	31	50	48	15	21	272
300 DM and more	56	45	34	43	10	12	254
<u>Age:</u>							
Under 40 years	45	35	43	47	12	18	287
40 years and over	43	34	40	46	17	20	351
<u>Religion:</u>							
Catholics	43	37	41	40	16	23	214
Protestants	43	34	41	50	16	16	362

Proponents of neutrality and of Western integration were asked in each case why they did not choose the opposing position. Neutralists oppose Western integration primarily, it may be seen below, because they fear such a course will lead to a war with Germans in the middle.

"Could you please tell me why you didn't choose the other alternative?"
(i.e. integration with the West)

WEST British US Berlin
GERMANY Zone Zone

Germany could be involved in a war; the people are opposed to war; militarism and rearmament: A military conflict would come sooner, because Russia would consider it a threat; so Germans don't have to fight against Germans - to avoid a civil war; so we won't have to experience a new war; if we can't stay neutral, we will suffer most from a new war; because a union with the West would mean war on German soil; because we would avoid a war if we stayed neutral; because I am fed up with war; we don't need any soldiers at the moment; I am afraid of a military and political union; etc.

23% 20% 25% 9%

Because we are for a united Germany and don't want to lose our Eastern territories: Because I am for a re-united Germany; because we grew up in a united Germany and not a divided country - we want that back; because we cannot give up our Eastern territories - besides, we would be the main enemies then; otherwise the East Zone will be Russian forever; Germany belongs together; etc.

9 8 13 7

We are better off as a neutral nation: A neutral nation is always better off in case of war; neutrality would be the best bet - if we are recognized as a neutral nation; neutrality is always the best - Switzerland and Sweden never had a war; etc.

5 5 2 2

For ideological and other reasons opposed to the West: Because I oppose the West as a Communist; because I certainly have gotten to know democracy and I am fed up with it; etc.

3 3 3 1

Because the other conditions will not be kept - we don't want to fight for others: Because honest cooperation and a status of equal rights is not possible; because so far Germany has no peace treaty and no equal rights; because so far it is not possible for West Germany to join the West as an independent nation; etc.

2 2 4 1

Because it is too late for rearmament: Because rearmament will not be in time now; because Russia is too mighty already; we should better try to stay out of a conflict; etc.

1 - 1 -

Other opinion: Because I think this alternative better, though I believe that it can't be realized because above all we are Germans; etc.

4 4 4 1

No answer and no opinion:

2 3 1 1
45% 45% 57% 27%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Those who would cast their lot with the West oppose trying to create a neutral united Germany at this time for a number of reasons prominent among which are: fear and distrust of the East, opposition to Eastern ideology, and what is asserted to be the impossibility of neutrality under present circumstances.

"Could you please tell me why you didn't choose the other alternative?"
(i.e. a neutral united Germany)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
<u>Because of fear and distrust of the East or Communism:</u> Those crooks will try to win the upperhand; because the Russian always looks after his own advantages only; we would be so much weaker than the East without military; because we will be swallowed by the East; etc.	5%	5%	7%	20%
<u>For the West and against the East, because of ideological and cultural reasons:</u> The West is for freedom, the East represents dictatorship; I am opposed to any kind of dictatorship, therefore I am for the West; I believe that free democracy is better guaranteed; to maintain our culture, East Germany is under Russia's domination; etc.	8	7	6	14
<u>It is impossible to stay neutral:</u> Because it is impossible to keep out of the struggle; because neutrality is an impossibility; I am in favor of the European Union - we would be lost as a neutral state; if we were a neutral state, the Russians would attack us; Germany can't be neutral at any time because of her geographical position; etc.	7	6	6	18
<u>Alternative policy cannot be realized:</u> (either because unity, neutrality, or both are impossible): Because one can't realize point "2"; because that is impossible; I have no confidence in that; etc.	5	6	3	10
<u>Because of material reasons, support for the West:</u> (The West is stronger - we are dependent on the West) The West is stronger; the West is more valuable to us because of its strength; because we are dependent on the West; because I think the first more advantageous for us; etc.	4	4	3	3
<u>Other opinion:</u> Because otherwise a civil war would break out; we have earned recognition, the present status is a damn mess; etc.	3	3	2	2
No answer and no opinion:	$\frac{1}{36\%}$	$\frac{2}{36\%}$	$\frac{3}{34\%}$	$\frac{1}{63\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CAN A NEUTRAL GERMANY KEEP OUT OF AN EAST-WEST STRUGGLE? ...

Despite the now preponderant judgment that it would be best for Germany to pursue a neutral course between East and West, 56 per cent among West German city dwellers feel that the chances of maintaining such a neutral status are no better than slight.

"Do you think the chances that a united West and East Germany can, as a neutral nation, keep out of a conflict between East and West, are good, fair, or slight?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Good	15%	14%	15%	9%
Fair	16	15	17	16
Slight	56	56	58	67
No opinion	13	15	10	8
	100%	100%	100%	100%

As the comparison below more clearly reveals, the above results mean of course that a considerable proportion of those who favor neutralism as the better policy for Germany do so despite the judgment that the chances for successful prosecution of such a course are far from bright.

"Do you think the chances, that a united West and East Germany can, as a neutral nation, keep out of a conflict between East and West, are good, fair, or slight?"

WEST GERMANY	Fair to good	Slight	No opinion	No. of cases
What would, in your opinion, be better for West Germany:				
To try to join the West politically and militarily as a free and equal nation	11%	82%	7% ... 100%	224
To try to unite with East-Germany and as a neutral nation to keep out of a conflict between East and West	50	41	9	296

It would be a mistake to dismiss this combination of views as simply an inconsistency or as a confused combination of wishful thinking and realism. What is possibly the case is that these respondents are so perturbed by what they consider to be the dangers of siding with the West that they choose the only other alternative (short of embracing Communism), despite considerable doubt as to its realizability. At least, they might reason, aiming at neutrality might keep Germany out of the fighting for a longer period - no small gain to a nation as intensely war-weary as the Germans.

Though most supporters of German defense participation are pessimistic about achieving neutrality, the preponderant view among opponents is that the chances are fair to good for a united Germany keeping out of the conflict between East and West.

"Do you think the chances that a united West and East Germany can, as a neutral nation, keep out of a conflict between East and West, are good, fair, or slight?"

	Good	Fair	Slight	No opinion	No. of
WEST GERMANY					
For participation in a European army	5%	12%	74%	9%... 100%	304
Against participation in a European army	26	24	37	13	257

That the chances are but slight for a united Germany keeping out of an East-West conflict is an opinion voiced much more often by the more educated and informed levels of the urban West German population than by their less informed counterparts.

	Good	Fair	Slight	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	18%	16%	60%	6% ... 100%	286
Women	12	16	52	20	353
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	18%	17%	47%	18%	392
Beyond elementary school	9	15	71	5	245
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	17	16	46	21	322
Lower middle to upper class	12	15	66	7	315
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 149 DM	15	17	41	27	107
150 - 299 DM	18	16	51	15	272
300 DM and more	12	15	67	6	254
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	12%	18%	58%	12%	287
40 years and over	16	15	54	15	351
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	14%	13%	59%	14%	214
Protestants	13	18	56	13	362

CONFIDENTIAL

COULD WEST GERMANY BE DEFENDED WITHOUT GERMAN HELP? ...

That Germans are increasingly thinking in terms of neutrality instead of defense in the East-West struggle, is indirectly indicated by the results of three further queries, the first of which raises the issue of whether or not West Germany could be defended without German help. Currently, as in late November, two out of three say German help is necessary for any West German defense. But more interestingly, among those who oppose German defense participation a larger proportion than before now say that the Western powers would not be able to defend West Germany without German aid. So, obviously, these people are thinking increasingly in terms of no defense - i.e. neutrality - rather than in terms of a free ride on Western defense efforts.

"Do you believe that the Western powers are able to defend West Germany without German help or would German help be necessary for that?"

	WEST GERMANY		British Zone		US Zone		Berlin	
	Nov	Jan	Nov	Jan	Nov	Jan	Nov	Jan
	27-28	3-4	27-28	3-4	27-28	3-4	27-28	3-4
Without German help	22%	22%	23%	19%	21%	30%	32%	26%
German help is necessary	64	63	62	62	67	62	64	68
Qualified replies	3	4	4	6	2	-	1	-
No opinion	11	11	11	13	10	2	3	6
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

	Without German help		German help is necessary		Qualified replies		No opinion		No. of cases:
	Nov	Jan	Nov	Jan	Nov	Jan	Nov	Jan	
	27-28	3-4	27-28	3-4	27-28	3-4	27-28	3-4	
WEST GERMANY									
For participation in a European army	17%	19%	78%	76%	1%	2%	4%	3%	304
Against participation in a European army	35	26	39	52	8	8	18	14	257

CONFIDENTIAL

Among urban population groups in West Germany, the pattern continues for the opinion leading elements to judge somewhat more frequently than their counterparts that German help is necessary for any West German defense. Group differences on this issue, however, are relatively small.

	Without German help		German help is necessary		Qualified replies		No opinion		No. of cases:
	Nov 27-28	Jan 3-4	Nov 27-28	Jan 3-4	Nov 27-28	Jan 3-4	Nov 27-28	Jan 3-4	
WEST GERMANY									
<u>Sex:</u>									
Men	20%	19%	68%	69%	4%	5%	8%	7%	286
Women	24	24	60	58	3	4	13	14	353
<u>Education:</u>									
Elementary school	22%	22%	61%	60%	3%	4%	14%	14%	392
Beyond elementary school	23	21	69	67	4	6	4	6	245
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>									
Lower class	24	21	59	60	3	4	14	15	323
Lower middle to upper class	20	23	68	65	4	5	8	7	315
<u>Income (per month):</u>									
0 - 149 DM	19%	20%	59%	59%	3%	1%	19%	20%	107
150 - 299 DM		21	64	61	2	6	11	12	272
300 DM and more		23	65	66	5	5	8	6	254
<u>Age:</u>									
Under 40 years	26%	26%	62%	58%	2%	3%	10%	13%	287
40 years and over	19	18	64	67	5	6	12	9	351
<u>Religion:</u>									
Catholics	18%	22%	70%	62%	3%	4%	9%	12	214
Protestants	23	22	63	64	3	4	11	10	362

CONFIDENTIAL

HAS WEST GERMANY RIGHT TO WESTERN DEFENSE IF SHE REFUSES TO PARTICIPATE? ...

Currently, appreciably fewer than in late October hold that West Germans have the right to expect to be defended by the Western powers even if they should refuse to participate. The most significant element in this drop - in the present connection - is that it has occurred to its greatest extent among Germans who oppose participation in European defense. So, again, it is indicated that an increasing proportion of opponents to defense participation are thinking in terms of not being defended at all.

"Supposing West Germany refuses to participate in a West European army, do you think that in spite of this refusal West Germany has the right to expect to be defended by the Western powers or does she not have this right?"

	WEST GERMANY		British Zone		US Zone		Berlin	
	Oct-Nov	Jan	Oct-Nov	Jan	Oct-Nov	Jan	Oct-Nov	Jan
Has the right	51%	42%	52%	38%	47%	44%	53%	40%
Has not the right	34	40	32	41	39	46	40	50
No opinion	15	18	16	21	14	10	7	10
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Has the right		Has not the right		No opinion		No. of cases:
Oct-Nov	Jan	Oct-Nov	Jan	Oct-Nov	Jan	
31-1	3-4	31-1	3-4	31-1	3-4	

WEST GERMANY

For participation in a European army	50%	44%	40%	48%	10%	8%	304
Against participation in a European army	57	43	25	34	18	23	257

CONFIDENTIAL

Among population groups in West Germany the most marked change in opinions has apparently occurred in connection with educational levels. At the end of October the better schooled held more often than respondents with only elementary education that Germany had a right to be defended regardless of any refusal to participate. Now, however, the situation has reversed and the better schooled more often argue that West Germany has not the right to Western defense should she refuse to participate.

	Has the right		Has not the right		No opinion		No. of cases:
	Oct-Nov 31-1	Jan 3-4	Oct-Nov 31-1	Jan 3-4	Oct-Nov 31-1	Jan 3-4	
<u>Sex:</u>							
Men	57%	46%	35%	44%	8%	10%	286
Women	46	38	34	38	20	24	353
<u>Education:</u>							
Elementary school	44%	41%	35%	37%	21%	22%	392
Beyond elementary school	60	43	33	46	7	11	245
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>							
Lower class	55%	37%	35%	40%	10%	23%	323
Lower middle to upper class	47	48	33	40	20	12	315
<u>*Income (per month):</u>							
0 - 149 DM		35		34		31	107
150 - 299 DM		39		41		20	272
300 DM and more		48		42		10	254
<u>Age:</u>							
Under 40 years	51	43	34	40	15	17	287
40 years and over	51	41	35	41	14	18	351
<u>Religion:</u>							
Catholics	53	41	38	39	9	20	314
Protestants	50	42	32	42	18	16	362

* Income figures were not obtained in the earlier survey.

CONFIDENTIAL

WOULD THE WEST DEFEND WEST GERMANY WITHOUT HER PARTICIPATION? ...

Just as on the issue of the right to be defended by the West, somewhat fewer now than before hold that West Germany would be defended in the event that she should refuse to participate. The comparison of responses of supporters and opponents of German defense participation reveals that the drop is wholly confined to the latter group - thus once more demonstrating that an increasing proportion of opponents of German defense participation are thinking in terms of no defense (i.e. neutrality), rather than in terms of riding on the coat tails of Western defense efforts.

"Do you believe that in spite of this refusal the Western powers will defend West Germany or not?"

	WEST GERMANY		British Zone		US Zone		Berlin	
	Oct-Nov	Jan	Oct-Nov	Jan	Oct-Nov	Jan	Oct-Nov	Jan
	31-1	3-4	31-1	3-4	31-1	3-4	31-1	3-4
Will defend	53%	48%	53%	48%	53%	43%	79%	77%
Will not	27	31	27	27	27	39	16	18
No opinion	20	23	20	25	20	18	5	5
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Do you believe that in spite of this refusal the Western powers will defend West Germany or not?"

	Will defend		Will not		No opinion		No. of cases:
	Oct-Nov	Jan	Oct-Nov	Jan	Oct-Nov	Jan	
	31-1	3-4	31-1	3-4	31-1	3-4	
WEST GERMANY							
For participation in a European army	60%	60%	25%	25%	15%	15%	304
Against participation in a European army	44	35	32	38	24	27	257

CONFIDENTIAL

The belief is somewhat more widespread among more educated and informed population elements that West Germany would be defended even should she refuse to participate.

	Will defend		Will not		No opinion		No. of cases:
	Oct-Nov 31-1	Jan 3-4	Oct-Nov 31-1	Jan 3-4	Oct-Nov 31-1	Jan 3-4	
<u>Sex:</u>							
Men	62%	53%	24%	33%	14%	14%	286
Women	45	40	28	30	27	30	353
<u>Education:</u>							
Elementary school	45%	43%	31%	30%	24%	27%	392
Beyond elementary school	46	51	33	33	21	16	245
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>							
Lower class	59%	40%	24%	29%	17%	31%	323
Lower middle to upper class	46	52	30	33	24	15	315
<u>*Income (per month):</u>							
0 - 149 DM		33%		28%		39%	107
150 - 299 DM		44		31		25	272
300 DM and more		54		33		13	254
<u>Age:</u>							
Under 40 years	57%	47%	23%	28%	20%	25%	287
40 years and over	49	46	30	33	21	21	351
<u>Religion:</u>							
Catholics	59%	46%	25%	30%	15%	24%	214
Protestants	49	45	27	32	24	23	362

* Income figures were not obtained in the earlier survey.

CONFIDENTIAL

III. PRESENT EXTENT OF CONFIDENCE IN THE STRENGTH OF THE WEST

LATEST TREND ON CHANCES OF HALTING ANY ATTACK AT EAST ZONE BORDERS ...

The proportion of West German city dwellers who hold that the chances are good for halting any attack at the East Zone borders - were the Germans to participate in European defense - has dropped off sharply since late November. Currently, however, about as many hold that the chances are good to fairly good, as estimate them to be not so good to bad. The drop in optimism has been particularly severe in Berlin.

"Supposing West Germany and the Western powers were united in a West European defense army, do you think the chances to stop an attack from the East at the East zonal borders are good, fairly good, not so good, or bad?"

	WEST GERMANY		British Zone		US Zone		Berlin	
	Nov	Jan	Nov	Jan	Nov	Jan	Nov	Jan
	27-28	3-4	27-28	3-4	27-28	3-4	27-28	3-4
Good	26%	8%	25%	9%	29%	6%	49%	12%
Fairly good	27	34	28	31	22	41	22	46
Not so good	13	20	12	19	16	20	13	19
Bad	17	18	18	18	15	19	9	11
No opinion	17	20	17	23	18	14	7	12
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Both supporters and opponents of German defense participation are currently inclined to be less optimistic than priorly on the chances of halting any Eastern attack at the border. Now as before, however, pessimism is appreciably greater among those who oppose German defense participation. It is also considerably greater, comparison reveals, among respondents who choose neutralism over integration with the West.

"Supposing West Germany and the Western powers were united in a West European defense army, do you think the chances to stop an attack from the East at the East zonal borders are good, fairly good, not so good, or bad?"

	Good		Fairly good		Not so good		Bad		No opinion		No. of cases:
	Nov	Jan	Nov	Jan	Nov	Jan	Nov	Jan	Nov	Jan	
	27-28	3-4	27-28	3-4	27-28	3-4	27-28	3-4	27-28	3-4	
WEST GERMANY											
For participation in a European army	33%	13%	31%	48%	15%	22%	13%	10%	8%	7%	304
Against participation in a European army	13	3	18	20	9	18	30	30	30	29	257

	Fairly good to good		Not so good to bad		No opinion		No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY							
What would, in your opinion, be better for West Germany:							
To try to join the West politically and militarily as a free and equal nation	63%		29%		8%		224
To try to unite with East Germany and as a neutral nation to keep out of a conflict between East and West	30		49		21		296

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

The sharp downward shift of judgments from good to but fairly good has occurred rather evenly among all the elements of the urban West German population.

	Good		Fairly good		Not so good		Bad		No opinion		No. of cases:
	Nov 27-28	Jan 3-4	Nov 27-28	Jan 3-4	Nov 27-28	Jan 3-4	Nov 27-28	Jan 3-4	Nov 27-28	Jan 3-4	
WEST GERMANY											
<u>Sex:</u>											
Men	27%	10%	27%	34%	14%	21%	24%	24%	8%	11%	286
Women	25	7	27	33	13	20	11	12	24	28	353
<u>Education:</u>											
Elementary school	25%	8%	26%	31%	11%	20%	16%	18%	22%	23%	392
Beyond elementary school	26	9	29	38	17	20	19	18	9	15	245
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>											
Lowerclass	26%	9%	23%	28%	10%	21%	17%	16%	24%	26%	323
Lower middle to upper class	26	8	31	40	16	20	17	19	10	13	315
<u>Income (per month):</u>											
0 - 149 DM	27%	9%	19%	24%	10%	23%	18%	17%	26%	27%	107
150 - 299 DM	24	7	28	32	12	19	16	18	20	24	272
300 DM and more	28	9	29	40	16	21	17	19	10	11	254
<u>Age:</u>											
Under 40 years	27%	8%	28%	34%	13%	18%	15%	19%	17%	21%	287
40 years and over	25	8	26	34	13	21	18	17	18	20	351
<u>Religion:</u>											
Catholics	29%	10%	30%	32%	14%	20%	15%	15%	12%	23%	214
Protestants	23	8	28	34	13	20	17	19	19	19	362

CONFIDENTIAL

CAN A EUROPEAN DEFENSE ARMY BE ESTABLISHED SOON ENOUGH TO BE EFFECTIVE? ...

Among those who believe that the chances are good to fairly good for a unified European army to halt any attack at the East Zone borders - were such an army established -, opinion splits as to whether such an army is likely to be established soon enough to be of any value.

"Do you think it likely that a unified European defense army will be established soon enough to stop an attack from the East at the East zonal borders of West Germany or do you think this unlikely?" (Asked of those who answered "Good" and "Fairly good" to previous question)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Likely	20%	20%	19%	37%
Not likely	16	13	23	15
No opinion	6	7	5	6
	<u>42%</u>	<u>40%</u>	<u>47%</u>	<u>58%</u>

As might be expected opponents of German defense participation are appreciably less inclined than supporters to believe that the necessary forces can be organized in time.

"Do you think it likely that a unified European defense army will be established soon enough to stop an attack from the East at the East zonal borders of West Germany or do you think this unlikely?" (Asked of those who answered "Good" or "Fairly good" to previous question)

	Likely	Not likely	No. opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
For participation in a European army	51%	34%	15% ... 100%	187
Against participation in a European army	32	54	14	59

CONFIDENTIAL

And among urban West German population groups, the opinion that the defense army is not likely to be established soon enough is somewhat more widespread at the more educated and informed levels.

	Likely	Not likely	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	48%	46%	6%	125
Women	45	32	23	143
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	48%	35%	17%	151
Beyond elementary school	45	43	12	116
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	48%	33%	19%	118
Lower middle to upper class	45	43	12	150
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	53%	30%	17%	36
150 - 299 DM	47	35	18	107
300 DM and more	45	43	12	124
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	43%	41%	16%	121
40 years and over	50	36	14	147
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	55%	32%	13%	90
Protestants	43	40	17	154

CONFIDENTIAL

HAS COMMUNISM OR THE WEST HAD MORE SUCCESS IN THE PAST SIX MONTHS? ...

That confidence in the strength of the West is sharply on the wane in urban West Germany is indicated by the fact that almost two out of three hold that looking at the world situation as a whole the Communist powers have had the greater success in the past six months. Only in Berlin do opinions split on the matter. These current results are in sharp contrast to mid-April findings in the US Zone and in Berlin.*

"If you look at the political situation in the world as a whole, which side has had more success in the past six months: the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Communist	63%	62%	64%	38%
West	14	12	19	45
Both the same	11	10	9	11
No opinion	12	16	8	6
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

	April 17, 1950	US Zone	Berlin
Communist		31%	23%
West		43	68
Both the same		9	6
No opinion		17	3
		<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

One thing that opponents and supporters of German defense participation appear to agree upon is their evaluation of Communist versus Western success in the past six months. In both groups two out of three give the palm to the Communist powers.

"If you look at the political situation in the world as a whole, which side has had more success in the past six months: the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

WEST GERMANY	Communist	West	Both the same	No opinion	No. of cases:
For participation in a European army	65%	16%	13%	6% ..100%	304
Against participation in a European army	67	13	9	11	257

* The April US Zone findings in this and the following two questions are not entirely comparable as they were based upon a full scale sample rather than one confined to urban residents. They allow, however, some approximate judgment of trend.

Confidential

Judgments of greater Communist success are considerably more frequent among the opinion leading segments of the urban West German population than among their less informed fellows.

	Communist	West	Both the same	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	72%	15	9%	4%	286
Woman	56	13	12	19	353
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	56%	15%	11%	18%	392
Beyond elementary school	73	12	11	4	245
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	55%	16%	10%	19%	323
Lower middle to upper class	72	11	11	6	315
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 149 DM	51%	18%	9%	22%	107
150 - 299 DM	59	14	12	15	272
300 DM and more	72	12	11	5	254
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	63%	13%	11%	13%	287
40 years and over	63	14	11	12	351
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	56%	13%	15%	16%	214
Protestants	65	14	8	13	362

Confidential

WHICH SIDE APPEARS TO BE STRONGER AT PRESENT? ...

Even more revealing of the current unfavorable evaluations of Western strength vis-a-vis the Communist powers is the finding that a definite preponderance in urban West Germany feel that the Communist powers are - all things considered - stronger than the West at the present time. Only in Berlin is the preponderant view to the contrary. These results mark a major shift from the standpoint indicated by mid-April findings in the US Zone and Berlin.

"And which appears to you, all things considered, to be stronger at present - the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Communist	46%	43%	51%	36%
West	24	23	27	48
Both the same	15	16	12	12
No opinion	15	18	10	4
	100%	100%	100%	100%

	US Zone	Berlin
April 17, 1950		
Communist	14%	12%
West	57	77
Both the same	14	8
No opinion	15	3
	100%	100%

Whether one is for or against Western policies on the key issue of participation and neutralism seems to be only moderately related to judgments on the present issue, for both among supporters and opponents of German defense participation and among supporters and opponents of Western integration, the opinion preponderates that the Communists are stronger than the Western powers at the present time.

	Communist	West	Both the same	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY					
For participation in a European army	44%	30%	18%	8%	304
Against participation in a European army	54	17	13	16	257

	Communist	West	Both the same	No opinion	No. of Cases:
WEST GERMANY					
What would, in your opinion, be better for West Germany:					
To try to join the West politically and militarily as a free and equal nation	44%	31%	19%	6%	224
To try to unite with East Germany and as a neutral nation to keep out of a conflict between East and West	53	22	14	12	296

Confidential

Group breakdowns reveal that the more educated and informed levels are somewhat more inclined to express either opinion than are their counterparts - with the latter more often voicing "no opinion."

	Communist	West	Both the same	No op.	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	53%	25%	14%	8%	236
Women	40	24	15	21	353
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	44%	22%	14%	20%	392
Beyond elementary school	40	27	16	8	245
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	42%	21%	15%	22%	323
Lower middle to upper class	50	27	14	9	315
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 149 DM	40%	18%	14%	28%	107
150 - 299 DM	45	23	16	16	272
300 DM and more	49	29	14	3	254
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	43%	20%	15%	17%	267
40 years and over	44	27	15	14	351
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	44%	25%	15%	16%	214
Protestants	47	23	15	15	362

WHICH SIDE HAS THE BETTER CHANCE FOR ULTIMATE VICTORY ? ...

Though events of the past several months have sharply depressed West German evaluations of present Western strength, they have not, as far as can be judged, greatly affected the prevailing opinion that the West will ultimately be the victor in the East-West struggle.

"According to your view, who has the better chance to finally win the upper hand in the East-West struggle: the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Communist	13%	12%	15%	1%
West	55	50	63	91
Both the same	8	10	4	2
No opinion	24	28	18	6
	100%	100%	100%	100%

	US Zone Apr 17, '50	Berlin Apr 17, '50
Communist	6%	2%
West	69	91
Both the same	7	1
No opinion	18	6
	100%	100%

One clue as to why opponents and supporters of German defense participation and opponents and supporters of Western integration have such contrary attitudes despite rather similar evaluations of present communist strength, lies in their quite different evaluations of ultimate communist power. Whereas three out of four supporters of German defense participation and a similar proportion of supporters of integration of Germany with the West, feel that the West has the better chance for ultimate victory, only a minority of those with opposing viewpoints in each case have such a confidence in ultimate Western superiority.

"According to your view, who has the better chance to finally win the upper hand in the East-West struggle: the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

WEST GERMANY	Communist	West	Both the same	No opinion	No. of cases:
For participation in a European army	7%	74%	6%	13%	304
Against participation in a European army	23	35	10	32	257

WEST GERMANY	Communist	West	Both the same	No opinion	No. of cases:
What would, in your opinion be better for West Germany:					
To try to join the West politically and militarily as a free and equal nation	6%	76%	6%	12%	224
To try to unite with East Germany and as a neutral nation to keep out of a conflict between East and West	21	45	9	25	296

Confidential

Confidence in the ultimate victory of the West is relatively greater among the opinion leading elements of the West German urban population - the men, the better schooled, and the economically better situated.

	Communist	West	Both the same	No opinion
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	16%	59%	9%	14%
Women	9	50	8	33
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	13%	50%	8%	29%
Beyond elementary school	12	63	8	17
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	13%	45%	7%	32%
Lower middle to upper class	13	61	9	17
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	10%	45%	3%	37%
150 - 299 DM	14	50	8	28
300 DM and more	14	64	9	13
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	14%	51%	8%	27%
40 years and over	14	64	9	13
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	10%	55%	10%	25%
Protestants	14	54	7	25

Confidential

IV. PRESENT EXTENT OF CONFIDENCE IN AMERICAN RESOLUTION

Whatever may have happened to opinions about Western strength, confidence in American resolution to fight communist aggression does not appear to have dropped any further from its early December level. Now, as then, the largest proportion of respondents express themselves as firmly convinced that America will take a firm stand in Western Europe in event of communist attack. These results are very important in suggesting that, as of early January at least, the West German population had not been adversely affected by the isolationists' sentiments voiced by some prominent American spokesmen.

"Considering the events in Korea, are you firmly convinced that America would take a firm stand in case of communist aggression in Western Europe, are you less convinced of it or not convinced at all?"

	WEST GERMANY				British Zone			
	Aug	Dec		Jan	Aug	Dec		Jan
	15-17	4-5	19-20	3-4	15-17	4-5	19-20	3-4
Firmly convinced	70%	55%	52%	52%	70%	56%	53%	52%
Less convinced	15	24	24	23	15	22	21	21
Not convinced	5	11	13	12	5	10	12	12
No opinion	10	10	11	13	10	12	14	15
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

	US Zone				Berlin			
	Aug	Dec		Jan	Aug	Dec		Jan
	15-17	4-5	19-20	3-4	15-17	4-5	19-20	3-4
Firmly convinced	73%	53%	49%	52%	39%	39%	77%	82%
Less convinced	14	28	29	25	8	10	15	14
Not convinced	6	14	18	15	1	1	4	2
No opinion	7	5	4	8	2	-	4	2
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Breakdown of attitudes on this issue of those for and against German defense participation reveals that, through December, confidence in American resolution has been growing in the former group and dropping in the latter. The net result is of course to make them differ more widely than ever in their judgments of American resolution.

Firmly convinced	Less convinced		Not convinced		No opinion		No. of cas.
Dec	Jan	Dec	Jan	Dec	Jan	Dec	Jan
4-5/19-20/3-4	4-5/19-20/3-4	4-5/19-20/3-4	4-5/19-20/3-4	4-5/19-20/3-4	4-5/19-20/3-4	4-5/19-20/3-4	

WEST GERMANY

For participation in a European army

63% 65% 74% 22% 22% 17% 9% 7% 4% 6% 6% 5% 304

Against participation in a European army

44 37 33 31 26 29 14 19 23 11 13 15 257

Confidential

Throughout the past three surveys, group comparisons reveal the more educated and informed levels continue to evidence more widespread expressions of confidence in American resolution to resist any communist aggression in Western Europe.

	Firmly convinced			Less convinced			Not convinced			No opinion			No. of cases:
	Dec	Jan		Dec	Jan		Dec	Jan		Dec	Jan		
	4	19	3	4	19	3	4	19	3	4	19	3	
	5	20	4	5	20	4	5	20	4	5	20	4	
	<u>9</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>7</u>	
<u>Sex:</u>													
Men	53	56	55	23	25	23	13	13	15	6	6	7	286
Women	52	49	50	25	22	22	10	13	10	13	16	13	353
<u>Education:</u>													
Elementary school	51	46	46	23	25	24	13	14	14	13	15	16	392
Beyond elementary school	61	60	63	25	22	21	9	12	9	5	6	7	245
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>													
Lower class	47	43	45	25	26	22	13	15	13	15	16	20	323
Lower middle to upper class	62	62	59	24	21	24	9	11	12	5	6	5	315
<u>Income (per month):</u>													
0 - 149 DM	52	40	45	21	25	21	14	13	10	13	22	24	107
150 - 299 DM	47	49	47	29	25	26	11	15	12	13	11	15	272
300 DM and more	64	59	62	21	21	20	9	12	13	6	8	5	254
<u>Age:</u>													
Under 40 years	54	52	52	27	26	25	10	13	11	9	9	12	237
40 years and over	56	53	52	22	21	21	12	13	13	10	13	14	351
<u>Religion:</u>													
Catholics	59	47	55	21	24	19	12	14	13	6	15	13	214
Protestants	52	57	50	27	24	24	10	11	11	11	9	14	362

Confidential

V. FURTHER REACTIONS TO THE GROTEWOHL PROPOSAL

CURRENT EXTENT OF FAMILIARITY WITH THE PROPOSAL ...

With the latest survey, two out of three in urban West Germany had come to hear about the Grotewohl letter or letters to Chancellor Adenauer. However, only a minority were sufficiently aware of the letter to correctly specify the objective.

"Have you heard or read of the letter recently sent by the East-German Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl to Federal Chancellor Adenauer?"

	WEST GERMANY		British Zone		US ZONE		Berlin	
	Dec 19-20	Jan 3-4	Dec 19-20	Jan 3-4	Dec 19-20	Jan 3-4	Dec 19-20	Jan 3-4
Yes	56%	66%	55%	63%	58%	74%	69%	72%
No	<u>44</u> 100%	<u>34</u> 100%	<u>45</u> 100%	<u>37</u> 100%	<u>42</u> 100%	<u>26</u> 100%	<u>31</u> 100%	<u>28</u> 100%

"Could you perhaps remember the main point of the letter?"
(Asked of those who answered "Yes" to previous question.)

	WEST GERMANY		British Zone		US ZONE		Berlin	
	Dec 19-20	Jan 3-4	Dec 19-20	Jan 3-4	Dec 19-20	Jan 3-4	Dec 19-20	Jan 3-4
Yes, (invitation to a discussion about the unification of Germany and specific proposals)	29%	41%	29%	38%	29%	49%	33%	34%
Other answers	4	1	3	2	5	-	5	4
No	<u>23</u> 56%	<u>24</u> 66%	<u>23</u> 55%	<u>23</u> 63%	<u>24</u> 58%	<u>25</u> 74%	<u>31</u> 69%	<u>34</u> 72%

Group breakdowns can be omitted here as they simply reveal the customary pattern of more widespread awareness among the more educated and informed elements in the urban West German population.

Confidential**LATEST TREND ON ACCEPTANCE OR REJECTION OF THE PROPOSAL ...**

The opinion that the Grotowhl proposal should be accepted has increased slightly since the prior survey, to become more firmly established as the majority sentiment. A greater change has been in the decline of opposition to the point where now only 1 in 5 oppose acceptance of the proposal. In Berlin the preponderant sentiment continues to be opposed.

"Should Dr. Adenauer, in your opinion, accept or refuse this proposal?"

	WEST GERMANY		British Zone		US Zone		Berlin	
	Dec	Jan	Dec	Jan	Dec	Jan	Dec	Jan
	19-20	3-4	19-20	3-4	19-20	3-4	19-20	3-4
Accept	53%	56%	48%	51%	67%	68%	37%	33%
Refuse	29	20	31	22	23	17	52	54
No opinion	13	24	21	27	10	15	11	13
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The result of the latest trends are to make approval of the proposal outweigh disapproval to a greater extent among both opponents and supporters of German defense participation.

"Should Dr. Adenauer, in your opinion, accept or refuse this proposal?"

	Accept		Refuse		No opinion		Number of cases:	
	Dec	Jan	Dec	Jan	Dec	Jan	Dec	Jan
	19-20	3-4	19-20	3-4	19-20	3-4	19-20	3-4
WEST GERMANY								
For participation in a European army	50%	54%	39%	31%	11%	15%	341	362
Against participation in a European army	61	65	20	11	19	24	229	125

* Prior to asking the present question, respondents who were not informed about the Grotowhl letter were apprised of it in these terms: "Grotowhl proposed in his letter a conference between six representatives each from West and East Germany to discuss the unification of Germany."

Confidential

Among West German population groups a pattern has now developed for the more educated and informed levels to both more widely approve and more widely disapprove of the proposal than their counterparts - with these latter expressing a considerable volume of no opinion on the issue.

	Accept		Refuse		No opinion		<u>No. of cases:</u>
	Dec 19-20	Jan 3-4	Dec 19-20	Jan 3-4	Dec 19-20	Jan 3-4	
<u>Sex:</u>							
Men	54%	65%	38%	25%	8%	10%	286
Women	52	50	22	15	26	35	353
<u>Education:</u>							
Elementary school	48	54	28	16	24	30	392
Beyond elementary school	61	61	30	25	9	14	245
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>							
Lower class	48	50	27	17	25	33	323
Lower middle to upper class	58	63	31	22	11	15	315
<u>Income (per month):</u>							
0 - 149 DM	40	50	28	13	32	37	107
150 - 299 DM	57	53	24	18	19	29	272
300 DM and more	54	64	34	24	12	12	254
<u>Age:</u>							
Under 40 years	55	56	26	19	19	25	287
40 years and over	51	57	32	20	17	23	351
<u>Religion:</u>							
Catholics	49	54	31	17	20	29	214
Protestants	55	58	27	21	18	21	362

Confidential

The principle reasons advanced by those who favor acceptance of the Grotowohl proposal revolve about the desirability of unity and the value of negotiations in settling differences.

"Why should Dr. Adenauer accept this proposal?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
<u>To bring about the unification of Germany:</u> So that all Germans will be together again; to get rid of the iron curtain at last; because West Germany cannot exist without Eastern Germany; to create a unified Germany and give a democratic government to the East Germans as well; etc.	21%	18%	25%	13%
<u>To come to negotiations and an understanding:</u> So that there will be an opportunity to talk about it; because in a conference differences can be eliminated more easily; so as to see that both sides yield and to come to an understanding thereby; etc.	15	13	20	9
<u>To preserve peace:</u> Nothing should be left undone in the interest of peace; peace must at all cost be achieved; in the interest of peace in Germany; etc.	4	5	3	2
<u>Contact with the East should be established so as to know what they really want:</u> So as to know what they are driving at in the East; we can listen to what they want; establish contact with the East; etc.	4	4	4	2
<u>To show our good intentions, we can always withdraw if it doesn't work:</u> Adenauer could prove his good will, and if they don't want to cooperate he can still withdraw; try to negotiate, thereby the West shows that their intentions are good, even if the proposal has to be turned down eventually; etc.	4	3	5	3
<u>Because it would be of advantage to all of Germany:</u> Because it could be of advantage; for the good of the entire people; what can be gained for Germany, should be done; etc.	3	3	3	2
<u>Because a refusal would be interpreted as a weakness and we would be blamed:</u> Because we would not be spared the reproach that we have missed an opportunity to negotiate; so that the people in the East cannot say that we refused to negotiate; so that the SED cannot claim that we don't want peace; etc.	2	1	3	1
<u>Others:</u> To expose their lies; to bring an end to dictatorship there; for they are our brothers; etc.	6	5	7	2
No answer and no opinion	* 55%*	1 53%*	- 70%*	- 30%*

* Less than one half of one per cent.
** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Confidential

The minority who oppose the conference in the main voice variations on the theme that it is impossible to negotiate with the East Zone communist government.

"Should Dr. Adenauer, in your opinion, accept this proposal, or should he refuse it?"

IF "Refuse": "Why should Dr. Adenauer refuse it?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
<u>Because there is no sense in negotiations with the East Zone Government; There is no way of talking with those people from the East; unity is impossible; etc.</u>	5%	6%	4%	17%
<u>Because one cannot trust the East Zone Government; They have proved themselves gangsters, and one cannot trust them; they don't play a fair game; Grotewohl is up to no good; etc.</u>	4	5	4	13
<u>Because the Russians are behind it all: The proposal was influenced by the Russians; the letter was written under pressure from the East; that letter can only be considered a propaganda measure of the Russians; etc.</u>	4	3	6	8
<u>Because they are trying to turn us into Communists: They want to make Communists of us; nothing will come of it, the Russians want a united Germany only under Communist influence; because it is senseless to negotiate with the East; etc.</u>	2	3	2	5
<u>Because it is unjust to have an equal number of representatives from both East and West Germany: West Germany's population is much larger; the Eastern, i.e. Communist influence would be too strong; six representatives each do not correspond to the real proportions; etc.</u>	1	1	1	3
<u>Others: East Zone politicians didn't accept Western proposals for unification either; we belong to the West, the East wants to sell us; we have nothing in common with them; etc.</u>	3	4	-	11
No answer and no opinion	$\frac{1}{20\%}$	$\frac{*}{22\%}$	$\frac{-}{17\%}$	$\frac{1}{56\%}^{**}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Confidential

IS IT LIKELY THAT THE EAST ZONE WOULD AGREE TO FREE ELECTIONS ? ...

However widespread is approval of an all German conference on unity, the majority of West German city-dwellers are not inclined to feel that in the event of such a conference, the East zone would be likely to agree to hold free elections in their area.

"In case such a conference, as proposed by Grotewohl should take place, do you then think it likely that the East zone government will agree to hold free elections in the East Zone, or do you think this unlikely?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Likely	19%	18%	23%	10%
Unlikely	62	60	64	34
No opinion	19	22	13	6
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

But even those who are pessimistic about an agreement on free elections are still in the main willing to make a try.

"Should Dr. Adenauer, in your opinion, accept or refuse this proposal?"

	Accept	Refuse	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
Free elections in the East Zone are:				
Likely	77%	7%	16%	120
Not likely	55	25	17	396

Though opponents of German defense participation are somewhat more optimistic about the possibility of free elections in the East Zone on the basis of the Grotewohl sponsored conference, the preponderant sentiment both among opponents and supporters is pessimistic.

"In case such a conference, as proposed by Grotewohl, should take place, do you then think it likely that the East Zone government will agree to hold free elections in the East Zone, or do you think this unlikely?"

	Likely	Unlikely	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
For participation in a European army	16%	74%	10%	34
Against participation in a European army	25	52	23	257

Confidential

The more informed groups among West German city-dwellers evidence a considerably greater inclination than do their counterparts to take a dubious view of the likelihood of conference-born free elections in the East Zone.

"In case such a conference, as proposed by Grotewohl, should take place, do you then think it likely that the East Zone government will agree to hold free elections in the East Zone, or do you think this unlikely?"

	Likely	Unlikely	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	22%	63%	10%	236
Women	16	57	27	353
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	20%	56%	24%	392
Beyond elementary school	17	72	11	245
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	13%	55%	27%	322
Lower middle to upper class	19	69	12	315
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	22%	45%	33%	107
150 - 299 DM	16	61	23	272
300 DM and more	21	71	8	254
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	17%	66	17%	237
40 years and over	20	53	22	351
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	21%	56%	23%	214
Protestants	17	64	19	362

WHAT SUPPORT WOULD COMMUNISM RECEIVE IN EVENT OF FREE EAST ZONE ELECTIONS ? ...

The prevailing view is that Communists would receive less than half of the votes in the East Zone if free elections were held. Only one in ten in urban West Germany - one in 100 in Berlin - estimate that they would receive more than half in such a contest.

"Supposing free elections were held in the East Zone, do you believe that the Communists would get more than half of all votes, less than half, or hardly any at all?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
More than half	11%	11%	11%	1%
Less than half	48	46	52	36
Hardly any at all	29	27	31	62
No opinion	12	16	6	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Opponents and supporters of German defense participation show some, but not considerable, differences of viewpoint on this issue. In both groups, most believe that Communist votes in a free election would be from less than half to hardly any at all.

	More than half	Less than half	Hardly any at all	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY					
For participation in a European army	6%	53%	34%	5%	304
Against participation in a European army	16	43	25	16	257

The opinion leading elements among West German city-dwellers tend to adversely judge the Communist chances in an East Zone free election somewhat more often than their fellows.

	More than half	Less than half	Hardly any at all	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	14%	51%	27%	8%	236
Women	9	45	30	16	353
Education:					
Elementary school	13%	42%	29%	16%	392
Beyond elementary school	6	57	28	7	245
Socio-economic Status:					
Lower class	14%	42%	27%	17%	323
Lower middle to upper class	6	53	31	6	315
Income (per month):					
0 - 149 DM	16%	39%	26%	19%	104
150 - 299 DM	14	43	29	14	272
300 DM and more	7	57	29	7	254
Age:					
Under 40 years	12%	50%	27%	11%	267
40 years and over	10	46	30	14	351
Religion:					
Catholics	12%	42%	31%	15%	214
Protestants	10	50	26	12	362

VI. GERMAN EVALUATION OF THE BRUSSELS CONFERENCE

EXTENT OF FAMILIARITY WITH THE CONFERENCE ...

Awareness of the Brussels conference was not extensive among West German city-dwellers at the time of the present survey. Forty-five per cent had not yet heard or read of any of the decisions that were reached concerning West Germany.

"Have you heard or read that decisions were reached on West German contributions to West European defense at one of the Atlantic Pact conferences in Brussels?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Yes, have heard	55%	55%	58%	50%
No	45	45	42	50
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

DO GERMANS WELCOME THE DECISIONS REACHED? ...

Among those who exhibited some awareness of the Brussels conference, opinions split on whether or not the results were to be welcomed, with the nod going to the adverse viewpoint.

"According to what you heard or read about it, do you welcome the results of the conference or not?" (Asked of those who answered "Yes" to previous question)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Welcome	18%	19%	16%	26%
Not welcome	23	22	25	12
No opinion	14	14	17	12
	<u>55%</u>	<u>55%</u>	<u>58%</u>	<u>50%</u>

Since the Brussels conference largely dealt with the conditions that were to be imposed on German participation in Western defense, it comes as no surprise that only a minuscule five per cent among opponents of defense participation welcomed the decisions reached. Welcome was the preponderant reaction among those proponents of German defense participation who were aware of the conference.

"According to what you heard or read about it, do you welcome the results of the conference or not?" (Asked of those who answered "Yes, have heard to original question)

	Welcome	Not welcome	No opinion	No. of cases
For participation in a European army	50%	30%	20% ... 100%	204
Against participation in a European army	5	63	32	126

Confidential

Approval of the conference results was somewhat more widespread among the more educated and informed levels of the population sampled.

	Welcomes	Not welcome	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	36%	45%	19%	218
Woman	26	35	39	135
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	28%	41%	31%	269
Beyond elementary school	37	41	22	183
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	26%	43%	31%	135
Lower middle to upper class	36	41	23	217
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	25%	47%	28%	32
150 - 299 DM	29	40	31	134
300 DM and more	37	41	22	184
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	28%	39%	33%	160
40 years and over	36	43	21	192
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	26%	34%	40%	130
Protestants	38	44	18	190

Confidential

The single most frequent objection advanced by those who reacted unfavorably to the conference results was an alleged inadequate emphasis on German equality.

"Have you heard or read that decisions were reached on West German contributions to West European defense at one of the Atlantic Pact conferences in Brussels?"

"Why don't you welcome the results?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
-----------------	-----------------	------------	--------

No equal rights for Germany - insufficient measures (general), injury of German honor:

No equal rights for Germany; conditions of equal rights were not accomplished; are too shabby for Germany; nothing positive for us; as far as I know the Germans will not be under own command; because it is a disgrace for us; they should first re-establish our honor; because a status of equal rights is not guaranteed for Germany; Germany is pushed into a low position and has no equal rights; etc. 9%

8% 10% 7%

Fundamentally opposed to remilitarization and the danger of war that goes with it: They should leave us in peace - we have had enough of the military; leads to war and everything should be done to prevent a war; we must try to keep out of it because we have two wars behind us, therefore no remilitarization; we have seen what disaster militarism can lead to; I am against any kind of German re-armament; etc.

5 5 8 2

Germans will only serve as cannon-fodder:

Because German youth is wanted as cannon-fodder against Russia; it seems as if we will be used as cannon-fodder for others; they are looking for stupid people who will pull their chestnuts out of the fire; etc.

2 2 3 1

Insufficient measures for defense - inadequate to the real danger: Because the measures are not adequate to the Russian danger; because they grant us not enough troops; too split up; concessions won't do good for defense; etc.

2 2 1 1

Because the decisions were made without Germany:

Resolution without the Federal Government; because a re-armament of Germany was decided over our heads; because the conferences took place without West Germany; etc.

2 1 3 -

Other opinions: These measures are too hurried; they want to re-establish the German military in opposition to their policy 5 years ago; etc.

3 4 2 1

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{1}{24}\%$ $\frac{1}{23}\%$ $\frac{-}{27}\%$ $\frac{*}{12}\%$

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some people gave more than one answer.

Confidential

VII. CURRENT REACTIONS TO A FOUR POWER CONFERENCE

LATEST TREND ON WHETHER SUCH A CONFERENCE WOULD BE TO GERMAN ADVANTAGE ...

Majority judgment in urban West Germany is still that there would be little advantage to no advantage at all for Germany if a four power conference were held. Favorable reactions moved upward somewhat from November through December, but the latest measurement shows no appreciable departure from the mid December figures.

Some time ago the Russians proposed a four power conference on Germany.

"If this conference should be held, do you think it likely that the conference will be of great, not so great, little or no advantage to Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY				British Zone			
	Nov	Dec		Jan	Nov	Dec		Jan
	15-16	4-5	19-20	3-4	15-16	4-5	19-20	3-4
Of great advantage	7%	9%	9%	11%	7%	11%	7%	10%
Of not so great advantage	7	9	17	12	7	9	15	11
Of little advantage	16	25	15	25	17	24	19	25
Of no advantage at all	53	40	32	33	50	38	32	35
No opinion	15	17	24	16	19	15	27	19
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

	US Zone				Berlin			
	Nov	Dec		Jan	Nov	Dec		Jan
	15-16	4-5	19-20	3-4	15-16	4-5	19-20	3-4
Of great advantage	6%	7%	13%	13%	5%	7%	12%	11%
Of not so great advantage	5	10	22	14	7	5	5	12
Of little advantage	16	26	17	31	13	14	24	22
Of no advantage at all	61	45	29	31	71	69	51	46
No opinion	10	12	19	11	4	5	6	9
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Comparison of the attitudes of supporters and opponents of German defense participation indicate that it is primarily in the latter group that growth has occurred since mid-November in the proportion who look for some German advantage in a four power conference. The predominant view among both groups, however, is pessimistic.

Some time ago the Russians proposed a four power conference on Germany.

"If this conference should be held, do you think it likely that the conference will be of great, not so great, little or no advantage to Germany?"

	Of great to not so great advantage				Of little to no advantage				No opinion				No. of cases:
	Nov	Dec	Jan		Nov	Dec	Jan		Nov	Dec	Jan		
	15	4	19	3	15	4	19	3	15	4	19	3	
	16	5	20	4	16	5	20	4	16	5	20	4	
	%				%				%				
For participation	11	15	27	17	76	71	57	75	11	11	16	8	304
Against participation	15	20	31	32	66	63	46	49	17	17	23	19	257

Confidential

Group breakdowns continue to indicate that the more educated and informed levels are less optimistic than their counterpart groups as to the possible advantage to Germany in a four power conference.

	Of great advantage		Of not so great an advantage		Of little advantage		Of no advantage at all		No opinion		No. of cases:
	Dec 19-20	Jan 3-4	Dec 19-20	Jan 3-4	Dec 19-20	Jan 3-4	Dec 19-20	Jan 3-4	Dec 19-20	Jan 3-4	
<u>Sex:</u>											
Men	12%	14%	19%	12%	18%	29%	38%	37%	13%	8%	286
Women	6	8	15	12	18	26	27	31	34	23	353
<u>Education:</u>											
Elementary school	10%	12%	16%	12%	13%	23%	30%	31%	31%	22%	292
Beyond elementary school	6	8	18	13	25	35	36	37	13	7	245
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>											
Lower class	11%	12%	16%	10%	13%	26%	25%	29%	35%	23%	323
Lower middle to upper class	7	9	18	14	23	30	39	38	13	9	315
<u>Income (per month):</u>											
0 - 149 DM	10%	12%	11%	9%	12%	26%	31%	26%	36%	27%	107
150 - 299 DM	10	9	15	12	19	26	26	34	30	19	272
300 DM and more	9	12	21	13	19	31	37	35	14	9	254
<u>Age:</u>											
Under 40 years	8%	12%	19%	12%	18%	31%	33%	29%	22%	16%	287
40 years and over	10	9	15	12	18	25	31	37	25	17	351
<u>Religion:</u>											
Catholics	8%	10%	18%	12%	14%	25%	34%	36%	26%	17%	214
Protestants	8	10	17	13	20	28	32	32	23	17	362

PUBLIC APPRAISAL OF EFFECTIVENESS
OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITY IN WEST GERMANY

Report No. 59
Series No. 2
January 25, 1951

RESEARCH
OFFICIAL USE ONLY

OFFICE OF THE U S HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION ...

The survey on which this report of German attitudes toward Communism is based was made during October 1950, coincident with the election campaign in the East Zone of Germany. Because of the nature of the propaganda campaign then waged the findings though obtained some months ago may be considered pertinent to the present. As is customary with surveys made by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, HICOG, a representative, randomly selected sample of 1500 persons residing in the U.S. Zone, 250 in the three West sectors of Berlin, and 250 in Bremen was interviewed. Interviews were conducted by trained German interviewers supervised by German surveys officers.

SOME GENERALIZATIONS ...

The observation frequently made that the West German public is neither sympathetic to nor impressed by Communism as represented by KPD in West Germany and SED in East Germany is supported by the findings of this study. These results cannot of course be equated with attitudes toward Soviet Russia which were not measured in this study. But clearly, regardless of any opinions on the strength or power of Soviet Russia vis-a-vis the West, the public both in the U.S. Zone of Germany and Berlin appears relatively unimpressed by the efforts of native Communists within West Germany. More specifically ...

- ... Almost half of the U.S. Zone public is unable to say what the current Communist line is, though at the time the study was made, the Communist propaganda campaign directed against the "capitalist war-mongers" of the West and toward the Eastern-brand of "peace and unity" was in full heat. Those who do venture to describe Communist propaganda bring up the traditional claims of economic and social gains rather than the more current line.
- ... Moreover very few people have heard of anyone's receiving Communist literature from unknown Eastern sources, a practice now being utilized by Soviet Zone Communists. So whatever the intention of the senders and the effect on the recipients of the material, literature so distributed does not reach an extensive audience. Nor does anyone believe Communist ideas are presented in the non-Communist press, which is not necessarily a test of the facts, but simply that the public may recognize only labeled propaganda.
- ... People generally are unaware of increased Communist agitation, and except in Berlin, very few know of any local Red-inspired incidents.
- ... If the tendency exists to collaborate with the Communists as a protection for any future contingency, the public by and large is not aware of it. Only a fraction believes that some people are now trying to play safe with the Communists. And a large majority is of the opinion that such appeasement would be fruitless.
- ... The number of "convinced" Communists is also held not to be increasing. And finally, the chances of Communist domination of West Germany is thought to have declined.
- ... Notwithstanding this general tendency to disparage Communist influence, majority opinions are that more should be done to stop KPD agitation in West Germany, and that the party and its press should be banned. Majority approval is also given to the dismissal of civil servants who belong to the Communist party. Proponents of banning Communist activities tend more frequently than opponents to discount Communist effectiveness in West Germany.

- a -

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

I. IMPACT OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA AND AGITATION

This section deals with the impact on the German public in the U.S. Zone and Berlin of Communist propaganda and agitation directed at West Germany incident to last October's East Zone elections and the accompanying rallies and disturbances for "peace and unity." Because of the violence and intensity of Communist propaganda efforts at that time, the results are particularly pertinent as indicative of the general types of reactions that can be expected in the West Zone in response to Communist propaganda.

FEW AWARE OF CURRENT COMMUNIST LINE ...

Communist propaganda, at least as recently manifested has apparently failed to register with the majority of the German public in the U.S. Zone, as well as in West Berlin and Bremen. Almost half (48%) of the U.S. Zone public does not even venture to guess what the main ideas are that the Communists seek to spread in Western Germany. And nearly as many in Bremen (41%) and Berlin (32%) do not know.

Those persons who do think they know what is now being propagated by the Communists mention most frequently the traditional Marxist line regarding economic and social equality; that is, they tend to recite the ideological jargon of Communism rather than define its current propaganda themes. Only about a fifth appear to be aware of any of the various aspects of the current campaign that the "war-mongering capitalists of the West" seek to split East and West Germany; exploit Western Germany, and prepare for world conquest while East Germany, the Communist party, USSR, and Stalin battle unceasingly for "peace and unity." And those few who are aware of this line, appear to take it with a large and laconic grain of salt. The question and replies, listed in order of frequency, follow.

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

"As far as you can judge: which are the main ideas spread by the Communists in Western Germany?"

US ZONE Berlin Bremen

Equal rights and freedom for all people and promise of a higher living standard: Better future for farmers and workers; they promise a higher salary and a better life; social justice, no unemployment; elimination of corruption, betterment of social conditions; promises more freedom and money to the working class; equalization of capital and working class; distribution of property, equal rights for all; they say they want to establish the balance between the working class and capitalism; that their system is ideal and a paradise for laborers; etc.

16% 21% 15%

Socialization and fight against Capitalism: They want a thorough socialization; the idea of the socialization of agricultural estates; that all big industries should be socialized; to control trade in a planned economy; disowning of the possessing class; fight against Western capitalism; destroy world capitalism; stir up the unemployed against capitalism; etc.

11 10 10

Spread of Communism and its methods in the world (Claim to power of Russia): Union of all nations under Communism; equality of rights according to the slogan: "Proletarians of all countries, unite"; they would gain world power; no free will for the workers, introduction of "Fuehrertum", no freedom of speech; establishment of a Great Soviet Russian Europe under Stalin's leadership, subordination of all European nations; execution of Russian interests; they want to loot and to destroy everything and gain power; etc.

8 10 19

Promises and propaganda of a general nature about the East: Increase the number of their followers with all kinds of promises; they want to make propaganda for their own sake; the Communist idea is supposed to be better than the idea of Democracy; glorification of Communism; that the Communist regime is better; that they are better off in the East than here; they maintain that people would be better off under a Communist government; that under the Russians we would be better off; the people are told much about the Russian paradise; etc.

7 13 4

Attacks against Western powers (United States in particular) and Bonn Government: They want to remove the Bonn government; they want to create disunion and discontent; the idea that the West is not free and is exploited by the U.S.; defamation of the Western occupation powers and their politicians as well as the German politicians; the Americans should leave; defamation of the Federal government and the occupation powers; etc.

5 8 4

(Cont'd on next page)

- 2 -

RESTRICTED

	US ZONE	Berlin	Bremen
<u>Love of peace of the East, war-mongering of the West:</u> That they are for peace and that they must inform the West Zone about the real goals of Communism; fight for peace; that they aim at world peace; American war-mongering in Korea and Germany; etc.	4%	9%	5%
<u>Unity and independence of Germany:</u> The East Zone representatives propagate unification of Germany; a unified Germany under Communist rule; that they want to unify Germany and make it independent; unified Germany and withdrawal of all occupation troops; they claim to be the liberators of Germany; etc.	4	5	5
<u>Attacks against Christianity:</u> They want to spread unbelief; they fight belief in the church; get people away from the church, ungodliness; they want to destroy Catholic faith; etc.	4	*	*
<u>Other opinions:</u>	2	1	2
<u>Don't know:</u>	<u>48</u> 109%***	<u>32</u> 109%***	<u>41</u> 105%***

PLAUSIBILITY OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA ...

The public divides on the issue of the plausibility of Communist propaganda. In Berlin and Bremen as many persons say it is so obviously false that it fails to influence anyone as hold the view that it does convince some people. The latter view predominates in U.S. Zone thinking; though there too a very large minority claims Communist propaganda is ineffective.

"Which of these two opinions comes closest to your own:"

- Communist propaganda has almost no influence in West Germany, because it is obviously false.
- Communist propaganda has some influence in West Germany, as some of it is always believed, whether false or not.

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	US ZONE	Berlin	Bremer.
No influence	39%	35%	32%	36%	49%	39%
Some influence	46	36	51	45	49	38
No opinion	15	29	17	19	2	23
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

- * Less than one half of one per cent
 ** Some respondents gave more than one answer

... Probed as to what aspects of Communist propaganda could be considered most plausible, about four in ten U.S. Zone residents (five in ten in Berlin, and three in ten in Bremen) can make suggestions. Most frequent single mention is the Communist claim to economic and social achievements in the East. The various charges made by the East against the West receive scattered mention as being effective propaganda.

"Which things, in your opinion, would be most easily believed?"
(asked of both those who said Communist propaganda not influential and those who thought it has some influence)

US ZONE Berlin Bremen

Economic and social achievements in the East Zone (Russia) - Promises to improve conditions in the West: Everybody will be able to make a living under the Communist system, that there will be no land-owners and that everything will be socialized; that the economic situation would improve under the rule of the KPD; only propaganda pertaining to social and economic matters will be believed, not the ideology; the land-reform, and further that they don't have unemployment; it is easier to find work in the East Zone than in the West Zone; that people believe sometimes that living conditions are better under the Communist system, because they have hopes in the New and Unknown; everything that serves the social advancement of the broad masses; their promise that we'll be better off; there are people who really think and believe the East Zone to be a paradise; their socialization; etc.

20% 24% 18%

Frequent repetition of the same lies and sensations: The things that are repeated all the time; what they brag about the most, that's what people believe; people always believe the sensational; they always believe the biggest lies only; they believe everything they are told; if the propaganda is well rehearsed, people always retain what is most pleasing to them; they always believe the dirty stuff from both sides; etc.

4 4 10

Will to peace of the East; reports on the war preparations in the West: That the Russians want peace and that we will be better off under them; they want welfare and peace - propaganda against the atom bomb; that the Western powers want war and the East wants peace; the peaceful policy of the Communists; the Americans are war-mongers and will throw the atom bomb - preparation for a new world war, because they want to profit by it; America wants to let the Germans pay with their blood and continue her domination of Europe; propaganda will always influence certain people especially if the Communists talk about their love of peace; that the people's police will preserve the peace; etc.

3 6 1

(Cont'd on next page)

US ZONE Berlin Bremen

Their ideology about liberty and equality of all people ...
- their fight against capitalism; The people would have more rights; that the poor will have equal rights with the rich and the same high living standard; equality for all people - there won't be any difference between the poor and the rich; equal rights for the worker and the others; no racial differences; when the Communists promise equal distribution of property; that everything is just dandy in Russia and over here we are suppressed; everything directed against capitalism - from pure envy of course; etc.

4% 4% -%

Criticism of the Western powers: West Germany is only used in the interest of the Americans and they will let her down after they have exploited Germany to the last; that the Western powers consider Germany a colony and want to exploit it to the full; that the Americans are mistreating the Germans and that everything will be better under the Russians; the dismantling by the Americans, and especially the English; etc.

3 5 2

Criticism of the Federal Government: That the declarations and statements by the Federal Government are lies; that all money is wasted for the comfort of the government; slandering of the government because of their luxurious way of living, even though they are a lot overdone; propaganda about the present government i.e. incapability etc.; instigation against the Federal Government; etc.

3 1 3

Reports on the power of Russia and that they will be the victors in the end: That the Russians have more power and will win in the end; that the Americans are not sufficiently prepared and that the Russians will come anyway; that their army will grow even more powerful; sooner or later Communism will win influence over the whole world and the non-Communists will have a hard time in case the Communist party came into power; etc.

2 2 -

Furthering of cooperation between East and West and unification of Germany: Unification of Germany; all the stuff about a united Germany and that East and West Berlin must be unified; that the West does not want to trade with the East and that we have so many unemployed due to that; etc.

1 2 -

Other opinions: All the people believe that we'll have a war soon; the news about Korea; that also the others - not only the Communists - make mistakes; especially the refugees will believe much of it, because they are treated as second class people; the people will believe the just and fair; those matters that are clearly and openly defined; the truth about America and the bad conditions among the working class; withdrawal of the occupation powers; etc.

2 5 8

None of it: None of my acquaintances believe anything; the people I talked to abuse the Communists and don't believe anything; I am convinced that nothing of the Communist propaganda could be believed; Eastern propaganda is not believed at all; it's all a lie, and nobody believes it; etc.

10 30 10

Don't know:

31 19 26

Question not asked (No opinion to preceding question)

19 2 33
 102% 104% 111%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

People in the better informed, more sophisticated groups - the better educated, upper income, higher socio-economic levels, professional and business men, and residents of large cities - tend more often than others to say Communist propaganda impresses some people. Whether or not these people have themselves been impressed by it, or are expressing their lack of confidence in the broad public cannot be determined by the data on hand.

	No influence	Some influence	No opinion
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	38%	41%	21% ...100%
Secondary school	31	61	8
Diploma and University	33	59	8
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>			
Upper class	29%	63%	8%
Middle class	39	49	12
Lower class	35	38	27
<u>Occupation:</u>			
Professional	30%	61%	9%
Business and managerial	36	50	14
Clerical	31	56	13
Skilled labor	43	45	12
Semi-skilled labor	37	37	26
Farmers and farm laborers	36	42	22
Housewives	41	32	27
Students, retired, pensioners	33	40	27
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	39%	48%	13%
Women	34	42	24
<u>Income:</u>			
0 - 199 DM	34%	40%	26%
200 - 399 DM	40	46	14
400 and more	34	57	9
<u>City Size:</u>			
0 - 4,999	38%	40%	22%
5,000 - 24,999	37	45	18
25,000 - 99,999	35	51	14
100,000 - 249,999	34	45	21
250,000 and more	31	56	13
<u>Religion:</u>			
Catholics	35%	46%	19%
Protestants	42	40	18

- 6 -

RESTRICTED

... Further evidence of the general unawareness of the current Communist line is the fact that almost half of the U.S. Zone (48%), and Berlin (47%) public, and about a third in Bremen (36%) are not sufficiently informed to decide whether or not Communist ideas are propagated by non-Communist publications. The predominant view of those who do have opinions on the matter is that this is not the case.

"And do you have the impression that some non-Communist news publications spread Communist ideas in West Germany?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	US ZONE	Berlin	Bremen
Yes	6%	6%	8%	6%	7%	4%
No	49	43	41	46	46	60
No opinion	45	51	51	48	47	36
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

This of course is a double-edged finding. Whereas many persons would reject labeled Communist propaganda merely because of its label, being uninformed and unaware, they may easily accept non-labeled views which, innocently or not, propagate the East line.

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

Within all segments of the population, large proportions are unable to say whether non-Communist publications in West Germany spread Communist ideas. More inclined than others; however, to have a negative opinion on the issue are professional persons among occupation groups, those with higher incomes, in the upper socio-economic levels, the middle-aged, men, FDP and SPD followers, city people, and the better educated. Some of the people in these same groups also tend to take the affirmative view more frequently than do their counterparts, but the indications are that when people make up their minds on the matter, they tend to say "No" rather than "Yes."

	Yes	No	No opinion
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	5%	42%	53% ... 100%
Secondary school	11	63	26
Diploma and University	11	63	26
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>			
Upper class	12%	68%	20%
Middle class	6	52	42
Lower class	6	38	56
<u>Occupation:</u>			
Professional	10%	65%	25%
Business and managerial	11	47	42
Clerical	9	56	35
Skilled labor	7	51	42
Semi-skilled labor	7	44	49
Farmers and farm laborers	2	36	62
Housewives	2	45	53
Students, retired, pensioners	4	35	61
<u>Income:</u>			
0 - 199 DM	6%	36%	58%
200 - 399 DM	6	50	44
400 DM and more	9	66	25
<u>Age:</u>			
Under 30 years	10%	43%	47%
30 - 50 years	5	49	46
50 years and more	5	44	51
<u>City Size:</u>			
0 - 4,999	5%	40%	55%
5,000 - 24,999	5	46	49
25,000 - 99,999	8	55	37
100,000 - 249,999	9	55	36
250,000 and more	9	60	31
<u>Party Preferences:</u>			
CDU/CSU	5%	44%	51%
SPD	7	57	36
FDP	6	56	38
BP	2	48	50

RESTRICTED

... One means used by the East to spread their propaganda in West Germany is to mail material to specified addresses either from an anonymous or fictitious sender. Whatever may be the importance of this propaganda in affecting the opinions of those to receive it, the scope of its dissemination is apparently not very extensive. Scarcely anyone says that people they know in West Germany receive newspapers or magazines from anonymous senders in the East.

"Have you by any chance heard, whether certain people here in West Germany receive newspapers or magazines from an unknown East Zone source?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	US ZONE	Berlin	Bremen
Yes	2%	3%	1%	2%	5%	7%
No	$\frac{98}{100\%}$	$\frac{97}{100\%}$	$\frac{99}{100\%}$	$\frac{98}{100\%}$	$\frac{95}{100\%}$	$\frac{93}{100\%}$

PUBLIC UNDISTURBED BY INCREASED COMMUNIST AGITATION ...

Though the present survey was made just following East Zone elections and during a spate of FDJ and Communist rallies in West Germany, the public was far from agreed on whether Communist activity in West Germany had increased, decreased, or remained at its usual level. In the U.S. Zone as many said the Communists were less active as said they were more active. In Berlin and Bremen however, the most frequent view was of accelerated activity, though there too many disagreed or refrained from expressing an opinion.

"Do you have the impression that Communist activity in West Germany has recently increased, decreased, or remained unchanged?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	US ZONE	Berlin	Bremen
Increased	23%	21%	24%	23%	37%	37%
Decreased	23	23	22	22	24	18
Remained unchanged	30	27	31	30	23	27
No opinion	$\frac{24}{100\%}$	$\frac{29}{100\%}$	$\frac{23}{100\%}$	$\frac{25}{100\%}$	$\frac{16}{100\%}$	$\frac{18}{100\%}$

... And only a few people felt disturbed by what they considered to be evidence of increased Communist agitation.

"Do you feel disturbed by this increased Communist activity or not?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	US ZONE	Berlin	Bremen
Disturbed	7%	4%	7%	7%	12%	12%
Not disturbed	$\frac{16}{23\%}$	$\frac{17}{21\%}$	$\frac{17}{24\%}$	$\frac{16}{23\%}$	$\frac{25}{37\%}$	$\frac{25}{37\%}$

RESTRICTED

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

Professional people, the upper socio-economic groups, the better educated, residents of large cities, men, and affiliates of FDP and SPD were among those who tend most frequently to discern more activity on the part of the Communists.

	Increased	activity	Remained	No
	Decreased	Decreased	same	Opinion
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	19%	23%	30%	28%...100%
Secondary school	37	22	28	13
Diploma and University	46	13	33	8
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper class	39%	19%	33%	9%
Middle class	26	23	32	19
Lower class	18	22	27	33
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professional	36%	20%	35%	9%
Business and managerial	30	21	31	18
Clerical	32	24	26	18
Skilled labor	22	25	32	21
Semi-skilled labor	18	25	30	27
Farmers and farm laborers	19	20	31	30
Housewives	13	25	32	30
Students, retired, pensioners	17	23	27	33
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	28%	27%	32%	13%
Women	18	18	28	36
<u>Income:</u>				
0 - 199 DM	19%	20%	26%	35%
200 - 399 DM	24	25	32	19
400 DM and more	32	24	34	10
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 30 years	25%	21%	33%	21%
30 - 50 years	23	22	31	24
50 years and more	20	24	26	30
<u>City Size:</u>				
0 - 4,999	18%	21%	30%	31%
5,000 - 24,999	27	20	33	20
25,000 - 99,999	25	30	32	13
100,000 - 249,999	25	21	31	23
250,000 and more	34	25	24	17
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
CDU/CSU	22%	28%	27%	23%
SPD	27	31	28	14
FDP	29	12	48	11
BP	15	22	39	24

The fraction who felt that the Communists had become more active pointed to a variety of developments to support their opinions. Most frequently cited were the increased propaganda (distribution of leaflets, petitions, etc.), the disturbances and demonstrations, and the Free German Youth meetings.

"Do you have the impression that Communist activity in West Germany has recently increased, or decreased, or remained unchanged?"

If "increased": "In what way is this increased Communist activity apparent?"

US ZONE Berlin Bremen

Increased propaganda activity (leaflets, collection of signatures, agent activity): Their propaganda has increased recently, and there are always people who fall for their line; they spread leaflets at the October Fest (in Munich), we hear now and then, that Communism will rule soon; with posters and other kind of propaganda; we hear more about Communism on the streets; they already instigate quite openly, that's what we hear anyway; they have made stronger and bolder moves ever since the outbreak of the Korean war; with organized activity by their agents, which could do some harm; they collect lists and signatures for peace; by distribution of leaflets and the collection of signatures to ban the atom bomb; etc.

9% 19% 18%

Disturbances, demonstrations, meetings: The Communist demonstrations; public speeches and slogans; by demonstrations and attempts at upheaval; attempts at demonstrations; with sabotage, i.e. intention of blowing up the Opel Bridge at Ruesselsheim; by stirring up trouble in restaurants; agitation from the East; etc.

6 13 17

Increased activity of the FDJ: The FDJ has more meetings and holds more public demonstrations than before; by demonstrations, especially from the East Zone-whole car-loads of FDJ come into the West Zone of Germany; the FDJ demonstrations here in West Germany and their acts of opposition; with FDJ meetings and public demonstrations; etc.

5 7 4

Propaganda in industrial plants and among the unemployed: Underground work among the workers, propaganda in industrial plants by the labor unions; by exerting influence on shop committees; increased agitation among the unemployed and small wage-earners; etc.

2 2 *

Strikes: By organizing strikes and public demonstrations; by strikes and disturbances; by instigating strikes; etc.

1 5 4

Other opinions: People are kidnapped along the border, arms are smuggled across the zonal border at Luebeck; we read about it in the paper, but I don't know the details; they want to destroy our children and our faith, the children should not receive any religious instruction; etc.

1 1 1

No opinion:

$\frac{2}{26\%}$ $\frac{1}{48\%}$ $\frac{1}{45\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent
** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Only in Berlin is anyone except a very small fraction aware of local incidents instigated by Communists.

"Have you heard of any incidents happening in this city (in this vicinity) recently which you think the Communists caused?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	US ZONE	Berlin	Bremen
Yes	9%	4%	4%	7%	36%	7%
No	$\frac{91}{100\%}$	$\frac{96}{100\%}$	$\frac{96}{100\%}$	$\frac{93}{100\%}$	$\frac{64}{100\%}$	$\frac{93}{100\%}$

US ZONE Berlin Bremen

Incidents instigated by FDJ: A meeting of the FDJ in Esslingen held in spite of previous banning; FDJ meeting in Darmstadt; incidents at the FDJ meeting in Berlin; destruction of West Berlin's parks by the FDJ; etc.

1% ... 4% 2%

Incidents caused by collection of signatures by Communists: Collection of signatures in Lichterfelde, which provoked trouble; a free-for-all in Pichelsdorf caused by the collection of signatures against the atom bomb; troubles caused by the collection of signatures to ban the atom bomb; etc.

* 3 -

Incidents caused by the distribution of Communist pamphlets: Distribution of Communist pamphlets and the taking place of prohibited meetings; the distribution of leaflets at the October Festival, the flying squad appeared with rifles and guns; distribution of pamphlets and the putting up of posters; distribution of pamphlets at the sectoral borders; etc.

1 3 1

Specific incidents in Berlin (sectoral borders, kidnapping of people etc.): Incidents at the sectoral borders - kidnapping of people; the people's police in Staaken searched for ration-card coupons for the West Berlin elections; the arrests of people from West Berlin in the Russian sector and the East Zone; the people's police stirred up trouble at the elevated train stations (S-Bahn) and posted propaganda slogans on the train windows; the requisitioning of the Karolinenhoehe estate; the move of frontier-posts at the zonal border at Glinicke; etc.

- 15% -

Communist disturbance of meetings and other occasions. (October Festival): Communist demonstration at the Hasenheide rally; disturbance of the zonal border rally in Hof (Grenzlandkundgebung); demonstration at the annual countyfair in Fuerth; Communist rally at the October Festival; breaking up of meetings by Communist youth; etc.

4 -

Disturbances, raids, unrest, thefts, border incidents caused by KPD: The KPD caused riots in the Turnseestrasse; raids on IP-guards near American apartments; organized bicycle thefts - those were all done by Communists; etc.

1 7 2

Other opinions: I heard about incidents with Communists here in Munich as well as Berlin; the incidents at Rem; etc.

* 7% * 36% 2 7%

FEW SEE INCREASE IN COMMUNIST MEMBERSHIP ...

Relatively few people - less than one in ten - are of the opinion that the number of "convinced" Communists in West Germany has increased lately. At the same time, respondents appear somewhat less likely than they were in April 1950 to believe that "convinced" Communists have declined in number. The trend is shown below:

"Do you believe that the number of really convinced Communists in West Germany has increased or decreased recently, or has it remained the same?"

	US ZONE		Berlin		Bremen	
	Apr. '50	Oct. '50	Apr. '50	Oct. '50	Apr. '50	Oct. '50
Increased	12%	8%	6%	7%	10%	9%
Decreased	46	39	65	63	47	36
Remained same	27	27	16	18	32	32
No opinion	15	26	13	12	11	23
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

Examination of opinions of various groups within the U.S. Zone population reveals that there is a greater tendency for the upper income, higher socio-economic level, better educated, the men, and followers of FDP and SPD to see little or no increase in the number of "convinced" Communists. However, the large number of people without opinions among all groups should be noted.

	Increased	Decreased	Remained same	No opinion
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	8%	38%	25%	29%...100%
Secondary school	13	38	34	15
Diploma and University	10	46	32	12
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper class	11%	46%	35%	8%
Middle class	9	42	30	19
Lower class	7	36	23	34
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professional	12%	35%	36%	17%
Business and managerial	11	36	31	22
Clerical	6	48	30	16
Skilled labor	8	43	30	19
Semi-skilled labor	7	32	27	34
Farmers and farm laborers	10	34	25	31
Housewives	5	45	16	34
Students, retired, pensioners	8	42	18	32
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	9	49	27	15
Women	8	30	26	36
<u>Income:</u>				
0 - 199 DM	9	33	21	37
200 - 399 DM	7	45	31	17
400 DM and more	12	41	33	14
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
CDU/CSU	7	41	26	26
SPD	10	50	26	14
FDP	4	52	36	8
BP	11	33	32	24

R E S T R I C T E D

... The small minority which believes the number of "convinced" Communists has recently increased tends largely to ascribe the asserted growth to various adverse economic conditions. Scarcely anyone mentions the effectiveness of propaganda from the East.

"Do you believe that the number of really convinced Communists in West Germany has increased or decreased recently, or has it remained the same?"

If "increased": "What do you think are the reasons?"

	US ZONE	Berlin	Bremen
<u>Because of bad conditions in general:</u> The misery and need of the people drives them to Communism; wages are too low and the cost of food increases; because the living standard went down; bad wage prospects and the general increase of prices; the low living standard; our social conditions turned worse recently; the high living costs, the workers have a hard time earning money and the middle men make money easily; etc.	4%	1%	4%
<u>Because of dismantling:</u> Because of the dismantling in the Ruhr district and the general need; etc.	*	1	-
<u>Because of unemployment:</u> The many unemployed who think they can improve their way of life under Communism; because of the general unemployment; etc.	2	2	2
<u>Because of political abuses:</u> The present government has failed; abuses in general and the economic crises i.e. sugar-and-soap shortage in the Federal republic; many are not yet satisfied with the democratic institutions; etc.	1	*	1
<u>Because of good Russian propaganda:</u> Eastern agents; due to the increased propaganda from the East Zone; strong Eastern propaganda during the FDJ rally; the increased propaganda and the tense situation between employer and employee - low wages; illegal infiltration from the Eastern Zone; etc.	1	4	1
<u>Other opinions:</u> Perhaps because of the Korean war; those are only the people that turn with the tide; etc.	1	-	1
<u>No answer and no opinion:</u>	$\frac{1}{10\%}^{**}$	$\frac{-}{8\%}^{**}$	$\frac{1}{10\%}^{**}$

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

TENDENCY TO COLLABORATE WITH COMMUNISTS DISCOUNTED ...

A frequent observation during the past months has been that West Germans, seeking a windward anchor, have increasingly adopted an attitude of collaboration with Communism. The public, by and large, disagrees with this observation. Only a fraction (15%) in the U.S. Zone holds the opinion that the number of people trying to appear partial to Communism has increased. In Berlin where the Communist pressure has been the greatest almost two thirds (63%) believe that any efforts to appear agreeable to the Eastern factions have recently decreased.

"Do you think that recently the number of those trying to appear partial toward the Communists, has increased, or decreased?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	US ZONE	Berlin	Bremen
Increased	16%	12%	17%	15%	12%	24%
Decreased	36	29	29	33	63	23
Remained same	19	21	18	19	9	22
No opinion	29	38	36	33	16	31
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Nor does the public, generally, believe that appeasement of the Communists is worthwhile. Approximately three fourths assert that an effort to appear partial to the Communists would be fruitless.

"Are you of the opinion that such an attitude will actually be of advantage to those people in case West Germany comes under the rule of Communism, or do you think it will be of no use to them?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	US ZONE	Berlin	Bremen
Advantage	13%	8%	15%	12%	18%	10%
No use	72	75	71	73	75	76
No opinion	15	17	14	15	7	14
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

Again, those segments of the population which tend generally to be better informed, i.e. the men, the better educated, the upper socio-economic levels, the professional and business groups, say more frequently than do their opposites that the number of people appearing to be partial to the Communists has recently increased. However, among all population groups, the preponderant opinion is that such attitudes have not increased in frequency.

	Increased	Decreased	Remained same	No opinion
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	13%	33%	18%	36%...100%
Secondary school	22	35	23	20
Diploma and University	38	26	22	14
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper class	32%	26%	22%	20%
Middle class	18	35	20	27
Lower class	11	31	18	40
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professional	32%	25%	26%	17%
Business and managerial	24	30	19	27
Clerical	22	42	15	21
Skilled labor	12	36	23	29
Semi-skilled labor	10	32	23	35
Farmers and farm laborers	12	27	19	42
Housewives	11	36	14	39
Students, retired, pensioners	14	31	13	42
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	20%	38%	21%	21%
Women	12	28	17	43
<u>Income:</u>				
0 - 199 DM	12%	30%	16%	42%
200 - 399	13	36	23	28
400 and more	32	36	16	16
<u>City Size:</u>				
0 - 4,999	12%	31%	18%	39%
5,000 - 24,999	17	37	15	31
25,000 - 99,999	20	33	22	25
100,000 - 249,999	17	36	23	24
250,000 and more	24	31	22	23
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
CDU/CSU	12%	37%	19%	32%
SPD	17	43	20	20
FDP	25	35	18	22
BP	15	30	24	31

CHANCES OF A COMMUNIST-DOMINATED WEST GERMANY SEEN DECREASING ...

Also indicative of the West German attitude toward Communism is the fact that between April and October 1950, there was a marked decline in the proportion believing the chances were that West Germany would come under Communist rule. About a third again as many respondents stated in October 1950, as had done so in April 1950, that the chances of Communist domination had recently declined.

"In your opinion has the possibility that West Germany might come under Communist rule increased, or decreased during the past six months?"

	US ZONE		Berlin		Bremen	
	Apr.'50	Oct.'50	Apr.'50	Oct.'50	Apr.'50	Oct.'50
Increased	18%	19%	13%	15%	18%	16%
Decreased	26	41	48	62	26	40
Remained same	38	20	31	10	44	27
No opinion	18	20	8	13	12	17
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

No defined pattern is apparent in group replies to this speculative question. Those segments of the population usually better informed - the upper income, the educated, urban, higher socio-economic levels - tend more frequently to have made up their minds, that is more of them pronounce affirmative and negative views. By the same token, the "No opinion" replies come more frequently from those segments of the population which are generally less well informed.

	Increased	Decreased	Remained same	No opinion
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	18%	40%	19%	23%...100%
Secondary school	24	43	23	10
Diploma and University	18	52	21	9
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper class	28%	52%	10%	10%
Middle class	21	42	22	15
Lower class	16	39	18	27
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professional	22%	46%	19%	13%
Business and managerial	26	41	16	17
Clerical	23	51	17	9
Skilled labor	18	42	24	16
Semi-skilled labor	20	35	22	23
Farmers and farm laborers	16	36	21	27
Housewives	14	36	25	25
Students, retired, pensioners	15	41	15	29
<u>Income:</u>				
0 - 199 DM	16%	37%	20%	27%
200 - 399 DM	20	46	19	15
400 DM and more	28	44	18	10
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 30 years	22%	36%	22%	20%
30 - 50 years	18	44	20	18
50 years and more	17	41	18	24
<u>Origin:</u>				
Native	20%	39%	20%	21%
Expellees and refugees	15	48	19	18

RESTRICTED

II. SUGGESTED WAYS OF DEALING WITH COMMUNISTS

The public generally favors taking strong action against the Communist elements in West Germany, though as already noted the predominating view is to disparage the effectiveness of Communist agitation. Thus, as subsequently developed in this section, majorities believe that both the German Federal government and the Western powers should do more to stop Communist agitation, favor outlawing KPD in Western Germany, prohibiting the publication of KPD newspapers, and firing civil servants who are Communists.

AUTHORITIES SHOULD DO MORE TO STOP COMMUNIST AGITATION ...

A majority of the public believes that both the Western powers and the Bonn government should try to do more to stop Communist agitation in West Germany. As will be noted in the two tables below, two similar samples of residents of the U.S. Zone, Berlin, and Bremen gave almost the same replies, one respecting the Western allies, the other for the West German government.

"Are you of the opinion that the Western powers should do more to stop Communist agitation in West Germany or not?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	US ZONE	Berlin	Bremen
Should do more	59%	48%	49%	54%	76%	58%
Should not do more	20	25	30	24	18	26
No opinion	21	27	21	22	6	16
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Should, in your opinion, the West German government do more to stop Communist agitation in West Germany or not?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	US ZONE	Berlin	Bremen
Should do more	62%	49%	57%	58%	79%	55%
Should not do more	23	27	29	25	17	26
No opinion	15	24	14	17	4	19
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

RESTRICTED

Suggestions about the method and means to be used by either the Bonn government or the Western powers in stopping Communist agitation are also very similar. Relatively few people volunteer banning the party, though restrictions on its activities are suggested quite frequently. A very few advocate extermination.

"Are you of the opinion, that the Western powers should do more to stop Communist agitation in West Germany or not?"

If "Should do more": "What should they do?"

US ZONE Berlin Bremen

Outlaw Communist party and its organizations: Outlaw everything connected with Communism, they have waited too long already; outlaw KPD; outlaw the FDJ, because they try to instigate all the time; prohibit them, because they only try to split the people; the Western powers should outlaw Communism, because it starts trouble and unrest everywhere; prohibit the KPD, or send all the Communists to the Eastern Zone; they should outlaw the KPD and close down every printing press that publishes propaganda material; dissolve the KPD completely; etc.

10% 16% 12%

Improvement of economic situation, so the people will oppose Communism: Should eliminate unemployment and economic pressure; to render propaganda ineffective, by lifting economic restrictions and improving bad conditions over here; they should provide for a drop in prices or a price ceiling at least - so that the present salaries and wages and the cost of living would stabilize, Communist activity would die then; provide the unemployed with work; they should talk less about it, but provide for improved living conditions for the worker; they should try to win the German worker over to their side by providing better living conditions for them - Communist activity will then be in vain; they should provide such conditions, that nobody will listen to Communist insinuations anymore; should provide better for the population, make them pay less taxes; etc.

9 5 4

Ban specific Communist activities; take stricter measures: They should ban all Communist newspapers completely; should ban newspapers and take measures against leaflets and propaganda; outlaw meetings; take the same radical measures as the East does with adherents of our Western parties; they should restrict disturbances and take stricter measures; they should prohibit FDJ meetings in Western Germany; they should try to prevent distribution of propaganda material; prohibit speeches by Communists; etc.

5 19 6

Restrict Communist agitation, control or stop excesses: There should be a stricter control of Communism; should stop Communist activity in public offices by careful scrutiny-they should supervise every single political activity; they should restrict agitation to a greater extent; an even stricter control; communist activity should be under constant control, otherwise it could easily lead to disturbances; the Western powers should be even more on the alert; should try with all means to prevent the Communists from getting more power; should be less tolerant, should take stricter measures, but not prohibit the KPD; etc.

5 6 6

(Cont'd on next page)

Expel Communists and fellow-travellers from West Germany. send them to the East; Those people, who are Communists, should be expelled to the East; expel the Communists to Russian territory; send the Communists to Russia, they have enough room there; send those instigators to Russia; every Communist should be sent to the Eastern zone; throw them out; take radical steps; they should throw all Communists out of here; etc.

3% 7% 6%

Inform public about Communism: They should write more on the subject of Communism and give reports about the actual situation; effective counter-propaganda - enlightenment on Communism and its consequences; more enlightenment on Communism, especially in the rural districts; more enlightenment and propaganda, picture the difference between East and West effectively; the West should make more counter-propaganda and inform the population about the lies of the Communists; they should try to convince the Communists by actions, not words about the falsity of their idea; let more prisoners of war speak and enlighten youth organizations; etc.

3 4 5

Throw all Communists in jail, even exterminate them; use the same methods as Hitler: They should throw all Communists in jail; they should exterminate the Communists; they should use stricter methods, the same as Hitler used on the other parties; exterminate them as they want to exterminate the other parties; etc.

2 3 1

Fire all Communists from public service and influential positions: All Communists should be fired from their positions; fire all Communists from influential positions; all leading Communist personalities should be fired from positions in radio, news-service and public life; they should see to it that all Communists are fired from governmental service; withdraw all Communists from industries; the Allies should throw all Communists out of public offices; throw all Communists out of leading positions; etc.

2 2 3

Stricter control on zonal borders in order to stop Communist agitation from the East: Should stop Communist agitation from the East; stricter control of everybody coming in from the East zone, they should try to stem illegal infiltration of Communists from the East; they shouldn't let so many people in from the East, because many Communist agents are among them; etc.

1 1 *

The Western powers should try to reach agreement; create a united Europe; deeds instead of words: The Western powers should try to stick closer together and take a firmer stand toward the Communists; they should try and be more democratic with each other, then they could stem Communism - they often give a bad example themselves; they should tell the United Nations to stop disagreeing; create a united Europe; they should not talk and negotiate too much, but take some action, I don't know what though; should be less ambiguous themselves, i.e. dis-mantling; they should prove to the Germans that they are serious about counteracting Communism; etc.

1 1 *

Other opinions: It depends on what the Communists are going to do; they should re-inforce the police; more police troops to counteract agitation; try to reach a peaceful agreement with the Communists, so there won't ever be a war; etc.

4 6 6

No opinion:

11 9 10
55% 79% 59%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

**Some respondents gave more than one reason.

"Should, in your opinion, the West German government do more to stop Communist agitation in Western Germany or not?"
 If: "Should do more," "What, in your opinion, should the West German government do?"

US ZONE Berlin Bremen

Outlaw Communism (KPD and it's organisations): Outlaw the KPD; dissolve the party; Communism in Western Germany should be outlawed; all Communist organisations should be put out of function; prohibit Communism, even if it looks dictatorial; outlaw the KPD, the functions as a seditious agent for a foreign nation within Germany; outlaw the whole KPD, in the Eastern zone all non-Communist parties are outlawed too; outlaw the whole Communist party so we won't have partisans in our own country; they should outlaw all the Communists, the Americans should have gotten rid of them right away, a free ticket - off to Paradise (meaning Russia); should outlaw the FDJ because they are nothing else but the Hitler Youth; should outlaw every single Communist organization, the party, and the whole bloody nonsense; etc.

13% 17% 18%

Restrict Communist agitation, control and stop excesses: Put a stop to rebellious activities; fight the core of the evil as far as democratic principles permit; make them stop writing on housewalls and sticking posters all over the place; restrict their activity to a minimum, outlaw open strikes instigated by Communists; put all those noisy characters behind bars; they should restrict more things, demonstrations and the like; those in the Eastern sector aren't allowed to either; prevent with all available means that the Communists gain power here; meetings should only be permitted under police-control; stop the systematic undermining by their agents; all Communists trying to instigate the people, should be put behind bars; etc.

8 10 5

Ban specific Communist activities, take stricter measures: Outlaw all demonstrations beforehand; ban Communist newspapers; deny freedom of speech to Communist leaders and outlaw Communist meetings; punish all Communist activity; throw them in jail if they start something; etc.

7 24 8

Improve economic situation so the people turn away from Communism: Create social balance because then the opportunity for Communist activity is limited; build homes and create opportunities for work, take better care of returning veterans; stop rearing a bureaucracy, that oppresses the worker and drives him to Communism; instead of exercising luxury - building of homes; get the living standard of Western Germany back to normal, then we won't have Communists any more, the living standard of the worker, the employee and the public servant is too low; provide for economic recovery of Western Germany; grant higher wages to the worker and lower prices instead of raising them; provide for sufficient earnings of all people in West Germany, lower prices, the government should live more simply, then Communism wouldn't have any basis for propaganda; Communism must not be nourished by the living standard of the great capitalists - the raise of living standard for the worker is essential; etc.

5 2 3

Expel all Communists and fellow-travellers from West Germany, send them to the East: All Communists should be expelled from the country; expel all Communists to Eastern Germany; send all Communists to Russia, should send the Communists to their colleagues in the East; all those with Communist tendencies should get free transportation to the East; should send all of them to the devil; etc.

4 9 3

Fire all Communists from public and influential positions: Restrict admittance of KPD representatives; fire members of the Communist party from the police-force and other public instances, because this way they mean the greatest threat; fire Communists from all leading positions; for instance, throw them out of the billeting offices (Wohnungsamt), but from all other offices too; fire all Communists from leading positions; don't let them have any influence in public instances, i.e. the trade unions; they should prevent the Communists from becoming public servants; they should have stricter investigation of public employees, so as to discover secret party members; etc.

4 4 3

Throw all Communists in jail, even exterminate them; use the same methods as Hitler: They should put all Communists behind bars; exterminate Communism, which is a dictatorship and embodies the same thing as the "3. Reich" only under different name; the West German government should establish concentration-camps and treat the Communists exactly the same as the people in the Eastern zone are treated; they should use the same methods as Hitler; exterminate the Communists completely; they should hang all Communists; eliminate the Communists from the earth; shoot all Communists, then we'd have peace and quiet; let them work in stone-quarries; etc.

2 5 5

Educate the population on the subject of Communism: More instruction of the population about Communism; inform them about conditions in the East zone; try to convince Communists by setting a good example of the contrary; etc.

2 3 3

Stricter control of zonal border in order to restrict Communist agitation from the East: Prevent the infiltration of Communists from the East; strict control and supervision of refugees, especially former leaders of the SED; stricter control of borders, in order that fewer agents get across; take measures to prevent agitation; take police action against secret agents from the Eastern zone; don't leave so much freedom to the Communists, because they cross the border illegally and spread leaflets; etc.

1 2 1

Establish more police and military forces: They should provide sufficient police and military contingents; establish more police forces; establish a police force in Western Germany to uphold peace and quiet; etc.

1 * 1

Other opinions: Create the office of a Youth Minister in the cabinet and try to unify the young; subdue the Russians completely so we'll have peace finally; support the real democrats as much as possible; etc.

2 2 1

No opinion:

$\frac{12}{61\%}$ ** $\frac{8}{86\%}$ ** $\frac{7}{58\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

BAN ON COMMUNIST PARTY FAVORED ...

Relatively few people voluntarily recommend a ban on KPD, as already noted. But when asked specifically for views on the issue, majority opinion - taking the public at large - is that the Communist party should be banned. About three in ten take an opposite view.

"If you personally had to decide, would you prohibit the Communist party in West Germany or not?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	US ZONE	Berlin	Bremen
Would prohibit	65%	51%	54%	59%	69%	61%
Would not prohibit	29	33	38	32	29	31
No opinion	6	16	8	9	2	8
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

EFFECT OF BAN ON COMMUNIST ACTIVITY ...

Around three in ten hold the opinion that the Communists would become more active in West Germany if their party were outlawed. But the predominant view is that their activities would either lessen or remain uninfluenced as a result of their proscription.

"If the Communist party were to be prohibited in West Germany, do you think that Communist activity then would become stronger or weaker, or do you think that such a prohibition would have no influence on the activity of the Communist party?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	US ZONE	Berlin	Bremen
Stronger	30%	27%	35%	30%	34%	38%
Weaker	26	21	25	24	41	28
No influence	25	28	23	25	20	22
No opinion	19	24	18	21	5	12
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

POPULATION DIFFERENCES ...

Least likely to advocate banning KPD are professional people, those in the upper income, higher socio-economic, better educated, urban, Protestant groups. Also the men in contrast to women, and followers of the FDP party as compared with sympathizers with other parties tend more frequently to oppose outlawing the Communists. In fact, as is shown in the tables below, among professional people, upper socio-economic, and the better educated groups - that is among people most likely to be motivated by an intellectual regard for civil liberties - majority sentiment opposes banning.

	Would r prohibit	Would not prohibit	No opinion	
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	64%	26%	10%	... 100%
Secondary school	42	52	6	
Diploma and University	28	72	-	
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Upper class	46%	54%	-	
Middle class	56	38	6	
Lower class	64	24	12	
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professional	38%	59%	3%	
Business and managerial	61	35	4	
Clerical	42	52	6	
Skilled labor	57	34	9	
Semi-skilled labor	61	26	13	
Farmers and farm laborers	71	21	8	
Housewives	73	18	9	
Students, retired, pensioners	63	24	13	
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	51%	43%	6%	
Women	66	23	11	
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 199 DM	63%	24%	13%	
200 - 399 DM	58	37	5	
400 DM and more	50	47	3	
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 30 years	57%	36%	7%	
30 - 50 years	56	35	9	
50 years and over	65	26	9	
<u>City Size:</u>				
0 - 4,999 population	66%	25%	9%	
5,000 - 24,999	55	37	8	
25,000 - 99,999	60	37	3	
100,000 - 249,999	42	45	13	
250,000 and more	45	46	9	
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
CDU/CSU	74%	22%	4%	
SPD	54	43	3	
FDP	47	48	5	
BP	78	18	4	
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	64%	29%	7%	
Protestants	55	35	10	

... The groups where opposition to banning the KPD is the strongest are also those more likely than others to believe a ban would result in increased Communist activity - that is, the upper socio-economic groups, the better educated, men and large city residents.

	Stronger	Weaker	No influence	No opinion
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	26%	26%	24%	24% ... 100%
Secondary school	50	15	29	6
Diploma and University	59	10	30	1
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Upper class	45%	17%	36%	3%
Middle class	36	23	27	14
Lower class	24	26	22	28
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professional	51%	14%	28%	7%
Business and managerial	39	21	27	13
Clerical	44	22	26	8
Skilled labor	33	24	27	16
Semi-skilled labor	25	24	26	25
Farmers and farm laborers	21	28	24	27
Housewives	20	21	36	23
Students, retired, pensioners	24	26	21	29
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	37%	29%	25%	9%
Women	25	20	25	30
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 199 DM	24%	26%	23%	28%
200 - 399 DM	35	23	28	14
400 DM and more	41	25	26	8
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 30 years	36%	16%	29%	19%
30 - 50 years	32	24	26	18
50 years and more	25	30	21	24
<u>City Size:</u>				
0 - 4,999 population	23%	26%	25%	26%
5,000 - 24,999	34	24	24	18
25,000 - 99,999	36	20	34	10
100,000 - 249,999	46	19	18	17
250,000 and more	42	24	22	12
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
CDU/CSU	22%	31%	28%	19%
SPD	41	26	25	8
FDP	40	24	29	7
BP	26	32	22	20
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	25%	27%	26%	22%
Protestants	34	22	25	19

RESTRICTED

Two reasons are most frequently cited by the respondents who feel a ban on KPD would merely result in increased Communist activity: 1) it would stimulate hatred and consequent agitation, and 2) as an underground movement the party would work harder.

"If the Communist party were to be prohibited in West Germany, do you think that Communist activity then would become stronger or weaker, or do you think that such a prohibition would have no influence on the activity of the Communist party?"

IF "Stronger": "Why would Communist activity become stronger?"

US ZONE Berlin Bremen

A ban would provoke greater hatred and stimulate agitation:

Suppression provokes resistance; the prohibited thing is always done - the KPD would only agitate and undermine the more for it; because suppression by force would result in stronger opposition - forbidden things are always interesting; because then the Communists would be furious and really start some activity; suppression of a party always results in stronger propaganda by them; because then the Communists would really become aggressive and try to lift the ban, - everything suppressed is more intriguing; from hatred and opposition - as during the Hitler-period; because it would provoke them - forbidden fruit taste better; etc.

16%

13%

14%

They would continue to work underground: Because they would be very active illegally; be greater illegal activity - pressure results in opposition; I saw that in the Netherlands, if they work underground their resistance increases; if they have no freedom of action they'll do more undermining secret; because a prohibited cause is always better, they'll continue to work underground; they would do better work in secret, because they'll believe that they were banned unlawfully; an underground movement works better, if prohibited, we saw the example with the Nazis before '33; underground movements are more active; etc.

10

15

20

Communists would receive more support by the East: They would receive more support from the Eastern zone; the East would give stronger support to the KPD in West Germany - the Russian never abandons his aim; because the Russians would send more agents who'll instigate underground; because the East zone would support the Communists in West Germany; etc.

1

1

1

We won't have any control left over them: Because we won't be able to control their activities - a ban would be an admission of weakness; because we won't have control over them; because they could not be controlled (see the example of the NSDAP), they would continue their work in secret and we won't be able to control it; etc.

1

2

2

The security of the nation would be endangered (civil war, etc.): They would take to violence for sure; because it won't be possible to eliminate them and they would attempt civil war; the active Communists would try to make a unified stand in the struggle; while still working officially today, they would rely on terrorizing them; etc.

1

2

1

Other opinions: The Communists always try to get the upper hand; etc.

1

1

1

No opinion:

1

*

*

31%*

34%

39%*

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one reason.

RESTRICTED

COMMUNIST PRESS SHOULD BE BANNED ...

Majority opinions are that publication of Communist newspapers should be prohibited in West Germany. Only about a quarter of the population is unqualifiedly opposed to banning.

"As you probably know, the publication of Communist newspapers is permitted in West Germany. If you had to decide personally, would you permit the publication of Communist newspapers, or would you prohibit their publication?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	US ZONE	Berlin	Bremen
Permit	20%	26%	25%	23%	24%	30%
Prohibit	66	52	53	60	67	57
Qualified answers	6	7	10	7	8	6
No opinion	8	15	12	10	1	7
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

RESTRICTED

COMMUNIST PRESS SHOULD BE BANNED ...

Majority opinions are that publication of Communist newspapers should be prohibited in West Germany. Only about a quarter of the population is unqualifiedly opposed to banning.

"As you probably know, the publication of Communist newspapers is permitted in West Germany. If you had to decide personally, would you permit the publication of Communist newspapers, or would you prohibit their publication?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	US ZONE	Berlin	Bremen
Permit	20%	26%	25%	23%	24%	30%
Prohibit	66	52	53	60	67	57
Qualified answers	6	7	10	7	8	6
No opinion	8	15	12	10	1	7
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

RESTRICTED

COMMUNIST PRESS SHOULD BE BANNED ... - 26 -

RESTRICTED

Majority opinions are that publication of Communist newspapers should be prohibited in West Germany. Only about a quarter of the population is unqualifiedly opposed to banning.

As with the issue of the Communist party, the opinion leading groups are more inclined than the public generally to advocate continuance of the Communist press.

	Permit	Prohibit	Qualified answers	No opinion
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	18%	64%	6%	12% ... 100%
Secondary school	43	42	11	4
Diploma and University	56	31	12	1
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Upper class	45%	47%	8%	-
Middle class	27	56	9	8
Lower class	16	65	5	14
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professional	45%	42%	13%	1%
Business and managerial	29	55	8	8
Clerical	38	47	8	7
Skilled labor	29	53	8	10
Semi-skilled labor	15	64	6	15
Farmers and farm laborers	12	72	5	11
Housewives	18	70	7	5
Students, retired, pensioners	15	64	4	17
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	29%	55%	10%	6%
Women	18	63	4	15
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 199 DM	16%	64%	5%	15%
200 - 399 DM	26	59	8	7
400 and more	35	51	11	3
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 30 years	29%	53%	8%	10%
30 - 50 years	24	50	8	9
50 years and more	16	66	5	13
<u>City Size:</u>				
0 - 4,999 population	15%	67%	7%	11%
5,000 - 24,999	26	54	5	13
25,000 - 99,999	32	55	8	5
100,000 - 249,999	30	51	8	11
250,000 and more	37	44	10	9
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
CDU/CSU	13%	77%	4%	6%
SPD	30	55	11	4
FDP	37	48	11	4
HP	11	80	2	7
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	23%	50%	7%	11%
Expellees, refugees	23	61	7	9
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	19%	65%	5%	10%
Protestants	26	52	10	12

... Considerations of civil liberties are most frequently cited as reasons for permitting the Communist press to continue, though some people feel that a ban would simply increase the effectiveness of the Red press.

"As you probably know, the publication of Communist newspapers is permitted in West Germany. If you had to decide personally, would you permit the publication of Communist newspapers, or would you prohibit their publication?"
 IF "Permit": "For what reasons would you not prohibit publication of Communist newspapers?"

US ZONE Berlin Bremen

A ban would be against the principles of democracy and our freedom of press: Because then they would say that they could not express their opinions - it is easier to fight somebody if he speaks openly; they could and should express their opinion; because freedom of speech is permitted in a democratic nation; everybody should read what he likes; Communist newspapers are not banned in the U.S. either - there must always be a leftist newspaper; everybody should represent his opinion, otherwise we'd have a dictatorship; those who want to can read them - we have freedom of press; free expression of thought and a free press must be granted to the enemy too; etc.

6 67 67 114

The Communists would continue to work in spite of the ban, nothing would be changed by it: Otherwise they would make use of different means; because then they'd do it secretly which brings better results; things that come to the open are better recognized than secret matters; otherwise the Communists would work under cover and we wouldn't have any control over them; if it were banned they'd publish and sell newspapers in spite of it; because conditions won't be changed by that; etc.

5 4 3

We must listen to the other side too, we can learn from their papers what they advocate: We get to know our enemy through his party paper; so the population will be informed and get an idea what the KPD really means; so I can see clearly, by what means they try to influence the people; we should be able to listen to what they have to say; everybody can read what he likes, and it is interesting to the others to hear what the Communists really want; so the reasonable people among them have a chance to justify themselves and can contradict all that Communist nonsense; it is always better to look the adversary openly in the eye; we have a better basis for comparison if it concerns other parties; we can learn something from the Communist paper and have a basis for comparison with other papers of partisan policy; etc.

4 8 12

Interest in Communist newspapers is small anyway: A reasonable person won't read them anyway; the Communists would make themselves understood in spite of it, other people don't read the Communist newspapers anyway; because only a small number believe what the Communist papers print; because nobody believes them anyway - we all know what's up in the East zone; there is little interest for the Communist newspapers anyway; because my opinion won't be influenced by it anyway - let those people talk and preach all they want; because the whole matter is too small and unimportant; etc.

2 3

(Cont'd on next page)

RESTRICTED

US ZONE Berlin Bremen

A ban would only stimulate the curiosity of many people: Because there are people who like prohibited things - as long as the papers are permitted and sold, they are not so interesting; because the lower classes would not be able to familiarise themselves with Communist ideologies, as they do at the present while their papers are still in circulation; in case the newspapers were prohibited, many would try to get them illegally; then the party should be outlawed too, a ban always provokes resistance; etc.

2% 1% 1%

The Communists have a right to their own paper: Every party should have its own newspaper; so the few Communists can read their own paper, they don't like to read the other newspapers anyway; as long as the party exists, they have their newspaper; because they have a right to their newspaper; etc.

2 1 -

We must have opposition in the government: So we have an opposition; we need a paper by the opposition party; we can learn something from their publications and improve our own actions - there must be an opposition; Communist newspapers print news sometimes that we don't find in the democratic press; I believe opposition to be healthy; etc.

* 1 2

Other opinions: Because I believe that Communist papers are more conscientious about the news than other newspapers; etc.

2 1 1

No opinion:

* 1 -
23% 26%** 30%

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one reason.

DISMISSAL OF COMMUNIST PUBLIC SERVANTS APPROVED ...

The decision of the Bonn government to remove KPD members from the civil service also is approved by the majority. In Berlin, indeed, nine out of ten approve.

"As you have probably heard, all Communists in West Germany are to be removed from public service. Do you agree or disagree with this measure?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	US ZONE	Berlin	Bremen
Agree	68%	51%	58%	62%	89%	67%
Disagree	20	29	23	24	10	23
No opinion	12	20	13	14	1	10
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

RESTRICTED

R E S T R I C T E D

Again, opposition to the measure is stronger among the better educated, upper income, professional groups as well as large city residents. However, among all groups majority sentiment favors the dismissal of Communists from public jobs.

	Agree	Disagree	No opinion
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	63%	23%	15% ... 100%
Secondary school	60	31	9
Diploma and University	47	46	7
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>			
Upper class	63%	33%	4%
Middle class	60	28	12
Lower class	63	20	17
<u>Occupation:</u>			
Professional	54%	39%	7%
Business and managerial	65	21	14
Clerical	47	47	6
Skilled labor	54	30	16
Semi-skilled labor	57	24	19
Farmers and farm laborers	75	11	14
Housewives	66	16	18
Students, retired, pensioners	64	20	16
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	63%	28%	9%
Women	60	21	19
<u>Income (per month):</u>			
0 - 199 DM	65%	18%	17%
200 - 399 DM	61	28	11
400 and more	58	33	9
<u>Age:</u>			
Under 30 years	56%	29%	15%
30 - 50 years	59	26	15
50 years and over	69	18	13
<u>City Size:</u>			
0 - 4,999 population	67%	17%	16%
5,000 - 24,999	60	27	13
25,000 - 99,999	58	33	9
100,000 - 249,999	51	36	13
250,000 and more	46	40	14
<u>Party Preference:</u>			
CDU/CSU	78%	13%	9%
SPD	62	31	7
FDP	63	31	6
BP	81	11	8
<u>Religion:</u>			
Catholics	66%	22%	12%
Protestants	57	26	17

REASONS FOR OPPOSING DISMISSAL ...

Opponents of the dismissal of Communists from public jobs, cite a variety of reasons for their position. In general, however, the reasons add to much the same thing - dismissal is unfair, undemocratic, and unnecessary.

US ZONE Berlin Bremen

The measure would be too severe, they are human beings after all: If the people behave well, their job should not be taken away from them, they are human beings too; because the unimportant Communists would be punished too; everybody must earn his living and support his family; because it would result in social injustices - the women and children very often are not guilty of their husbands' political convictions; it would be a mistake, these people have to earn their living too; would be a very severe measure that would also apply to decent people; where should all these people go?; etc.

6%

3%

5%

It would only be of advantage to the KPD, they would be more dangerous working underground: Because it would only mean an advantage to the KPD; because their hatred and their activity would increase; if removed from public service they would grow more dangerous; because more bad feelings than before would spring up, if these people loose their jobs - Hitler made the same mistake; it'll only create bad blood and incite the people; they would try to undermine the more afterwards; because I want to know my enemy; etc.

5

2

4

In a democratic nation nobody should be punished for his political opinion: They should be able to exist too - in a democracy everybody should be able to hold his own convictions without having a disadvantage from it; because we live in a democracy now, and it is not permitted in a democracy - nobody should be fired because of his political ideas; everybody should take his own road to heaven; because a political conviction is not enough reason to fire anybody; a capable person should remain in his position - his party membership is a private matter; everybody is free to believe in what he thinks is right; everybody should hold his political convictions without being punished for them; etc.

4

1

5

Political convictions do not reflect on their work: Their political opinion doesn't have anything to do with their work; an expert belongs in his place, no matter what political direction he follows; because politics don't have anything to do with professional abilities; because membership in the Communist party does not mean that these people are agitators; if Communists don't work for their party in their profession and don't try to stir up trouble, they should not be fired from their jobs; if a person doesn't try to exercise political activity at his place of work he should remain in office; etc.

3

2

3

(Cont'd on next page)

RESTRICTED

US ZONE: Berlin Bremen

It would be the same measures the Nazis were accused of:
 It would create bad blood - it would be the same as under the Nazis; it's a dictatorial measure; it would be the same as getting rid of the Jews - there are decent people among them too; it would be the same as during the Third Reich, the Nazis were accused of the same measures; because they were already persecuted under Hitler - now while we have a democracy, they continue to persecute them; everybody should be able to stand by his conviction and live according to it; it's the same system as under National Socialism, they shouldn't be punished for their political conviction; etc.

2 - 2

As long as they don't threaten the security of the people they should stay in their positions: As long as the Communists do not directly try to undermine the security of the state, they should be left in their positions; they do their duty too; as long as they abide by the rules of democracy, they should remain; they should be allowed to remain in small unimportant positions, but should be fired if they are in higher positions and could become dangerous to the state; as long as they do not present a menace they should be left alone, every person wants to make a living; because it does not agree with democratic principles - yet in case they are bad in character and endanger security they should be fired; etc.

2 1 1

Other opinions: They were elected and to throw them out now would not be so easy; I am convinced that some Communists are decent people who represent their opinion in a decent manner; there must be some opposition; it would be better to convince those people that their theory is wrong and try to win them back, they should not be fired; because they got their positions through the Americans; those are not the dangerous fellows, the real rascals are somewhere else; because there are many Nazis too who are still in high positions; etc.

3 1 3

No opinion:

* $\frac{1}{25\%}$ ** $\frac{1}{10\%}$ * $\frac{1}{23\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

- 32 -

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

RELATIONSHIP OF ATTITUDES ...

Finally, the overall attitudes of the US Zone public toward the Communist party and its activities is seen in sharper focus when the key issue of whether or not to ban the KPD is related to attitudes toward other issues. The majority view that the Communist party should be outlawed is based apparently not on weakness but on strength vis-a-vis Communism and Communists. Analysis of the relationship of the issue of banning the party to other attitudes on Communist activity shows that it is precisely the people who disparage Communist effectiveness in Western Germany who favor outlawing the party. Conversely, people who believe KPD has influence are much less inclined to advocate banning it. Thus it is permissible to say that the majority wishes to ban KPD because it is regarded as a nuisance, not as a threat to West German security.

A corollary interpretation is that if fear of Communist strength increases among the West German public, opposition to outlawing KPD and its affiliates or limiting its activities could also grow.

This interpretation is supported by the comparative figures in the following table showing, for example, that advocates more frequently than opponents of banning say the Western powers are doing enough to control the West German KPD, to discount the likelihood of West Germany's coming under Communist domination, to see a recent decline in Communist agitation, and to disparage the effectiveness of Communist propaganda. As would be expected, advocates of banning the Communist party also favor banning its press, and approve the dismissal of party members from public office.

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

01151

	Would prohibit Communist party	Would not prohibit	No opinion
number of people trying to appear partial to Communism has			
increased	47%	51%	2%
decreased	65	32	3
remained same	58	39	3
No opinion	61	19	20
Will appearing partial to Communism be			
of advantage	50	43	7
of no use	62	34	4
No opinion	55	12	33
Communist activities, if party were banned, would be			
greater	33	65	2
weaker	87	10	3
No influence	61	34	5
Western powers			
should do more against Communism	71	28	1
should not do more	39	56	5
No opinion	53	17	30
Possibility of Communist domination			
increased	56	41	3
decreased	62	34	4
remained same	55	40	5
No opinion	61	13	26
Communist activity recently			
increased	49	47	4
decreased	66	31	3
remained same	60	35	5
No opinion	62	15	23
Communist propaganda has			
no influence	67	30	3
some influence	55	41	4
No opinion	55	14	31
Communist press should be			
permitted	15	83	2
banned	87	12	1
qualified answers	24	72	4
No opinion	21	12	67
Communists to be removed from government jobs			
agree	77	21	2
do not agree	30	65	5
No opinion	37	22	41

NEW LIGHT ON GERMAN NEUTRALITY SENTIMENTS

With Other Current Developments
On Issues Related To German Defense Participation

**Classification cancelled
by authority of Leo P. Crespi
PUB/RAS**

Report No. 60
Series No. 2
January 31, 1951

C O N F I D E N T I A L

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

CONFIDENTIAL

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

SOME HIGHLIGHTS

I. NEW LIGHT ON GERMAN NEUTRALITY SENTIMENTS

Latest Trend On Neutralist Feelings ...
Neutralist Feelings Versus Neutralist Judgments ...

II. CURRENT INDICATIONS ON GERMAN DEFENSE PARTICIPATION

Latest Trend On The Participation Issue ...
How Would Germany React To: No Participation-No Defense? ...

III. PRESENT EXTENT OF DEFEATIST SENTIMENTS

Should West Germans Fight In Event Of Eastern Attack? ...

IV. MORE ON EISENHOWER'S APPOINTMENT

Is Eisenhower The Right Man To Expedite West European Defense? ...

V. LATEST TREND ON STATE OF AMERICAN RESOLUTION

Will America Stand Firm In Europe In Event Of Communist Attack? ...

VI. CURRENT STATE OF OPINION ON THE GROTEWOHL PROPOSAL

Extent Of Familiarity With Proposal And Adenauer's Response ...
Reactions To Rejection Of Proposal ...
Do Germans Believe West Opposed To United Germany? ...

VII. PRESENT REACTIONS TO A FOUR POWER CONFERENCE

Current Trend On German Advantage In Such A Conference ...

- 2 -

CONFIDENTIAL

INTRODUCTION

The present report continues the regular studies being conducted by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, to delineate developments in German thinking on issues related to West German participation in European defense. Results were gathered on the 14th and 19th of January 1951, through the operation of a "flash" survey embracing a representative urban quota sample of 540 cases drawn from among West German cities 50,000 and over in population, and a 200 case quota sample in Berlin.

Note: Since the comparative attitudes of opponents versus supporters of German defense participation have been rather thoroughly reported upon in past releases of the current series, they will no longer be systematically included but only alluded to when new issues are involved or when of particular pertinence to the discussion.

SOME HIGHLIGHTS

I. NEW LIGHT ON GERMAN NEUTRALITY SENTIMENTS

- ... Inclination toward neutrality, which at the turn of the year had come to be the preponderant orientation among West German city dwellers, has currently dropped back to the point where such sentiments do not at the moment outweigh support of Western integration.
- ... Most prominent among the considerations which may have played an important role in engendering the current gain in pro-Western feeling would appear to be Chancellor Adenauer's strong warnings against the dangers of German neutralization and his firm identification with the West in his widely reported January 14th speech at Bielefeld. Adenauer's firm espousal of Western values in his reply to the Grotewohl letter may also have had some effect. The present survey preceded Eisenhower's visit to West Germany, though the German people had become aware at the time that he was scheduled to come.
- ... Whether the current shift in attitudes is only a momentary arrestment or marks a turn in the tide of neutralist feelings cannot be safely stated in advance of further study.
- ... The prior survey revealed that a considerable proportion of West Germans voiced neutralistic inclinations who later indicated that the chances of such a course working out were slight. This combination of facts suggested that though the question as posed might be correctly portraying German neutrality feelings, it might not be an accurate basis for estimating the extent of neutralism Germans would manifest were they more closely pinned down to reality in their choice. The present study reveals this point to be well taken. Clearly demonstrated is that whatever may be the emotional desires of West German urbanites, a definite majority reject neutralism when it is placed within a realistic framework of a Bundesrat choice between Russian sponsored neutrality and Western sponsored integration with the West.
- ... Cross comparisons of the results to the two neutrality measures reveal that less than half of those emotionally inclined to neutralism will actually recommend such a course when the alternatives are phrased more realistically.

01155

CONFIDENTIAL

- ... Further questioning reveals that of the 24 per cent of West Germans who choose Russian sponsored neutrality, one quarter or 6% subsequently acknowledge that such a Russian proposal is impossible of realization - thus suggesting that even fewer Germans than indicated might line up with any Russian sponsored neutrality if they were forced to get down to cases.
- ... The clear impact of these findings is that what might be termed neutrality feelings are much more widespread in West Germany than neutrality judgments, and when the choice between neutrality and Western integration is posed so as to draw upon the latter, the majority of West Germans line up on the side of the West. The important suggestion flows from this that in any conference with the Russians the West should make every effort to see that any competition of ideas presented to the West Germans be placed in as realistic a framework as possible - meaning most particularly, unremitting reminders as to how much risk is involved in trusting Russian proposals.
- ... Without minimizing the value of having the majority of German judgments on the side of Western integration, one must not overlook the problem posed by the considerable discrepancy that has been revealed between judgment and feelings. Such a discrepancy raises the question of how far many Germans can be expected to go in backing their judgments in the absence of a concurrent emotional dedication. Gross comparison reveals that almost a third of those who choose Western integration in preference to Russian sponsored neutrality fail to register themselves in favor of German defense participation. And among those who do approve, the question remains of course as to what sacrifices they are personally willing to make to implement their approval.
- ... Group breakdowns disclose that in neutrality judgments - just as priorly on the score of neutrality feelings - support for the West is at its greatest among the opinion leading elements of the urban West German population.
- ... The dominating reason offered by those who register opposition to a Bundestag acceptance of Russian sponsored proposal for a neutral united Germany is that the Russians are not to be trusted.
- ... Those who choose Russian sponsored unity and neutrality in preference to Western integration in the main ring the changes in the well worn theme - fear of war.

II. CURRENT INDICATIONS ON GERMAN DEFENSE PARTICIPATION

- ... With the latest survey support for German participation in European defense has bounced back somewhat from the low point recorded at the turn of the year and now once again clearly outweighs opposition among West German city dwellers.
- ... The rise in support of German defense participation is most plausibly attributable to the same factors that were suggested in connection with the current correlated drop in neutralism - namely Adenauer's widely reported pro-Western statements in his Bielefeld speech and in his rejection of the Grotewohl proposal.

- 2 -
CONFIDENTIAL

C O N F I D E N T I A L

- ... It is valuable to point out at this juncture that the discrepancy which was priorly elucidated between German feelings and judgments in respect to West Germany's proper course in the East-West conflict, offers a general explanation as to why opinions on German defense participation and associated issues have in recent months fluctuated so sensitively with the course of events. Attitudes which are compounded of logic and feelings pulling somewhat at variance are necessarily somewhat unstable, and therefore prone to fluctuation as momentary situations reinforce the logical or the emotional components. Unfavorable developments in Korea tend to accentuate fear-inspired emotional disinclinations and hence operate to shift downward overall support of German participation in European defense. Realistic analysis - such as Adenauer's recent Bielefeld speech - of the courses of action actually open to Germany tend to reinforce the logical components in people's reactions, and hence acts to shift upward the proportion who register support for German defense participation.
- ... The currents of neo-isolationism in America and the various pressures for reexamination of American policy make it timely to ascertain probable German reactions if the situation should develop that West Germany would not be defended by a West European defense army unless she participated in the common effort.
- ... The results indicate that under such circumstances the proportion of urban West Germans who favor German defense participation rises from the 52 per cent obtained in the question to 62 per cent, and the proportion who oppose drops from 34 per cent to 21 per cent.
- ... So the indication is that when Germans are put in the squeeze of - no participation-no defense - the trend, despite the neutralist currents present in West Germany, appears to be appreciably increased support for German defense participation. This point is shown most clearly in cross comparisons which reveal that a full half of those who earlier in the interview expressed opposition to German contribution to a European army, shift to approval or indecision when German defense is made contingent on German participation. So, though as indicated in the preceding report, a considerable proportion of those who register disapproval of defense participation are thinking in the neutralist vein of no defense, a substantial proportion would think twice about rejecting participation if it meant no defense of West Germany.

III. PRESENT EXTENT OF DEFEATIST SENTIMENTS

- ... The extent of defeatism in Western Germany has decreased somewhat since the prior survey in mid-December, and at the present time seven out of ten hold that West Germans should fight with every available means in event of Communist aggression.
- ... Cross comparisons reveal that now as priorly those who are averse to or doubtful about fighting any possible Eastern aggression come almost entirely from the ranks of West Germans opposed to German defense participation - thus pointing up the heavy role defeatism may play in engendering such judgments.
- ... The same concentration of defeatism is found among West Germans who would accept an offer of Russian sponsored neutrality in preference to integration with the West - thus showing the close tie-up of defeatism with neutralism.

CONFIDENTIAL

IV. MORE ON EISENHOWER'S APPOINTMENT

- ... Trend comparisons suggest that awareness of Eisenhower's appointment as Supreme Commander of the West European armed forces has not enlarged appreciably in the two weeks prior to his coming. It remains to be seen what will be the effect on German awareness of his actual presence and speeches on German soil.
- ... An inability or disinclination to express an opinion is still very considerable among West German city dwellers with respect to positive or negative evaluations of Eisenhower. In the priorly reported survey 44 per cent in urban West Germany expressed no opinion on whether they welcomed the choice of Eisenhower for Supreme Commander or not. In the current survey almost an identical proportion (47 per cent) express no opinion on the similar question of whether or not they consider Eisenhower "the right man" to put the plans for the defense of West Europe into effect. However, among those who do express a judgment favorable reactions outweigh unfavorable approximately two to one.
- ... It is interesting to note that among Germans who oppose as compared to those who support participation in a West European army, there is no greater proportion of adverse judgments on Eisenhower's ability, but only a greater evidence of no opinion.
- ... That Eisenhower is the right man for the job is more widely believed by the more educated and informed levels of the urban West German population than by their less informed counterparts. But the contrary judgment - that somebody else would be better - is also more widespread among the opinion leading strata.
- ... Eisenhower's alleged negative attitude toward the Germans in the last war is prominent among the remarks of those who argue he is not the right man for the job, but it does not figure so frequently as to overshadow the sum total of other remarks.

V. LATEST TREND ON STATE OF AMERICAN RESOLUTION

- ... The extent of West German confidence in American resolution to fight Communist aggression again indicates in the latest survey no substantial change from its early December level. Few as then the preponderant sentiment is a firm conviction that America will take a resolute stand in the event of Communist aggression in Western Europe. So the suggestion is reinforced that recent expression of neo-isolationism by prominent Americans has not appreciably undermined West German faith in American aid in defense.
- ... In the latest survey the usual pattern emerges of greater confidence among the opinion leading levels. The lead of the better educated over the lesser educated, however, shows signs of a constriction which if it continues may raise the possibility that the better informed respondents are being influenced by expression of isolationist sentiments in the U.S.

VI. CURRENT STATE OF OPINION ON THE GROTHWOHL PROPOSAL

- ... With the dimming of the Grothwohl proposal as a live issue approximately three out of four in Western Germany had come around to hearing or reading something about it.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

- ... Somewhat fewer respondents knew how Adenauer had reacted to the proposal, but the bulk of West Germans with opinions in the matter stated without qualification that Adenauer had rejected it.
- ... Among those who labeled Adenauer's answer to the Grotewohl proposal as a refusal, approval of such a course outweighed disapproval over two to one.
- ... The suggestion thus far from these partial results is then that though a majority of urban West Germans have been earlier shown to be in favor of accepting the proposal, they didn't feel so strongly but what the fact of Adenauer's rejection or his accompanying explanatory statements could swing the preponderance into agreement.
- ... The widespread favorable response to the Grotewohl proposal - prior to its apparently telling rejection by Adenauer - raised a serious question as to whether or not Germans interpret the policy of Western integration for West Germany as an indication that the Western powers are opposed to German unity. The reassuring indication of the present findings is that no such implication has been gathered.
- ... Even among respondents who have indicated they would favor Russian sponsored neutrality to Western integration the preponderant view is that the latter policy does not imply that the West is opposed to a united Germany.
- ... The implication of these findings is of course that any adverse reactions to Western aims for Germany does not spring in any large way from feelings that Western policy is opposed to German unity.

VII. PRESENT REACTIONS TO A FOUR POWER CONFERENCE

- ... In the past two weeks the meager hopes for German advantage out of a four power conference have sagged even lower to the point where two out of three among West German urban dwellers anticipate little to no advantage from such a meeting.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

I. NEW LIGHT ON GERMAN NEUTRALITY SENTIMENTS

LATEST TREND ON NEUTRALIST FEELINGS . . .

Inclination toward neutrality, which at the turn of the year had come to be the preponderant orientation among West German city dwellers, has currently dropped back to the point where such sentiments do not at the moment outweigh support of Western integration.

"What would, in your opinion, be better for West Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY			British Zone			US Zone			Berlin		
	Dec	Jan	Jan	Dec	Jan	Jan	Dec	Jan	Jan	Dec	Jan	Jan
	19	34	18	19	34	18	19	34	18	19	34	18
	20		19	18		19	20		19	20		19
To try to join the West politically and militarily as a free and equal nation	44%	35%	44%	45%	35%	45%	41%	33%	43%	71%	65%	69%
To try to unite with East Germany and as a neutral nation to keep out of a conflict between East and West	41	46	42	38	44	38	50	53	47	16	21	24
No opinion	15	19	14	17	21	17	9	14	10	13	14	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Most prominent among the considerations which may have played an important role in engendering the current gain in pro-Western feeling would appear to be Chancellor Adenauer's strong warnings against the dangers of German neutralization and his firm identification with the West in his widely reported January 14th speech at Bielefeld. Adenauer's firm espousal of Western values in his reply to the Grotewohl letter may also have had some effect. The present survey preceded Eisenhower's visit to West Germany, though the German people had become aware at the time that he was scheduled to come.

Whether the current shift in attitudes is only a momentary arrestment or marks a turn in the tide of neutralist feelings cannot be safely stated in advance of further study.

* Alternatives were presented on a card read by respondents.

CONFIDENTIAL

Group breakdowns reveal that the current gains for the Western position have occurred generally among various population levels, and leave unaffected the pattern of more widespread Western support among the more educated and informed elements of urban West Germany.

"What would, in your opinion, be better for West Germany?"

	To try to join the West politically and militarily as a free and equal nation			To try to unite with East Germany and as a neutral nation to keep out of a conflict bet- ween East and West			No opinion			** No. of cases
	Dec	Jan	Jan	Dec	Jan	Jan	Dec	Jan	Jan	
WEST GERMANY	19	34	18	19	34	18	19	34	18	
	27		19	27		19	27		19	
<u>Sex:</u>										
Man	51%	42%	45%	35%	46%	44%	10%	12%	7%	282
Women	37	29	40	43	46	40	20	25	20	351
<u>Education:</u>										
Elementary school	35%	27%	33%	45%	50%	44%	20%	23%	18%	396
Beyond elementary school	56	47	54	36	41	38	3	12	8	244
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>										
Lower class	33%	26%	35%	47%	47%	46%	20%	25%	19%	323
Lower middle to upper class	55	42	54	35	45	37	10	13	9	317
<u>Income (per month):</u>										
0 - 149 DM	30%	20%	30%	39%	51%	42%	31%	20%	28%	102
150 - 299 DM	35	31	38	50	48	49	15	21	13	270
300 DM and more	56	45	56	34	43	34	10	12	10	264
<u>Age:</u>										
Under 40 years	45%	35%	45%	43%	47%	42%	12%	18%	13%	238
40 years and over	43	34	44	40	46	41	17	20	15	349
<u>Party Preference:</u>										
SPD	-	-	46%	-	-	43%	-	-	9%	172
CDU/CSU	-	-	61	-	-	27	-	-	12	121
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDP	-	-	53	-	-	44	-	-	3	105
Other parties	-	-	32	-	-	61	-	-	7	23
No parties	-	-	28	-	-	44	-	-	28	106
Don't know	-	-	20	-	-	47	-	-	24	103
<u>Religion:</u>										
Catholics	43%	37%	40%	41%	40%	37%	16%	23%	14%	234
Protestants	43	34	43	41	50	43	16	15	14	244

* Alternatives were presented on a card read by respondents.

** The number of cases cited in this and the following trend tables refer to the latest survey. They are approximately the same for earlier surveys.

† Party preference figures were not obtained in the earlier surveys.

CONFIDENTIAL

NEUTRALIST FEELINGS VERSUS NEUTRALIST JUDGMENTS ...

The prior survey revealed that a considerable proportion of West Germans voiced neutralistic inclinations who later indicated that the chances of such a course working out were slight. This combination of facts suggested that though the question as posed might be correctly portraying German neutrality feelings, it might not be an accurate basis for estimating the extent of neutralism Germans would manifest were they more closely pinned down to reality in their choice. The results below indicate that this point is very well taken. Clearly demonstrated is that whatever may be the emotional desires of West German urbanites, a definite majority reject neutralism when it is placed within a realistic framework of a Bundesrat choice between Russian sponsored neutrality and Western sponsored integration with the West.

"Supposing West Germany were offered the following two alternatives: *

1. The Western powers: offer West Germany admission to the union of the Western nations as an independent, politically and militarily equal nation.
2. Russia: offers unification with East Germany and proposes that Germany as a neutral nation keeps out of a conflict between East and West.

In case the Federal government had the choice of only one of these two proposals, which alternative should they take in your opinion, considering everything you know about the Western powers and Russia? "

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Would accept Western offer	61%	50%	63%	83%
Would accept Russian offer	24	23	25	12
No opinion	$\frac{15}{100\%}$	$\frac{17}{100\%}$	$\frac{12}{100\%}$	$\frac{5}{100\%}$

Cross comparisons of the results to the two neutrality measures reveal that less than half of those emotionally inclined to neutralism will actually recommend such a course when the alternatives are phrased more realistically.

	Would accept Western offer	Would accept Russian offer	No opinion	Number of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
It would be better for West Germany:				
To try to join the West politically and militarily as a free and equal nation	22%	4%	44...100%	232
To try to unite with East Germany and as a neutral nation to keep out of a conflict between East and West	38	46	16	265

* Alternatives were presented on a card read by respondents.

CONFIDENTIAL

Further questioning reveals that of the 24 per cent of West Germans who choose Russian sponsored neutrality, one quarter or 6% subsequently acknowledge that such a Russian proposal is impossible of realization - thus suggesting that even fewer Germans than indicated might line up with any Russian sponsored neutrality if they were forced to get down to cases.

"Do you really think the Russian proposal could be realized or is it impossible?" (Asked of those who answered "Russia" to original question.)

ACD

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Yes, possible	13%	14%	9%	6%
No, impossible	6	6	8	5
No opinion	5	3	8	1
	<u>24%</u>	<u>23%</u>	<u>25%</u>	<u>12%</u>

The clear impact of these findings is that what might be termed neutralist feelings are much more widespread in West Germany than neutralist judgments, and when the choice between neutrality and Western integration is posed so as to draw upon the latter, the majority of West Germans line up on the side of the West. The important suggestion flows from this that in any conference with the Russians the West should make every effort to see that any competition of ideas presented to the West Germans be placed in as realistic a framework as possible - meaning most particularly, unremitting reminders as to how much risk is involved in trusting Russian proposals.

Without minimizing the value of having the majority of German judgments on the side of Western integration, one must not overlook the problem posed by the considerable discrepancy that has been revealed between judgment and feelings. Such a discrepancy raises the question of how far many Germans can be expected to go in backing their judgments in the absence of a concurrent emotional dedication. It may be seen from the cross comparison below that almost a third of those who choose Western integration in preference to Russian sponsored neutrality fail to register themselves in favor of German defense participation. And among those who do approve, the question remains of course as to what sacrifices they are personally willing to make to implement their approval.

	For partici- pation in a European army	Against partici- pation in a European army	No opinion	Number of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
Would accept Western offer	70%	22%	8%...100%	317
Would accept Russian offer	30	57	13	155

Group breakdowns disclose that in neutrality judgments - just as priorly on the score of neutrality feelings - support for the West is at its greatest among the opinion leading elements of the urban West German population.

"Supposing West Germany were offered the following two alternatives:

1. The Western powers: offer West Germany admission to the union of the Western nations as an independent, politically and militarily equal nation.
2. Russia: offers unification with East Germany and proposes that Germany as a neutral nation keeps out of a conflict between East and West.

In case the Federal government had the choice of only one of these two proposals, which alternative should they take in your opinion, considering everything you know about the Western powers and Russia?"

	Would accept Western offer	Would accept Russian offer	No opinion	Number of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	66%	25%	9%...100%	259
Women	56	23	21	351
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	53%	26%	21%	306
Beyond elementary school	72	21	7	244
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	47%	25%	24%	323
Lower middle to upper class	74	19	7	317
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 145 DM	37%	37%	31%	102
150 - 299 DM	54	30	16	270
300 DM and more	76	17	7	264
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	61%	27%	11%	253
40 years and over	50	22	16	349
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	62%	27%	11%	172
CDU/CSU	75	13	12	121
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	75	20	4	105
Other parties	46	43	11	28
No parties	47	26	27	106
Don't know	42	29	29	108
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	66%	19%	15%	234
Protestants	59	27	14	344

CONFIDENTIAL

The dominating reason offered by those who register opposition to a Bundestag acceptance of Russian sponsored proposal for a neutral united Germany is that the Russians are not to be trusted.

If "Would accept Western offer": "For what reason would you refuse the other proposal?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Because one can't trust the Russians: As I don't trust the Russians; one should not side with Russia; the Russians are not honest and merely want to conquer; all that comes from Russia is a lot of swindle and trickery; because one knows beforehand that the Russians are not sincere; because I can have no confidence in Russian policy; etc.	29%	27%	33%	47%
Because we would then come under Russian dictatorship and turn Communist: Because we don't want to come under Russian rule; otherwise Berlin would come under Russian domination; we have just lived through one dictatorship; Russia would be the first to violate the neutrality and Western Germany would be pulled into their dictatorial system; because the proposal comes from the Russians, and Russian conditions are not applicable for Germany; etc.	15	15	16	21
Inasmuch as neutrality is impossible for us, we prefer to join with the West: In the event of a conflict we would have to join someone and then I would rather join the West; the political and strategic situation makes neutrality illusory for Western Germany; we are not dealing with the East Germans, but with the Russians and there can be no such thing as a neutral country; because we could not remain neutral, the Russians would force us to fight, and I would therefore rather be with the West; because the Russians would violate our neutrality, and it is better to side with the West right away, although unification would be a good thing for Germany; etc.	10	10	9	9
Other opinions: The Russians can't teach us anything, whatever they do is not European; because we know well enough what conditions are like in the East; behind their proposal of neutrality the Russians hide their fear that West Germany might side with the Western powers; etc.	7	9	4	5
No opinion:	$\frac{1}{52\%}$	$\frac{1}{62\%}$	$\frac{1}{63\%}$	$\frac{1}{53\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

Those who choose Russian sponsored unity and neutrality in preference to Western integration in the main ring the changes in the well worn theme - fear of war.

If "Would accept Russian offer": "For what reason would you refuse the other proposal?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
<u>Because it would lead to a new war: Because I am afraid of a new war and think it best to keep out of it altogether; because we have had enough of war; so we won't be dragged into another war right away; otherwise we'll be dragged into the whole mess; to eliminate the threat of war for Germany - armament always means war; etc.</u>	12%	11%	12%	6%
<u>Because it would result in the final division of Germany: Because otherwise the East Zone would be cut off and the split would be final; because Germany would remain a divided country; etc.</u>	4	4	5	4
<u>Because it would lead to civil war: Because then Germans would have to fight against Germans; Germany belongs together, otherwise it will lead to civil war; it would perhaps lead to a conflict between East and West and civil warfare between Germans; etc.</u>	1	1	1	1
<u>Other opinions: In case of war the danger would not be so imminent for us if we joined with the East in contrast to a union with the West; because we are only to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for others; because the other proposal does not plan a unification; because I don't want to have anything to do with the Western powers, they only want to exploit us; etc.</u>	7	7	7	3
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	$\frac{1}{25}^{**}$	$\frac{1}{24}^{**}$	$\frac{*}{25}$	$\frac{*}{14}^{**}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

II. CURRENT INDICATIONS ON GERMAN DEFENSE PARTICIPATION

LATEST TREND ON THE PARTICIPATION ISSUE ...

With the latest survey support for German participation in European defense has bounced back somewhat from the low point recorded at the turn of the year and now once again clearly outweighs opposition among West German city dwellers.

Several West European nations and America signed a defense pact, the so-called Atlantic Pact.

"Suppose West Germany would join the Atlantic Pact and be asked in connection with it to participate in a general army for the defense of West Europe. Would you then be for or against such participation in a defense army?"

WEST GERMANY

	Aug 15-17	Oct-Nov 31-1	November 2-14	November 15-16	November 27-28	December 4-5	December 11-12	December 19-20	January 3-4	January 13-19
For it	61%	63%	59%	51%	64%	55%	56%	53%	48%	52%
Against it	27	3	32	41	2	36	35	35	4	34
No opinion	12	7	10	7	1	9	9	11	12	14
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
British Zone										
For it	59%	61%	59%	51%	65%	54%	57%	53%	49%	52%
Against it	29	31	31	39	25	37	33	35	37	34
No opinion	12	8	1	10	10	9	10	12	14	14
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
US Zone										
For it	67%	65%	57%	48%	64%	59%	53%	53%	45%	54%
Against it	21	29	32	45	24	33	41	33	48	35
No opinion	12	6	11	7	12	8	6	9	7	11
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Berlin										
For it	86%	89%	80%	85%	86%	83%	82%	84%	81%	79%
Against it	12	8	16	12	8	10	14	12	16	19
No opinion	2	3	4	3	6	2	4	4	3	2
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The rise in support of German defense participation is most plausibly attributable to the same factors that were suggested in connection with the current correlated drop in neutralism - namely Adenauer's widely reported pro-Western statements in his Bielefeld speech and in his rejection of the Grotewohl proposal.

It is valuable to point out at this juncture that the discrepancy which was priorly elucidated between German feelings and judgments in respect to West Germany's proper course in the East-West conflict, offers a general explanation as to why opinions on German defense participation and associated issues have in recent months fluctuated so sensitively with the course of events. Attitudes which are compounded of logic and feelings pulling somewhat at variance are necessarily somewhat unstable, and therefore prone to fluctuation as momentary situations reinforce the logical or the emotional components. Unfavorable developments in Korea tend to accentuate fear-inspired emotional disinclinations and hence operate to shift downward overall support of German participation in European defense. Realistic analysis - such as Adenauer's recent Bielefeld speech - of the courses of action actually open to Germany tend to reinforce the logical components in people's reactions, and hence acts to shift upward the proportion who register support for German defense participation.

Group breakdown results persist in the usual pattern of greatest support for German defense participation among opinion leading levels of the urban West German population.

CONFIDENTIAL

HOW WOULD GERMANY REACT TO: NO PARTICIPATION - NO DEFENSE? ...

The currents of neo-isolationism in America and the various pressures for reexamination of American policy make it timely to ascertain probable German reactions if the situation should develop that West Germany would not be defended by a West European defense army unless she participated in the common effort.

The results indicate that under such circumstances the proportion of urban West Germans who favor German defense participation rises from the 52 per cent obtained in the prior question to 62 per cent, and the proportion who oppose drops from 34 per cent to 21 per cent.

"Supposing West Germany had to choose between the following two possibilities:*

1. West German troops would be established within the framework of a West European defense army and West Germany in return would be defended by all in case of aggression.
2. West Germany would not furnish a troop contingent and would not be defended by the West European army.

Now, in your opinion, should the Federal government decide?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Participation and defense	62%	63%	58%	85%
No participation and no defense	21	19	25	8
Undecided	$\frac{17}{100\%}$	$\frac{18}{100\%}$	$\frac{17}{100\%}$	$\frac{7}{100\%}$

So the indication is that when Germans are put in the squeeze of -- no participation--no defense -- the trend, despite the neutralist currents present in West Germany, appears to be appreciably increased support for German defense participation. This point is shown most clearly in cross comparisons below which reveal that a full half of those who earlier in the interview expressed opposition to German contribution to a European army, shift to approval or indecision when German defense is made contingent on German participation. So, though as indicated in the preceding report, a considerable proportion of those who register disapproval of defense participation are thinking in the neutralist vein of no defense, a substantial proportion would think twice about rejecting participation if it meant no defense of West Germany.

WEST GERMANY	Participation and defense	No participation and no defense	No opinion	Number of cases:
For participation in a European army	89%	6%	5%..100%	335
Against participation in a European army	3%	46	24	219

* Alternatives were presented on a card read by respondents.

CONFIDENTIAL

Group breakdowns on reaction to the no participation - no defense approach reveals that just as on the prior non-conditioned participation question, the more educated and informed levels evince the greatest support for a German contribution to European defense. But perhaps more interesting is a point revealed by comparing the breakdowns below with the ones on the prior question. Such a comparison indicates that making participation the price of defense has its greatest effect in increasing support for German defense participation, where such increases are needed most, namely among the women, the lesser educated, and the lower paid levels of the urban West German population.

"Supposing West Germany had to choose between the following two possibilities:

1. West German troops would be established within the framework of a West European defense army and West Germany in return would be defended by all in case of aggression.
2. West Germany would not furnish a troop contingent and would not be defended by the West European army.

How, in your opinion, should the Federal government decide?"

	Participation and defense	No participation and no defense	Un- decided	Number of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	65%	25%	10%...100%	289
Women	60	18	22	351
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	56%	22%	22%	396
Beyond elementary school	72	19	9	244
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	52%	24%	24%	323
Lower middle to upper class	52	19	9	317
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	41%	24%	35%	102
150 - 299 DM	60	23	17	270
300 DM and more	72	18	10	264
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	61%	22%	17%	288
40 years and over	62	21	17	349
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	63%	23%	14%	172
CDU/CSU	80	9	11	121
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	75	22	3	105
Other parties	43	43	14	28
No parties	49	28	23	106
Don't know	44	19	37	108
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	65%	16%	19%	234
Protestants	62	23	15	344

CONFIDENTIAL

III. PRESENT EXTENT OF DEFEATIST SENTIMENTS

SHOULD WEST GERMANS FIGHT IN EVENT OF EASTERN ATTACK? ...

The extent of defeatism in Western Germany has decreased somewhat since the prior survey in mid-December, and at the present time seven out of ten hold that West Germans should fight with every available means in event of Communist aggression.

"If you personally had to decide what should be done in the event of an attack from the East: should we let West Germany come under the East Zone government without fighting, or should West Germany - together with the West - fight with all means against Communist aggression?"

WEST GERMANY					British Zone				
	Nov	December		Jan		Nov	December		Jan
	27-28	4-5	19-20	18-19		27-28	4-5	19-20	18-19
Without a fight	11%	15%	18%	15%		11%	15%	17%	14%
Fight	76	69	62	70		77	66	61	70
Undecided	13	16	20	15		12	19	22	16
	100%	100%	100%	100%		100%	100%	100%	100%
US Zone					Berlin				
	Nov	December		Jan		Nov	December		Jan
	27-28	4-5	19-20	18-19		27-28	4-5	19-20	18-19
Without a fight	14%	16%	21%	18%		1%	4%	3%	4%
Fight	74	74	62	67		94	97	90	93
Undecided	12	10	17	15		5	3	7	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%		100%	100%	100%	100%

Cross comparisons reveal that now as priorly those who are averse to or doubtful about fighting any possible Eastern aggression come almost entirely from the ranks of West Germans opposed to German defense participation - thus pointing up the heavy role defeatism may play in engendering such judgments.

The same concentration of defeatism is found among West Germans who would accept an offer of Russian sponsored neutrality in preference to integration with the West - thus showing the close tie-up of defeatism with neutralism.

	Without a fight				Fight				Undecided				No. of cases
	Nov	Dec	Dec	Jan	Nov	Dec	Dec	Jan	Nov	Dec	Dec	Jan	
	27	4-5	19	18	27	4-5	19	18	27	4-5	19	18	
	28		20	19	28		20	19	28		20	19	
WEST GERMANY													
For participation in a European army	6%	3%	6%	3%	90%	90%	85%	91%	4%	7%	9%	6%	335
Against participation in a European army	26	34	37	32	48	41	37	44	26	25	26	24	219

	Without a fight	Fight	Undecided	Number of cases
WEST GERMANY				
Would accept Western offer	7%	89%	4% ... 100%	387
Would accept Russian offer	29	43	28	155

CONFIDENTIAL

Defeatist sentiments are least prevalent, group breakdowns reveal, among the more educated and informed levels in urban West Germany.

"If you personally had to decide what should be done in the event of an attack from the East: should one let West Germany come under the East Zone government without fighting, or should West Germany - together with the West - fight with all means against the Communist aggression?"

	Without a fight			Fight			Undecided			Number of cases:
	December		Jan	December		Jan	December			
	4-5	19-20	18-19	4-5	19-20	18-19	4-5	19-20	18-19	
WEST GERMANY										
<u>Sex:</u>										
Men	17%	19%	17%	69%	66%	73%	14%	15%	10%	289
Women	13	17	13	69	59	66	18	24	21	351
<u>Education:</u>										
Elementary school	15%	18%	16%	65%	59%	65%	20%	23%	19%	396
Beyond elementary school	14	17	14	76	68	76	10	15	10	244
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>										
Lower class	16%	19%	17%	62%	59%	62%	22%	22%	21%	323
Lower middle to upper class	13	18	13	76	65	77	11	17	10	317
<u>Income (per month):</u>										
0 - 149 DM	12%	20%	24%	65%	59%	50%	23%	21%	26%	102
150 - 299 DM	16	20	14	65	58	67	19	22	19	270
300 DM and more	15	15	13	74	68	79	11	17	8	264
<u>Age:</u>										
Under 40 years	15%	17%	13%	68%	64%	70%	17%	19%	17%	288
40 years and over	15	18	16	70	61	70	15	21	14	349
<u>Party Preference:</u>										
SPD	-	-	17%	-	-	72%	-	-	11%	172
CDU/CSU	-	-	5	-	-	88	-	-	7	121
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	-	-	12	-	-	81	-	-	7	105
Other parties	-	-	32	-	-	47	-	-	21	28
No parties	-	-	22	-	-	55	-	-	23	106
Don't know	-	-	15	-	-	53	-	-	32	108
<u>Religion:</u>										
Catholics	10%	18%	15%	74%	64%	75%	16%	18%	10%	234
Protestants	16	16	13	69	62	68	15	22	19	344

CONFIDENTIAL

IV. MORE ON EISENHOWER'S APPOINTMENT

IS EISENHOWER THE RIGHT MAN TO EXPEDITE WEST EUROPEAN DEFENSE? ...

Trend comparisons suggest that awareness of Eisenhower's appointment as Supreme Commander of the West European armed forces has not enlarged appreciably in the two weeks prior to his coming. It remains to be seen what will be the effect on German awareness of his actual presence and speeches on German soil.

"Do you know by any chance who was appointed Supreme Commander of the West European armed forces?"

	WEST GERMANY		British Zone		US Zone		Berlin	
	January		January		January		January	
	3-4 18-19		3-4 18-19		3-4 18-19		3-4 18-19	
Eisenhower	60%	65%	58%	62%	68%	67%	64%	59%
Others	5	4	4	4	4	3	4	4
Don't know	35	31	38	34	28	30	32	37
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

An inability or a disinclination to express an opinion is still very considerable among West German city dwellers with respect to positive or negative evaluations of Eisenhower. In the priorly reported survey 44 per cent in urban West Germany expressed no opinion on whether they welcomed the choice of Eisenhower for Supreme Commander or not. In the current survey almost an identical proportion (47 per cent) express no opinion on the similar question of whether or not they consider Eisenhower "the right man" to put the plans for the defense of West Europe into effect. However, among those who do express a judgment favorable reactions outweigh unfavorable approximately two to one.

"Do you consider General Eisenhower the right man to put the plans for the defense of West Europe into effect, or do you believe a better man could be found for this task?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Eisenhower the right man	38%	37%	40%	55%
Another would be better	15	16	16	7
No opinion	47	47	44	38
	100%	100%	100%	100%

It is interesting to note that among Germans who oppose as compared to those who support participation in a West European army, there is no greater proportion of adverse judgments on Eisenhower's ability, but only a greater evidence of no opinion.

"Do you consider General Eisenhower the right man to put the plans for the defense of West Europe into effect, or do you believe a better man could be found for this task?"

	Eisenhower the right man	Another would be better	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY				
For participation in a European army	51%	18%	31%...100%	335
Against participation in a European army	27	14	59	219

* Prior to making the present question respondents who were not informed about the choice of Eisenhower for Supreme Commander were apprised of it in these terms: "The American General Eisenhower was recently appointed Supreme Commander."

CONFIDENTIAL

That Eisenhower is the right man for the job is more widely believed by the more educated and informed levels of the urban West German population than by their less informed counterparts. But the contrary judgment - that somebody else would be better - is also more widespread among the opinion leading strata.

"Do you consider General Eisenhower the right man to put the plans for the defense of West Europe into effect, or do you believe a better man could be found for this task?"

	Eisenhower the right man	Another would be better	No opinion	Number of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	41%	23%	36%...100%	289
Women	36	9	55	351
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	34%	12%	54%	396
Beyond elementary school	45	21	34	244
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	30	11	59%	323
Lower middle to upper class	46	20	34	317
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	21%	11%	68%	102
150 - 299 DM	35	12	53	270
300 DM and more	47	21	32	264
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	38%	14%	48%	288
40 years and over	38	17	45	349
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	47%	13%	40%	172
CDU/CSU	48	15	37	121
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	53	25	22	105
Other parties	21	11	68	28
No parties	20	21	59	106
Don't know	20	7	73	108
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	41%	18%	41%	234
Protestants	36	14	50	344

CONFIDENTIAL

Eisenhower's alleged negative attitude toward the Germans in the last war is prominent among the remarks of those who argue he is not the right man for the job, but it does not figure so frequently as to overshadow the sum total of other remarks.

"Do you consider General Eisenhower the right man to put the plans for the defense of West Europe into effect, or do you believe a better man could be found for this task?"

If "Eisenhower not the right man": "Why do you believe Eisenhower not to be the right man?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
<u>His attitude towards Germany during and after the last war:</u> Because right at the end of the war he quite senselessly gave the order to destroy Wuerzburg, Dresden and Ulm; he gave up hundreds of thousands of German soldiers to the Russians at the Elbe River in 1945; Eisenhower treated us badly; he never recognized us as soldiers at the time; because of his attitude after the capitulation the Germans don't think much of him, and he probably won't get much enthusiasm on their part for the defense plans; etc.	5%	4%	8%	4%
<u>His ignorance of European conditions:</u> He doesn't know enough about European conditions; because we need a Supreme Commander of European origin in Europe; because an American is not interested in European conditions; because he represents the interests of the United States and not Europe's; he is no strategist for Europe; etc.	4	5	3	*
<u>His ignorance of the enemy:</u> He does not know the Russians and never fought a war in the East; because he doesn't know Russia; Eisenhower does not know Russian conditions well enough; etc.	3	4	1	-
<u>His personal traits:</u> I think this gentleman is a little too old; he is not objective enough; he talks too much and makes mere phrases; he is not a good strategist; he is somewhat too severe and leans towards the Republican view-point; he is too much of a philosopher and civilian - we should rather have a good, tough military man; etc.	2	1	3	*
<u>His lack of war experience:</u> Because he has not accomplished anything so far - what he did at the Normandy invasion was nothing considering that he fought an already shattered army; because he has to prove himself first - he only won the last war on account of the superior number of his forces; etc.	1	2	1	1
<u>Other opinions:</u> The Americans should leave us alone; Montgomery is a better man; etc.	1	*	-	2
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	$\frac{*}{16\%}$ **	$\frac{1}{17\%}$ **	$\frac{1}{17\%}$ **	$\frac{-}{7\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

V. LATEST TREND ON STATE OF AMERICAN RESOLUTION

WILL AMERICA STAND FIRM IN EUROPE IN EVENT OF COMMUNIST AGGRESSION? ...

The extent of West German confidence in American resolution to fight Communist aggression again indicates in the latest survey no substantial change from its early December level. Now as then the preponderant sentiment is a firm conviction that America will take a resolute stand in the event of Communist aggression in Western Europe. So the suggestion is reinforced that recent expression of neo-isolationism by prominent Americans has not appreciably undermined West German faith in American aid in defense.

"Considering the events in Korea, are you firmly convinced that America would take a firm stand in case of Communist aggression in Western Europe, are you less convinced of it or not convinced at all?"

	WEST GERMANY					British Zone				
	Aug	Dec		Jan		Aug	Dec		Jan	
	15-17	4-5	19-20	3-4	18-19	15-17	4-5	19-20	3-4	18-19
Firmly convinced	70%	55%	52%	52%	51%	70%	56%	53%	52%	50%
Less convinced	15	24	24	23	23	15	22	21	21	23
Not convinced	5	11	13	12	12	5	10	12	12	10
No opinion	10	10	11	13	14	10	12	14	15	17
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

	US Zone					Berlin				
	Aug	Dec		Jan		Aug	Dec		Jan	
	15-17	4-5	19-20	3-4	18-19	15-17	5-4	19-20	3-4	18-19
Firmly convinced	73%	53%	49%	52%	49%	89%	89%	77%	82%	79%
Less convinced	14	28	29	25	26	8	10	15	14	13
Not convinced	6	14	18	15	17	1	1	4	2	2
No opinion	7	5	4	8	8	2	-	4	2	6
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As might be surmised, confidence in American resolution is considerably stronger among Germans who favor integration with the West than among those who would be inclined to accept a Russian sponsored offer of neutrality for Germany.

"Considering the events in Korea, are you firmly convinced that America would take a firm stand in case of Communist aggression in Western Europe, are you less convinced of it, or not convinced at all?"

	Firmly convinced	Less convinced	Not convinced	No opinion	Number of cases
WEST GERMANY					
Would accept Western offer	64%	22%	7%	7%	387
Would accept Russian offer	32	32	22	14	155

C O N F I D E N T I A L

In the latest survey the usual pattern emerges of greater confidence among the opinion leading levels. The lead of the better educated over the lesser educated, however, shows signs of a constriction which if it continues may raise the possibility that the better informed respondents are being influenced by expression of isolationist sentiments in the U.S.

"Considering the events in Korea, are you firmly convinced that America would take a firm stand in case of Communist aggression in Western Europe, are you less convinced of it, or not convinced at all?"

	Firmly convinced				Less convinced				Not convinced				No opinion				Number of cases:
	Dec	Jan	Dec	Jan	Dec	Jan	Dec	Jan	Dec	Jan	Dec	Jan	Dec	Jan	Dec	Jan	
	4	19	3	18	4	19	3	18	4	19	3	18	4	19	3	18	
	5	20	4	19	5	20	4	19	5	20	4	19	5	20	4	19	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
WEST GERMANY																	
Sex:																	
Men	58	56	55	59	23	25	23	22	13	13	15	13	6	6	7	6	289
Women	52	49	50	44	25	22	22	25	10	13	10	11	13	16	18	20	351
Education:																	
Elementary school	51	46	46	48	23	25	24	23	13	14	14	13	13	15	16	16	396
Beyond elementary school	61	60	63	56	25	22	21	24	9	12	9	11	5	6	7	9	244
Socio-economic Status:																	
Lower class	47	43	45	46	25	26	22	23	13	15	13	13	15	16	20	18	323
Lower middle to upper class	62	62	59	56	24	21	24	24	9	11	12	11	5	6	5	9	317
Income(per month):																	
0 - 149 DM	52	40	45	33	21	25	21	26	14	13	10	17	13	22	24	24	102
150 - 299 DM	47	49	47	50	29	25	26	24	11	15	12	12	13	11	15	14	270
300 DM and more	64	59	62	59	21	21	20	22	9	12	13	11	6	8	5	8	264
Age:																	
Under 40 years	54	52	52	49	27	26	25	26	10	13	11	13	9	9	12	12	288
40 years and over	56	53	52	53	22	21	21	22	12	13	13	11	10	13	14	14	340
Party Preferences:																	
SPD	-	-	-	53	-	-	-	24	-	-	-	14	-	-	-	9	172
CDU/CSU	-	-	-	63	-	-	-	18	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	12	121
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	-	-	-	60	-	-	-	28	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	5	105
Other parties	-	-	-	47	-	-	-	21	-	-	-	18	-	-	-	14	28
No parties	-	-	-	41	-	-	-	26	-	-	-	16	-	-	-	17	106
Don't know	-	-	-	37	-	-	-	23	-	-	-	14	-	-	-	26	108

CONFIDENTIAL

VI. CURRENT STATE OF OPINION ON THE GROTEWOHL PROPOSAL

EXTENT OF FAMILIARITY WITH PROPOSAL AND ADENAUER'S RESPONSE ...

With the dimming of the Grotwohl proposal as a live issue approximately three out of four in Western Germany had come around to hearing or reading something about it.

"Have you read or heard of the letter recently sent by the East-German Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl to Federal Chancellor Adenauer?"

	WEST GERMANY			British Zone			US Zone			Berlin		
	Dec	Jan		Dec	Jan		Dec	Jan		Dec	Jan	
	19-20	3-4	18-19	19-20	3-4	18-19	19-20	3-4	18-19	19-20	3-4	18-19
Yes	56%	66%	76%	55%	63%	74%	58%	74%	77%	69%	72%	82%
No	4%	34	24	45	37	26	42	26	23	31	28	18
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Somewhat fewer respondents knew how Adenauer had reacted to the proposal, but the bulk of West Germans with opinions in the matter stated without qualification that Adenauer had rejected it.

Grotewohl proposed in his letter a conference between six representatives each of West Germany and East Germany to discuss the unification of Germany.

"Do you know whether Federal Chancellor Adenauer accepted or refused this proposal?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Accepted	2%	2%	1%	1%
Refused	48	45	52	51
Answered with certain conditions	13	15	9	18
No opinion	37	38	38	30
	100%	100%	100%	100%

CONFIDENTIAL

Group breakdowns show that as of the time of the present survey ignorance of Adenauer's response was rather considerable among the usually less informed elements of the urban West German population.

Grotwohl proposed in his letter a conference between six representatives each of West Germany and East Germany to discuss the unification of Germany.

"Do you know whether Federal Chancellor Adenauer accepted or refused this proposal?"

	Accepted	Refused	Answered with certain conditions	No opinion	Number of cases:
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	1%	62%	20%	17%...100%	289
Women	2	37	7	54	351
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	2%	43%	10%	45%	396
Beyond elementary school	2	57	18	23	344
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	3%	42%	7%	48%	323
Lower middle to upper class	1	54	19	26	317
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 149 DM	5%	26%	4%	65%	102
150 - 299 DM	1	49	9	41	270
300 DM and more	2	55	21	22	264
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	2%	49%	12%	37%	288
40 years and over	2	47	14	37	349
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	1%	58%	10%	31%	172
CDU/CSU	-	43	19	38	121
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	1	60	14	25	105
Other parties	7	61	11	21	28
No parties	4	40	15	41	106
Don't know	1	50	14	35	344

CONFIDENTIAL

REACTIONS TO REJECTION OF PROPOSAL ...

Among those who labeled Adenauer's answer to the Grotewohl proposal as a refusal, approval of such a course outweighed disapproval over two to one.

"Do you in general agree with Adenauer's answer or not?" (Asked of those who answered "Refused" to previous question.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Agree	28%	27%	29%	45%
Not agree	13	12	16	3
No opinion	$\frac{7}{48\%}$	$\frac{6}{45\%}$	$\frac{7}{52\%}$	$\frac{3}{51\%}$

The suggestion thus far from these partial results is then that though a majority of urban West Germans have been earlier shown to be in favor of accepting the proposal, they didn't feel so strongly but what the fact of Adenauer's rejection or his accompanying explanatory statements could swing the preponderance into agreement.

Notable too after the fact of Adenauer's rejection of the Grotewohl proposal, is that among the respondents who labeled it as such the opinion lending elements manifest the most widespread approval.

"Do you in general agree with Adenauer's answer or not?" (Asked of those who answered "Refused" to previous question.)

	Agree	Not agree	No opinion	Number of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	61%	31%	8% ... 100%	179
Women	52	24	24	129
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	48%	32%	20%	170
Beyond elementary school	68	23	9	138
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	47%	33%	20%	155
Lower middle to upper class	65	24	11	173
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	37%	41%	22%	27
150 - 299 DM	51	33	16	133
300 DM and more	66	21	13	146
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	54%	28%	18%	141
40 years and over	60	27	13	165
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	57%	33%	11%	100
CDU/CSU	73	10	17	52
FDP/LRP/DVP/BDV	64	27	9	63
Other parties	35	53	12	17
No parties	57	26	17	42
Don't know	32	35	33	34
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	64%	26%	10%	105
Protestants	55	27	18	178

CONFIDENTIAL

DO GERMANS BELIEVE WEST OPPOSED TO UNITED GERMANY? ...

The widespread favorable response to the Grotewohl proposal - prior to its apparently telling rejection by Adenauer - raised a serious question as to whether or not Germans interpret the policy of Western integration for West Germany as an indication that the Western powers are opposed to German unity. The reassuring indication of the present findings is that no such implication has been gathered.

"If the Western powers would offer West Germany the opportunity to join with the West European nations, do you think that would mean that the West is fundamentally opposed to a united Germany or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Opposed to a united Germany	8%	7%	10%	5%
Not opposed to unification	71	69	74	88
No opinion	$\frac{21}{100\%}$	$\frac{24}{100\%}$	$\frac{16}{100\%}$	$\frac{7}{100\%}$

Even among respondents who have indicated they would favor Russian sponsored neutrality to Western integration the preponderant view is that the latter policy does not imply that the West is opposed to a united Germany.

"If the Western powers would offer West Germany the opportunity to join with the West European nations, do you think that would mean that the West is fundamentally opposed to a united Germany or not?"

	Opposed to a united Germany	Not opposed to unification	No opinion	Number of cases
WEST GERMANY				
Would accept Western offer	4%	86%	10%...100%	387
Would accept Russian offer	16	54	30	155

The implication of these findings is of course that any adverse reactions to Western aims for Germany does not spring in any large way from feelings that Western policy is opposed to German unity.

Denial that Western integration of West Germany means opposition to German unity is particularly widespread among the more educated and informed levels of West German city dwellers.

"If the Western powers would offer West Germany the opportunity to join with the West European nations, do you think that would mean that the West is fundamentally opposed to a united Germany or not?"

WEST GERMANY	Opposed to a united Germany	Not opposed to unification	No opinion	Number of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	9%	77%	14% ... 100%	289
Women	5	67	37	351
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	9%	64%	27%	396
Beyond elementary school	6	83	11	244
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	10%	60%	30%	323
Lower middle to upper class	5	83	11	317
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	13%	49%	38%	102
150 - 299 DM	8	69	23	270
300 DM and more	5	83	12	264
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	9%	72%	19%	288
40 years and over	7	71	22	340
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	5%	75%	18%	172
CDU/CSU	5	80	15	121
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	5	90	5	105
Other parties	29	50	21	26
No parties	10	58	32	106
Don't know	8	54	38	108
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	9%	71%	20%	234
Protestants	6	72	22	344

CONFIDENTIAL

The very small minority who hold that the West is opposed to German unity argue most frequently that such opposition stems from an alleged Western fear of the strength of a united Germany.

"If the Western powers would offer West Germany the opportunity to join with the West European nations, do you think that would mean that the West is fundamentally opposed to a united Germany or not?"

If "Opposed to a united Germany": "For what reasons do you think are the Western powers opposed to a united Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
<u>The Western powers fear that their political and military interests would be threatened by a strong and united Germany; Because the knowledge that a united Germany would grow to be a free and strong nation; because they are afraid of a united Germany; if they weren't opposed to it they would not have divided Germany - they still think that a united Germany would grow too strong again; because they don't want to give Germany a chance to recover - they need it as battleground; etc.</u>	4%	4%	7%	2%
<u>The Western powers fear West Germany would turn Communist; Because it would open the door to Communism; the Western powers fear that we would become allies of Russia; because the Russian threat is too imminent for the Western powers; etc.</u>	2	2	2	-
<u>Other opinions; Because the Western powers know exactly that the Russians won't keep an agreement; because the West has to provide for West Germany; because they want to ruthlessly govern the whole world; because several proposals by Russia to withdraw the occupation forces were refused; etc.</u>	1	1	1	1
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	$\frac{1}{8\%}$	$\frac{*}{7\%}$	$\frac{*}{10\%}$	$\frac{2}{5\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

VII. PRESENT REACTIONS TO A FOUR POWER CONFERENCE

CURRENT TREND ON GERMAN ADVANTAGE IN SUCH A CONFERENCE ...

In the past two weeks the meager hopes for German advantage out of a four power conference have sagged even lower to the point where two out of three among West German urban dwellers anticipate little to no advantage from such a meeting.

Some time ago the Russians proposed a four power conference on Germany.

"If this conference should be held, do you think it likely that the conference will be of great, not so great, little or no advantage to Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY					British Zone				
	Nov	Dec		Jan		Nov	Dec		Jan	
	15-16	4-5	19-20	3-4	18-19	15-16	4-5	19-20	3-4	18-19
Of great advantage	7%	9%	9%	11%	8%	7%	11%	7%	10%	8%
Of not so great an advantage	7%	9	17	12	11	7	9	15	11	11
Of little advantage	18	25	18	28	2%	17	24	19	25	25
Of no advantage at all	53	40	32	33	41	50	38	32	35	42
No opinion	18	17	24	16	14	19	18	27	19	14
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

	US Zone					Berlin				
	Nov	Dec		Jan		Nov	Dec		Jan	
	15-16	4-5	19-20	3-4	18-19	15-16	4-5	19-20	3-4	18-19
Of great advantage	6%	7%	13%	13%	7%	5%	7%	12%	11%	6%
Of not so great an advantage	5	10	22	14	13	7	5	5	12	7
Of little advantage	10	26	17	31	28	13	14	24	22	17
Of no advantage at all	61	45	29	31	40	71	69	51	46	65
No opinion	10	12	19	11	12	4	5	8	9	5
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

CONFIDENTIAL

Pessimism seems to have grown most, group breakdowns reveal, among the more educated and informed population elements.

Some time ago the Russians proposed a four power conference on Germany.

"If this conference should be held, do you think it likely that the conference will be of great, not so great, little or no advantage to Germany?"

	Of great advantage			Of not so great an advantage			Of little advantage			Of no advantage at all			No opinion			Number of cases:
	Dec 19	Jan 3	18	Dec 19	Jan 3	18	Dec 19	Jan 3	18	Dec 19	Jan 3	18	Dec 19	Jan 3	18	
WEST GERMANY	20	4	19	20	4	19	20	4	19	20	4	19	20	4	19	
<u>Sex:</u>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	
Men	12	14	10	10	12	10	18	29	24	38	37	47	13	8	9	239
Women	6	8	6	15	12	13	18	26	27	27	31	36	34	23	18	351
<u>Education:</u>																
Elementary school	10	12	9	16	12	12	13	23	24	30	31	37	31	23	18	396
Beyond elementary school	0	8	5	18	13	11	25	35	28	36	37	49	13	7	7	244
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>																
Lower class	11	12	9	16	10	13	13	26	24	25	29	35	35	23	19	323
Lower middle to upper class	7	9	6	18	14	10	23	30	20	39	38	47	13	9	9	317
<u>Income (per month):</u>																
0 - 149 DM	10	12	8	11	9	12	12	26	24	31	26	31	36	27	25	102
150 - 299 DM	10	9	11	15	12	12	19	26	24	26	34	40	30	19	13	270
300 DM and more	9	12	5	21	13	11	19	31	29	37	35	46	14	9	10	264
<u>Age:</u>																
Under 40 years	8	12	9	19	12	12	19	31	29	33	29	36	22	16	14	268
40 years and over	10	9	7	15	12	11	10	25	23	31	37	45	26	17	14	349
<u>Party Preferences:</u>																
SPD	-	-	11	-	-	12	-	-	26	-	-	40	-	-	11	172
CDU/CSU	-	-	3	-	-	8	-	-	20	-	-	53	-	-	8	121
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	-	-	7	-	-	11	-	-	32	-	-	44	-	-	6	105
Other parties	-	-	29	-	-	11	-	-	29	-	-	20	-	-	11	23
No parties	-	-	6	-	-	11	-	-	16	-	-	43	-	-	24	106
Don't know	-	-	7	-	-	15	-	-	24	-	-	29	-	-	25	108
<u>Religion:</u>																
Catholics	8	10	6	18	12	12	14	25	26	34	36	43	26	17	13	234
Protestants	8	10	7	17	13	11	20	20	26	32	32	40	23	17	16	344

01165

**DEFENSE PARTICIPATION SENTIMENTS AND THE EXTENT OF
"OHNE MICH"**

**With Other Current Developments On Issues Related To
German Defense Participation**

**Report No. 61
Series No. 2
February 22, 1951**

EVALUATION STAFF

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

SUMMARY

I. GENERAL PARTICIPATION SENTIMENT OVER THE PAST QUARTER

Approval Clearly Dominates Disapproval In Urban West Germany ...
 Strong Unvarying Support Among West Berliners ...
 Support Strongest Among Most Influential Population Elements ...

II. "OHNE MICH" - FACT OR FICTION?

Participation Supporters Unrealistic About Sacrifices Entailed ...
 Heavy Losses In Support If Sacrifices Entailed ...
 Group Differences In "Count Me Out" ...
 How Many Will Sacrifice For German Defense? ...
 Would Germans Volunteer For Military Service? ...

III. PRESENT EXHENT OF NEUTRALIST FEELINGS AND NEUTRALIST JUDGMENTS

Neutralist Feelings No Longer Predominate ...

IV. REACTIONS TO EISENHOWER AND HIS VISIT TO GERMANY

Is Eisenhower The Best Man To Implement West European Defense? ...
 Reactions To Eisenhower's Visit ...
 Conclusion ...

V. PRESENT REACTIONS TO A FOUR-POWER CONFERENCE

Advantageous Or Disadvantageous For Germany? ...

VI. SOME SIGNIFICANT KOREAN-RELATED ISSUES

Current Trend On UN Withdrawal From Korea ...
 Is The U.S. Strong Enough For Both Korean War And European
 Reinforcement? ...
 Should America Be More Firm Or More Conciliatory Toward Communist
 China? ...

INTRODUCTION

The present report continues the series of studies being conducted by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, to chart developments in German thinking on issues related to West German participation in European defense. Since this latest survey marks the end of a three months series, summary findings for the quarterly period are graphically presented on the basic issue of German defense participation.

SUMMARY

I. GENERAL PARTICIPATION SENTIMENT OVER THE PAST QUARTER

- ... Approval of German defense participation has strongly preponderated over disapproval in urban West Germany over the past three months. Of the 6,500 people who were interviewed from November 1, 1950 to February 1, 1951, 55.3 per cent favored German participation in an Atlantic Pact army, 34.4 per cent opposed and 10.3 per cent were undecided.
- ... In the three Western sectors of Berlin there has been almost unvarying support of German defense participation over the quarterly period with an average of 84.1 per cent approval among the 2,000 cases interviewed.
- ... Sex, age and economic comparisons among urban West German city dwellers over the past three months reveal first, that the relatively more influential elements in the population - the men, the better schooled, and respondents of higher socio-economic status are considerably more frequently in favor of German defense participation than are their counterpart groups.
- ... Secondly, the figures show that the current extent of support for defense participation among the men, the better schooled, and the economically better situated is almost identical with the opening figures of three months ago - thus indicating that a slight downward trend in the overall returns for the quarterly period is due entirely to losses in support over the past three months among the less educated and informed levels of the urban West German population - the women, the less schooled, and the lower income groups.

II. "OHNE MICH" - FACT OR FICTION?

- ... The first hint that much of the support for German defense participation may be only of the fair weather variety, is evident in a comparison of the attitudes of those for and against defense participation on a series of questions bearing on the possible necessity of three defense-related measures - increased taxation, rationing, and drafting of soldiers. On all three issues considerably larger proportions of supporters than opponents of German defense participation reveal that they are resting their decision on the highly unrealistic assumption that the sacrifice in question will not be necessary.
- ... Further inquiries among supporters of German defense participation reveal that approximately one out of four retracts his support in the event that higher taxation, rationing, or a draft would be called for. And if all three measures are necessitated - as very probably they would be in any real participation in European defense - a full half of the erstwhile supporters of German defense participation say in effect - "ohne mich".

- ... "Count me out" sentiments when the realities of German defense participation are approached are greatest in the US Zone occupation and least in Berlin. In this latter area a full three quarters of those who support German defense participation indicate a willingness to meet any necessary costs in higher taxation, rationing, and a draft.
- ... How seriously "ohne mich" sentiments condition the picture of preponderant support of German defense participation that is obtained when one does not go into the sacrifices that may be entailed, is apparent when overall figures are examined. Those reveal that if German defense participation means higher taxation, only a total of 36 per cent approve. If defense participation means rationing, only 37 per cent approve, if defense participation means a draft, only 37 per cent approve. And if defense participation means all of these highly probable sacrifices only 37 per cent - or approximately one quarter - continue to express support of German participation in European defense.
- ... An admittedly stringent, but possibly revealing test of how far Germans are personally willing to "count themselves in" on any European defense efforts can be obtained by inquiring among Germans as to whether or not they would be inclined to volunteer for service in the event of German participation in a European army. The findings are that only six per cent of those German men who do not report themselves as ineligible for military service evince any willingness to volunteer.
- ... That 59 per cent of the men who consider themselves eligible for service indicate a willingness to serve if drafted cannot be interpreted too optimistically in view of the finding of the November 9-10th survey, which from all indications is just as true currently, that a majority oppose granting the Federal government the power to draft.
- ... Expressions of outright refusal to serve under any circumstances has apparently dropped somewhat since the prior survey but still characterizes a substantial segment of the population.

III. PRESENT EXTENT OF NEUTRALIST FEELINGS AND NEUTRALIST JUDGMENTS

- ... Neutralist feelings, which had risen to a preponderant position among urban West Germans at the turn of the year, have now receded to the point where they are clearly outweighed by inclinations toward integration with the West.
- ... Neutralist feelings are considerably more widespread in the US Zone than in the British Zone, and indeed in the American occupied area overshadow somewhat sentiments in favor of the West.
- ... Group breakdowns disclose that the recent gains in pro-Western feelings have been relatively greater among the more educated and informed levels, i.e. the men, the better schooled, and the economically better situated.
- ... Returns on a more realistically grounded neutralist judgment question, in contrast to the one referred to in the results above tapping primarily neutralist feelings, show no significant departure from mid-January levels. Then as now pro-Western judgments enjoy a commanding lead of three to one over the proportion of respondents who would favor the Federal government accepting a Russian sponsored proposal of a neutral unified Germany.

- ... Shifts in results on the neutralist feeling question in the face of the relative stability just indicated on the neutralist judgment query validates further the distinction between these two dimensions, since the expectation would be of course that emotional reactions would react more sensitively to passing circumstances than more judgmental reactions - constrained as these latter are by the fairly constant and enduring facts of contemporary East-West relationship.

IV. REACTIONS TO EISENHOWER AND HIS VISIT TO GERMANY

- ... After General Eisenhower's visit to Germany almost three out of four West German city dwellers had come to know of his appointment as Supreme Commander of the West European armed forces.
- ... But, despite whatever effects his personal visit to Germany may have had, almost half of urban West Germans still are unable or reluctant to indicate whether or not in their judgment he is the best man to implement West European defense. Among those who do express an opinion, however, favorable judgments continue to exceed unfavorable by a ratio of better than two to one.
- ... Favorable reactions toward Eisenhower's appointment continue to be relatively more widespread among the opinion leading elements of the urban West German population, but even among the more educated and informed groups no opinion is very extensive. The possibility must be considered that in their present circumstances of not being a part of the Atlantic Pact and knowing as little as they do of Eisenhower, it is difficult for West Germans to state whether or not he is the best man that can be found for the job of Supreme Commander of NATO.
- ... Coming more specifically to Eisenhower's visit it is found that as many as four out of five in urban West Germany were aware of his journey to German soil.
- ... The predominant single opinion among those who were aware of Eisenhower's coming was that he left a good impression as the result of his visit. Only one out of ten judged the effect of his visit to be bad, though 15 per cent saw no impression, and 16 per cent judged the impression to be partly good and partly bad.
- ... However, even among those who favor participation in a European army, not as many as a majority would go so far as to say that Eisenhower left a "good" impression as a result of his visit.
- ... Favorable impression of Eisenhower's visit were relatively more frequent among the more educated and informed, group breakdowns disclose.
- ... The comparatively few who held that Eisenhower's visit left a bad impression contended most frequently that his words were not to be trusted in view of his alleged earlier hostility toward the Germans.
- ... Respondents who held that Eisenhower's visit left a good impression focused mainly on what was said to be a change of attitude toward Germany in general and German soldiers in particular.
- ... All in all the fair conclusion seems to be that Eisenhower's visit left behind him considerably more favorable impressions than unfavorable, but achieved something less than the sweeping victory in public relations spoken of by a considerable body of the German press.

V. PRESENT REACTIONS TO A FOUR POWER CONFERENCE

- ... There is still no pronounced tendency in urban West Germany to see any German advantage in a four power conference. Only one out of five feel that there would be advantage to Germany in such a course, an equal proportion see a disadvantage, and the others see neither advantage nor disadvantage or express no opinion.
- ... Group breakdowns on this issue reveal at the present time no distinctive trends other than a relatively greater tendency for the opinion leading elements to express the judgment that a four power conference is not likely to contribute either to the advantage or disadvantage of Germany.
- ... Respondents who look for advantageous results for Germany as possibly emanating from a four power conference mostly argue that such a conference offers the hope that some sort of agreement can be reached about the problems of Germany.
- ... Those who anticipate only disadvantage from a four power conference hammer mainly at the theme that the Russians cannot be trusted.

VI. SOME SIGNIFICANT KOREA-RELATED ISSUES

- ... Favor of UN continuance of the fighting in Korea has trended downward slightly in the past two months to the point where German urban opinion is now rather evenly divided on the issue.
- ... Analysis of group breakdowns reveals that the drop in support of continued UN military efforts in Korea has occurred solely among the less educated and informed levels of the urban West German population - the women, the less schooled, and the economically less fortunate.
- ... The preponderant opinion among urban West Germans is that the U.S. is strong enough to carry on the war in Korea and at the same time send troop reinforcements to West Germany.
- ... Optimistic judgments of American strength are greatest, group breakdowns reveal, among the more educated and informed segments of urban West German opinion.
- ... Opinions split among West German city dwellers as to whether America should be more firm or more conciliatory with Communist China in relation to the Chinese intervention in the Korean conflict. Only in Berlin does a solid majority espouse a firmer stand.
- ... Judgments that the U.S. should take a firmer stand vis-a-vis the Chinese Communists are relatively more frequent among the opinion leading segments of the urban West German population, but among all groups differences of opinion on this issue are considerable.
- ... Respondents who endorse a firmer stand toward Communist China argue most frequently that otherwise Communism will spread, since every concession only encourages its development.
- ... West German who espouse a more lenient American policy toward Communist China are primarily influenced by the dangers of world war, or an alleged American inability to conquer Red China.

I. GENERAL PARTICIPATION SENTIMENT OVER THE PAST QUARTER

Completion of the 10th and last segment of the three month continuous study allows presentation of urban German attitudes on defense participation based upon 6,500 cases, and Berlin attitudes based upon 2,000 cases. For convenience the major trends are presented graphically with the more detailed tabulations appended at the back of this report.

APPROVAL CLEARLY DOMINATES DISAPPROVAL IN URBAN WEST GERMANY ...

Firstly, Graph No. 1 yields very strong assurance that over the winter quarter - and with the participation issue posed as indicated - approval of German defense participation has strongly preponderated over disapproval.

Secondly, there is somewhat less assurance but still considerable in view of the extensive number of cases, that approval is not only the preponderant sentiment, but is the majority standpoint as an average over the past three months.

Thirdly, Graph No. 1 shows that German reactions to the participation issue have fluctuated somewhat with the shifting tide of events. The possible determinants involved in these fluctuations have been touched upon in prior reports so need not be discussed here.

Finally, there is some indication in Graph No. 1 of a downward trend over the three month period in extent of favor of defense participation. However, in the past two surveys the trend has been in the direction of increased support and is now very close to the average level for the three month period.

STRONG UNVARYING SUPPORT AMONG WEST BERLINERS ...

In the three Western sectors of Berlin, as may be seen in Graph No. 2, there has been almost unvarying support of German defense participation over the past three months around an average of 74.1 per cent. The absence of any appreciable fluctuations in the three months trend demonstrates a rather remarkable record among West Berliners of imperviousness to propaganda or events.*

* Besides its psychological significance the absence of a marked fluctuation in the Berlin returns is of methodological importance in indicating that despite the use of only 200 cases per survey point, the sampling variations cannot be other than gratifyingly small.

Several West European nations and America signed a defense pact, the so-called Atlantic Pact. Suppose West Germany would join the Atlantic Pact and be asked in connection with it to participate in a European army for the defense of West Europe. Would you then be for or against such participation in a defense "army"?

For Defense Participation												Against Defense Participation												No Cynion*		Number of cases:	
Oct				November				December				Jan				Feb											
Nov																											
31	9	15	27	4-5	11	19	3-4	18	1-2					31	9	15	27	4-5	11	19	3-4	18	1-2				
1	10	15	28		12	20	19							1	10	15	28		12	20	19						
Total																											

POST OFFICE

Sex	Men	Women
60	64	53
55	53	49
50	70	50
45	62	50
40	53	51
35	53	43
30	55	45
25	57	42
20	31	31
15	31	32
10	42	40
5	25	23
0	34	37
	35	37
	35	33
	39	41
	33	30
	37	37
	28	28
	52	52

Elementary school		Beyond elementary school.	
596	516	67	63
436	576	64	77
596	596	63	68
456	456	67	61
336	446	57	59
446	446	29	27
326	356	27	33
466	306	19	31
356	406	27	26
426	426	3	3
456	386	27	24
496	496		

[illegible]

52	50	60	49	46	42	47	53	42	34	42	30	43	44	40	46	35	35	25
71	55	71	62	70	64	59	65	66	24	35	21	31	25	31	34	25	25	

[illegible]

Party Preference:
CPD
564 498
564 498
177

END/CSU	75	21	15	11
THE LINE/DIT/CDV	57	29	24	92
Other Parties	32	47	46	37
No parties	34	44	44	123
Don't know	33	44	35	95

Religion			
Catholics	508	578	504
Protestants	64	59	51
			64
			60
			57
			55
			515
			465
			555
			54
			53
			53
			358
			29
			32
			41
			26
			31
			358
			34
			32
			41
			32
			358
			34
			•
			•
			241
			358

- Because of the space difficulties in presenting such an extended trend, "Washington" figures are omitted. They can be done by those interested by summing for and against figures and subtracting from 100.
- Income figures were not obtained in the earlier two surveys, and thereby preference figures have not been indicated.

[illegible]

Religion			
Catholics	508	578	504
Protestants	64	59	51
			64
			60
			57
			55
			515
			465
			555
			54
			53
			53
			358
			29
			32
			41
			26
			31
			358
			34
			32
			41
			32
			358
			34
			•
			•
			241
			358

- Because of the space difficulties in presenting such an extended trend, "Washington" figures are omitted. They can be done by those interested by summing for and against figures and subtracting from 100.
- Income figures were not obtained in the earlier two surveys, and thereby preference figures have not been indicated.

[illegible][illegible]

- Because of the space difficulties in presenting such an extended trend, "Washington" figures are omitted. They can be done by those interested by summing for and against figures and subtracting from 100.
- Income figures were not obtained in the earlier two surveys, and thereby preference figures have not been indicated.

[illegible][illegible]

- Because of the space difficulties in presenting such an extended trend, "Washington" figures are omitted. They can be done by those interested by summing for and against figures and subtracting from 100.
- Income figures were not obtained in the earlier two surveys, and thereby preference figures have not been indicated.

* Because of the space difficulties in presenting such an extended trend, the "union" figures are omitted. They can be derived by those interested by summing for and against figures and subtracting from 100.

•• Increase figures were not obtained in the earlier two surveys, and better reference figures have not been introduced.

II. "OHNE MICH" - FACT OR FICTION?

With the question of the direction of predominant German opinion settled - whether they are for or against defense participation - the equally important question of intensity arises. How far are those who express their approval of German defense participation willing to go to support their judgment? This is the question of "Ohne Mich" - not in its obvious reference to those who disapprove of German defense participation, but in its subtle aspect, those who approve but are unwilling to make the sacrifices that lend substance to such approval.

PARTICIPATION SUPPORTERS UNREALISTIC ABOUT SACRIFICES ENTAILLED ...

The first hint that much of the support for German defense participation may be only of the fair weather variety, is evident in a comparison of the attitudes of those for and against defense participation on a series of questions bearing on the possible necessity of three defense-related measures - increased taxation, rationing, and drafting of soldiers. On all three issues considerably larger proportions of supporters than opponents of German defense participation reveal that they are resting their decision on the highly unrealistic assumption that the sacrifice in question will not be necessary.

"Supposing West Germany participates in a West European army, do you think it will be necessary to increase taxes in West Germany in order to meet the financial demands of an army or do you think that a tax increase will not prove necessary?"

WEST GERMANY			British Zone			US Zone			Berlin		
For	Anti	All	For	Anti	All	For	Anti	All	For	Anti	All
par-	& no res-	par-	par-	& no res-	par-	par-	& no res-	par-	par-	& no res-	par-
tici-	opin	pon-	tici-	opin	pon-	tici-	opin	pon-	tici-	opin	pon-
pa-	dents	dents	pa-	dents	dents	pa-	dents	dents	pa-	dents	dents
tion			tion			tion			tion		
Tax increase											
necessary	56%	66%	51%	47%	65%	56%	71%	58%	69%	60%	62%
Not											
necessary	35	18	27	42	18	31	21	18	20	28	11
No opinion	9	16	12	12	17	13	8	14	11	12	27
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Supposing West Germany participates in a West European army, do you think a rationing of scarce consumer's goods and food in West Germany will be necessary or do you think rationing will not prove necessary?"

Rationing											
necessary	37%	55%	46%	37%	55%	46%	40%	57%	48%	51%	58%
Not											
necessary	56	28	43	55	29	42	56	25	42	41	31
No opinion	7	17	11	8	16	12	4	18	10	8	11
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Supposing West Germany participates in a West European army, do you think that enough German men would volunteer for a German outfit in this army or do you think that in order to have an adequate number it will prove necessary to draft German men?"

Draft											
necessary	40%	59%	49%	43%	57%	49%	37%	63%	49%	27%	61%
Not											
necessary	52	20	37	50	20	36	57	20	40	69	31
No opinion	8	21	14	7	23	15	6	17	11	4	8
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Since higher taxations, rationing, and a draft are all likely consequences of any real German participation in European defense, the above findings make it of the highest order of importance to find out how many supporters of defense participation would retract their approval should one or more of the indicated sacrifices be entailed.

HEAVY LOSSES IN SUPPORT IF SACRIFICES ENTAILLED ...

Study of the combined table below reveals that in urban West Germany approximately one out of four supporters of German defense participation in each case retracts his support in the event that higher taxation, rationing, or a draft would be called for. And if all three measures are necessitated -- as very probably they would be in any real participation in European defense -- a full half of the erstwhile supporters of German defense participation say in effect -- "ohne mich".

"In case it proved necessary to increase taxes in order to meet these financial demands (of German defense participation), would you then under these circumstances favor West Germany's participation in the West European army or would you oppose participation?" (Asked only of those who expressed themselves in favor of German participation.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Proportion of defense supporters who <u>still</u> favor participation if higher taxes prove necessary	67%	72%	65%	91%
Oppose under this condition	21	19	29	5
No opinion	12	9	6	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"In case a rationing of food and consumer's goods proved necessary in West Germany, would you then under these circumstances favor West Germany's participation in a West European army or would you oppose participation?" (Asked only of those who expressed themselves in favor of German participation.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Proportion of defense supporters who <u>still</u> favor participation if rationing proves necessary	69%	71%	59%	89%
Oppose under this condition	25	23	35	8
No opinion	6	6	6	3
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"In case it proved necessary to draft German men for military service, would you then, under these circumstances, favor West Germany's participation in a West European army or would you oppose participation?" (Asked only of those who expressed themselves in favor of German participation.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Proportion of defense supporters who <u>still</u> favor participation if drafting proves necessary	69%	72%	59%	87%
Oppose under this condition	23	20	32	10
No opinion	8	8	9	3
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Combined Returns from all three questions

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Favor under all three conditions	50%	55%	40%	78%
Oppose under one or more conditions	50	45	60	22
No opinion	*	*	*	*
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

* Less than one half of one per cent.

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN "COUNT ME OUT" ...

The preceding table shows that "count me out" sentiments when the realities of German defense participation are approached are greatest in the US Zone of occupation where 60 per cent compared to the 45 per cent in the British Zone prove to be but fair weather supporters of German defense participation. Indicated also is that "ohne mich" is only a minor problem in Berlin where a full three quarters of those who support German defense participation are willing to meet any necessary costs in higher taxation, rationing and a draft.

The table below reveals that among urban West German population groups, defections in support of defense participation in the face of possible sacrifices is relatively less among the more educated and informed levels. It figures prominently, however, among all elements of the population.

	Favor under all three conditions	Oppose under one or more conditions	No opinion	Number of cases
WEST GERMANY				
Sex:				
Men	52%	48%	- ...100%	192
Women	47	53	-	148
Education:				
Elementary school	44%	56%	-	171
Beyond elementary school	57	43	-	169
Socio-economic Status:				
Lower class	45%	55%	-	136
Lower middle to upper class	54	46	-	204
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	30%	70%	-	30
150 - 299 DM	49	51	-	138
300 DM and more	54	46	-	170
Age:				
Under 40 years	51%	49%	-	152
40 years and over	50	50	-	188
Party Preference:				
SPD	39%	61%	-	86
CDU/CSU	66	34	-	86
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	56	44	-	63
Other parties	60	40	-	15
No parties	40	60	-	47
Don't know	40	60	-	40
Religion:				
Catholics	52%	48%	-	127
Protestants	50	50	-	179

HOW MANY WILL SACRIFICE FOR GERMAN DEFENSE? ...

How seriously "ohne mich" sentiments riddle the picture of preponderant support of German defense participation that is obtained when one does not go into the price, is baldly apparent in the table below. It may be seen that if German defense participation means higher taxes only 36 per cent among urban West Germans approve. If defense participation means rationing, only 37 per cent approve, if defense participation means a draft, only 37 per cent approve. And if defense participation means all of these highly probable sacrifices only 27 per cent - or approximately one quarter - continue to express support of German participation in European defense.

"In case it proved necessary to increase taxes in order to meet these financial demands, would you then under these circumstances favor West Germany's participation in a West European army or would you oppose participation?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Favor under this condition	36%	37%	35%	80%
Oppose under this condition	11	10	16	4
Oppose in general	34	34	35	12
No opinion	19	19	14	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"In case a rationing of consumer's goods and food proved necessary in West Germany, would you then under these circumstances favor West Germany's participation in a West European army or would you oppose participation?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Favor under this condition	37%	37%	32%	78%
Oppose under this condition	13	12	19	7
Oppose in general	34	34	35	12
No opinion	16	17	14	3
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"In case it proved necessary to draft German men for military service, would you then under these circumstances favor West Germany's participation in a West European army or would you oppose participation?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Favor under this condition	37%	37%	32%	76%
Oppose under this condition	12	17	17	8
Oppose in general	34	34	35	12
No opinion	17	19	16	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Combined Returns from all three questions

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Favor participation under all three conditions	27%	32%	21%	67%
Oppose under one or more conditions	26	20	33	20
Oppose in general	34	34	35	12
No opinion	13	14	11	1
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

WOULD GERMANS VOLUNTEER FOR MILITARY SERVICE? ...

An admittedly stringent, but possibly revealing test of how far Germans are personally willing to "count themselves in" on any European defense efforts can be obtained by inquiring among Germans as to whether or not they would be inclined to volunteer for service in the event of German participation in a European army. It may be seen below that only six per cent of those German men who do not report themselves as ineligible for military service evince any willingness to volunteer. Perhaps such a proportion absolutely considered represents an appreciable number of potential soldiers, but in any relative sense it can hardly be interpreted as positive evidence of enthusiasm for personal participation in European defense. It is to be noted also from the table below that the proportion of West German urban men who would volunteer has definitely not risen since the earlier measurement in mid-November.

"In case West Germany participates in a West European army, would you then volunteer, - would you serve only if you were drafted, - or would you refuse any kind of military service?" (Table below of men only.)*

	WEST GERMANY		British Zone		US Zone		Berlin	
	Nov 9-10	Feb 1-2	Nov 9-10	Feb 1-2	Nov 9-10	Feb 1-2	Nov 9-10	Feb 1-2
Volunteer	7% (9)	4% (6)	8% (10)	5% (7)	6% (8)	4% (6)	2% (26)	18% (25)
Serve if drafted	38 (48)	42 (59)	35 (44)	39 (57)	46 (57)	47 (59)	38 (50)	44 (69)
Refuse to serve	30 (38)	23 (32)	32 (40)	21 (31)	27 (33)	28 (35)	17 (23)	11 (15)
Undecided	4 (5)	2 (3)	5 (6)	3 (5)	2 (2)	1 (*)	1 (1)	- (-)
	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)
Ineligible for service	21 100%	29 100%	20 100%	32 100%	19 100%	20 100%	24 100%	27 100%

That 50 per cent of the men who consider themselves eligible for service indicate a willingness to serve if drafted cannot be interpreted too optimistically in view of the finding of the November 9-10th survey, ** which from all indications is just as true currently, that a majority oppose granting the Federal government the power to draft.

Expressions of outright refusal to serve under any circumstances has apparently dropped somewhat since the prior survey but still characterizes a substantial segment of the population.

* Percentages in parenthesis are based on the men who do not indicate that they are ineligible for service.

** Report No. 47, Series No. 2, dated 18 November 1950, GERMANS VIEW THE REMILITARIZATION ISSUE - Further Findings and Some Limitations on Majority Approval.

Group comparisons on the present inquiry suggest that both volunteers and refusals to serve are more frequent among the less educated and lower income groups, with an indicated willingness to serve if drafted relatively more frequent among the better educated and better off levels of urban West German men.

"In case West Germany participates in a West European army, would you then volunteer, - would you serve only if you were drafted, - or would you refuse any kind of military service?" (Table below of men only.)

	Volunteer	Serve if drafted	Refuse to serve	Ineligible for service	Un- decided	Number of cases:
WEST GERMANY						
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	4%	42%	23%	29%	27...100%	283
Women	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	5%	35%	27%	3%	3%	172
Beyond elementary school	2	51	18	27	2	116
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>						
Lower class	8%	34%	26%	29%	3%	140
Lower middle to upper class	1	48	21	28	2	148
<u>Income (per month):</u>						
0 - 149 DM	8%	15%	31%	44%	2%	39
150 - 299 DM	7	43	22	25	3	118
300 DM and more	1	48	22	27	2	131
<u>Age:</u>						
Under 40 years	6%	52%	28%	12%	2%	112
40 years and over	3	35	21	39	2	176
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	5%	39%	27%	28%	1%	92
CDU/CSU	2	46	6	26	1	50
FDP/LDP/DVP/EDV	5	39	16	35	4	44
Other parties	5	15	40	40	1	20
No parties	8	25	36	29	2	52
Don't know	-	50	17	13	10	30
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	3%	44%	26%	24%	3%	109
Protestants	6	44	21	28	1	143

Men who reported themselves as unable to serve and all women were asked what stand they would want their son or husband to take on the military service issue. It may be seen below that few recommend volunteering and the large preponderance of those to whom the question was applicable felt that their relatives should only serve if drafted, which as has been indicated, must be interpreted rather negatively in view of the fact that the majority of urban West Germans oppose allowing any such draft.

"Supposing West Germany participates in a West European army, would you want your son (husband) to volunteer, - to serve only if drafted, - or would you want him to refuse any kind of military service?" (Asked of men who declared "Unable to serve" to previous question and of all women.)*

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Volunteer	1% (2%)	1% (3%)	4% (4%)	17% (27%)
Serve if drafted	35 (60)	35 (62)	35 (59)	32 (53)
Refuse to serve	22 (38) <u>(100%)</u>	21 (35) <u>(100%)</u>	25 (41) <u>(100%)</u>	12 (20) <u>(100%)</u>
Son or husband ineligible for service	12	13	10	7
No son or husband	26	26	27	29
No opinion	4 <u>100%</u>	4 <u>100%</u>	3 <u>100%</u>	3 <u>100%</u>

* Percentages in parenthesis are based upon the proportions of both men unable to serve and of women who have relatives to whom the question applies.

III. PRESENT EXTENT OF NEUTRALIST FEELINGS AND NEUTRALIST JUDGMENTS

In a previous report* a distinction was developed between neutralist feelings in urban West Germany and neutralist judgments. This distinction derived from the fact that a considerably larger proportion of respondents indicate approval of neutrality - as over against Western integration - when the question is phrased in the general terms of what would be "better for Germany," than when the question is brought closer to reality in the framework of a Bundestag choice between Western sponsored integration with the West versus Russian sponsored neutrality. Trends are examined below on both the more emotional and the more judgmental facts of neutralism.

NEUTRALIST FEELINGS NO LONGER PREDOMINATE ...

Neutralist feelings, which had risen to a preponderant position among urban West Germans at the turn of the year, have now receded to the point where they are clearly outweighed by inclinations toward integration with the West.

"What would, in your opinion, be better for West Germany?"**

	WEST GERMANY				British Zone				US Zone				Berlin			
	Dec	Jan	Jan	Feb	Dec	Jan	Jan	Feb	Dec	Jan	Jan	Feb	Dec	Jan	Jan	Feb
To try to join the West politically and militarily as a free and equal nation	19	34	18	1-2	19	34	18	1-2	19	34	18	1-2	19	34	18	1-2
	20		19		20		19		20		19		20		19	
To try to unite with East Germany and as a neutral nation to keep out of a conflict between East and West	41	46	42	35	38	44	38	31	50	53	47	46	16	21	24	16
No opinion	15	19	14	15	17	21	17	17	9	14	10	12	13	14	7	6
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

It should not be overlooked in the above table that neutralist feelings are considerably more widespread in the US Zone than in the British Zone, and indeed in the American occupied area overshadow somewhat sentiments in favor of the West.

* Report No. 60, Series No. 2, dated 31 January 1951, - NEW LIGHT ON GERMAN NEUTRALITY SENTIMENTS - With Other Current Developments on Issues Related to German Defense Participation.

**Alternatives were presented on a card read by respondents.

Group breakdowns disclose that the recent gains in pro-Western feelings have been relatively greater among the more educated and informed levels, i.e. the men, the better schooled, and the economically better situated.

"What would, in your opinion, be better for West Germany?"

	To try to join the West politically and militarily as a free and equal nation				To try to unite with East Germany and as neutral nation to keep out of a conflict between East and West				No opinion				** No. of cases
	Dec 19	Jan 34	Jan 18	Feb 1-2	Dec 19	Jan 34	Jan 18	Feb 1-2	Dec 19	Jan 34	Jan 18	Feb 1-2	
	20		19		20		19		20		19		
<u>Sex:</u>													
Men	51%	42%	40%	59%	39%	48%	44%	32%	17%	12%	7%	9%	287
Women	37	29	40	42	43	46	40	38	20	25	20	20	352
<u>Education:</u>													
Elementary school	35%	27%	36%	42%	45%	50%	44%	39%	27%	23%	18%	19%	395
Beyond elementary school	56	47	54	62	36	41	38	30	8	12	8	8	245
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>													
Lower class	33%	28%	35%	40%	47%	47%	46%	40%	20%	25%	19%	20%	324
Lower middle to upper class	55	42	54	60	35	45	37	31	10	13	9	9	316
<u>Income (per month):</u>													
0 - 149 DM	30%	20%	30%	27%	39%	51%	42%	43%	31%	29%	28%	30%	115
150 - 299 DM	35	31	38	47	50	43	49	38	15	21	13	14	265
300 DM and more	56	45	56	61	34	43	34	30	10	12	10	9	260
<u>Age:</u>													
Under 40 years	45%	35%	45%	52%	43%	47%	42%	34%	12%	18%	13%	14%	92
40 years and over	43	34	44	47	40	46	41	37	17	20	15	15	350
<u>Party Preference:</u>													
SPD	48%	46%			43%	41%			9%	13%			177
CDU/CSU	61	71			27	25			12	4			116
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	53	63			44	29			3	8			92
Other parties	32	43			61	46			7	11			37
No parties	28	39			44	36			28	25			123
Don't know	29	35			47	39			24	26			95
<u>Religion:</u>													
Catholics	43%	37%	49%	54%	41%	40%	37%	32%	15%	23%	14%	14%	241
Protestants	43	34	43	47	41	50	43	37	16	16	14	16	338

* Alternatives were presented on a card read by respondents.

** The number of cases cited in this and the following trend tables refer to the latest survey. They are approximately the same for earlier surveys.

† Party preference figures were not obtained in the earlier surveys.

Returns on the more realistically grounded neutralist judgment question, in contrast to the one above tapping primarily neutralist feeling, show no significant departure from mid-January levels. Then as now pro-Western judgments enjoy a commanding lead of three to one over the proportion of respondents who would favor the Federal government accepting a Russian sponsored proposal of a neutral unified Germany.

"Supposing West Germany were offered the following two alternatives: "

1. The Western powers: offer West Germany admission to the union of the Western nations as an independent, politically and militarily equal nation.
2. Russia: offers unification with East Germany and proposes that Germany as a neutral nation keeps out of a conflict between East and West.

In case the Federal government had the choice of only one of these two proposals, which alternatives should they take in your opinion, considering everything you know about the Western powers and Russia? "

	WEST GERMANY		British Zone		US Zone		Berlin	
	Jan	Feb	Jan	Feb	Jan	Feb	Jan	Feb
	15-19	1-2	15-19	1-2	15-19	1-2	15-19	1-2
Would accept								
Western offer	61%	63%	60%	63%	63%	61%	83%	87%
Would accept								
Russian offer	24	22	23	21	25	25	12	6
No opinion	15	15	17	16	12	14	5	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Shifts in results on the neutralist-feeling question in the face of the relative stability just indicated on the neutralist judgment query validates further the distinction between these two dimensions, since the expectation would be of course that emotional reactions would react more sensitively to passing circumstances than more judgmental reactions - constrained as these latter are by the fairly constant and enduring facts of contemporary East-West relationship.

* Alternatives were presented on a card read by respondents.

In judgments as in feelings the more educated and informed among German city dwellers -- the men, the better schooled, and the better off -- display a relatively greater partiality for the West.

	Would accept Western offer		Would accept Russian offer		No opinion		Number of cases:
	Jan 15-19	Feb 1-2	Jan 15-19	Feb 1-2	Jan 15-19	Feb 1-2	
WEST GERMANY							
Sex:							
Men	66%	72%	25%	20%	9%	8%	288
Women	56	56	23	24	21	20	352
Education:							
Elementary school	53%	54%	26%	27%	21%	19%	395
Beyond elementary school	72	76	21	14	7	8	245
Socio-economic Status:							
Lower class.	47%	52%	29%	28%	24%	20%	324
Lower middle to upper class	74	73	19	17	7	10	316
Income (per month):							
0 - 149 DM	39%	39%	37%	34%	31%	27%	115
150 - 299 DM	54	62	37	22	16	16	265
300 DM and more	76	75	17	17	7	8	260
Ages:							
Under 40 years	61%	57%	28%	22%	11%	11%	290
40 years and over	60	60	22	22	18	13	350
Party Preference:							
SPD	62%	52%	27%	24%	11%	14%	177
CDU/CSU	75	30	13	10	12	10	116
FDP/LDF/DVF/EDV	76	77	20	15	4	8	92
Other parties	46	54	43	35	11	11	37
No parties	47	52	26	29	27	19	123
Don't know	42	49	29	26	29	25	95
Religion:							
Catholics	66%	57%	19%	19%	15%	14	241
Protestants	59	60	27	23	14	17	338

IV. REACTIONS TO EISENHOWER AND HIS VISIT TO GERMANY

IS EISENHOWER THE BEST MAN TO IMPLEMENT WEST EUROPEAN DEFENSE? ...

After General Eisenhower's visit to Germany almost three out of four West German city dwellers had come to know of his appointment as Supreme Commander of the West European armed forces.

"Do you know by any chance who was appointed Supreme Commander of the West European armed forces?"

	WEST GERMANY			British Zone			US Zone			Berlin		
	Jan	Jan	Feb	Jan	Jan	Feb	Jan	Jan	Feb	Jan	Jan	Feb
	3-4	18	1-2	3-4	18	1-2	3-4	18	1-2	3-4	18	1-2
		19			19			19			19	
Eisenhower	50%	65%	72%	58%	62%	70%	68%	67%	75%	64%	59%	55%
Others	5	4	4	4	4	6	4	3	2	4	4	3
Don't know	35	31	24	33	34	24	28	30	23	32	37	29
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

But, despite whatever effects his personal visit to Germany may have had, almost half of urban West Germans still are unable or reluctant to indicate whether or not in their judgment he is the best man to implement West European defense. Among those who do express an opinion, however, favorable judgments continue to exceed unfavorable by a ratio of better than two to one.

"Do you consider General Eisenhower the right man to put the plans for the defense of West Europe into effect, or do you believe a better man could be found for this task?"

	WEST GERMANY		British Zone		US Zone		Berlin	
	Jan	Feb	Jan	Feb	Jan	Feb	Jan	Feb
	15-19	1-2	18-19	1-2	15-19	1-2	18-19	1-2
Eisenhower the right man	35%	38%	37%	35%	40%	44%	55%	59%
Another would be better	15	15	16	17	16	14	7	14
No opinion	47	47	47	48	44	42	38	27
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Prior to asking the present question respondents who were not informed about the choice of Eisenhower for Supreme Commander were apprised of it in these terms: "The American General, Eisenhower, was recently appointed Supreme Commander."

Favorable reactions toward Eisenhower's appointment continue to be relatively more widespread among the opinion leading elements of the urban West German population, but even among the more educated and informed groups no opinion is very extensive. The possibility must be considered that in their present circumstances of not being a part of the Atlantic Pact and knowing as little as they do of Eisenhower, it is difficult for West Germans to state whether or not he is the best man that can be found for the job of Supreme Commander of NATO.

"Do you consider General Eisenhower the right man to put the plans for the defense of West Europe into effect, or do you believe a better man could be found for this task?"

	Eisenhower the right man		Another would be better		No opinion		Number of cases:
	Jan 1-19	Feb 1-2	Jan 1-19	Feb 1-2	Jan 1-19	Feb 1-2	
WEST GERMANY							
Sex:							
Men	41%	47%	23%	19%	36%	34%	288
Women	36	31	9	12	55	57	352
Education:							
Elementary school	34%	33%	12%	12%	54%	55%	395
Beyond elementary school	45	46	21	20	34	34	245
Socio-economic Status:							
Lower class	30%	32%	11%	13%	59%	55%	324
Lower middle to upper class	46	44	20	19	34	33	316
Income (per month):							
0 - 149 DM	21%	26%	11%	12%	63%	62%	115
150 - 299 DM	35	35	12	13	53	51	265
300 DM and more	47	46	21	15	32	36	216
Age:							
Under 40 years	38%	41%	14%	15%	48%	44%	290
40 years and over	35	36	17	16	45	45	350
Party Preference:							
SPD	47%	39%	13%	12%	40%	49%	177
CDU/CSU	48	49	15	14	37	37	116
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	53	48	25	13	22	39	92
Other parties	21	22	11	38	68	40	37
No parties	20	33	21	16	59	51	122
Don't know	20	26	7	15	73	59	95
Religion:							
Catholics	41%	38%	18%	13%	41%	49%	241
Protestants	36	37	14	16	50	47	338

REACTIONS TO EISENHOWER'S VISIT ...

Coming more specifically to Eisenhower's visit it is found that as many as four out of five in urban West Germany were aware of his journey to German soil.

"As far as you know, did General Eisenhower recently pay a visit to West Germany or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Yes, did visit	83%	80%	91%	81%
No, did not visit	4	4	1	4
No opinion	13	16	8	15
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

The predominant single opinion among those who were aware of Eisenhower's coming was that he left a good impression as the result of his visit. Only one out of ten judged the effect of his visit to be bad, though 15 per cent saw no impression, and 16 per cent judged the impression to be partly good and partly bad.

"After what you have heard - did Eisenhower's visit generally leave a good impression, a bad impression or no impression at all?" (Asked of those who answered "Yes, did visit" to previous question.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Good impression	27%	23%	34%	49%
Bad impression	9	8	15	3
No impression	15	15	15	6
Partly / Partly	16	17	13	8
No opinion	16	17	14	15
	<u>83%</u>	<u>80%</u>	<u>91%</u>	<u>81%</u>

However, even among those who favor participation in a European army, not as many as a majority would go so far as to say that Eisenhower left a "good" impression as a result of his visit.

"After what you have heard - did Eisenhower's visit generally leave a good impression, a bad impression or no impression at all?" (Asked of those who answered "Yes, did visit" to previous question.)

	Good impression	Bad impression	No impression	Partly / Partly	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY						
For participation in a European army	42%	3%	15%	21%	14%...100%	318
Against participation in a European army	16	18	26	16	24	167

Favorable impression of Eisenhower's visit were relatively more frequent among the more educated and informed, group breakdowns disclose.

"After what you have heard - did Eisenhower's visit generally leave a good impression, a bad impression or no impression at all?" (Asked of those who answered "Yes, did visit" to previous question.)

	Good impression	Bad impression	No impression	Partly/ Partly	No opinion	Number of cases:
WEST GERMANY						
Sex						
Men	37%	12%	17%	21%	12%...100%	269
Women	27	11	20	16	26	262
Education:						
Elementary school	27%	12%	18%	17%	26%	305
Beyond element- ary school	40	11	15	21	10	226
Socio-economic Status:						
Lower class	25%	12%	21%	17%	25%	238
Lower middle to upper class	30	10	15	20	15	293
Income (per month):						
- 145 DM	27%	14%	21%	14%	23%	72
150 - 299 DM	3	12	20	16	22	213
300 DM and more	36	10	15	22	16	246
Age:						
Under 40 years	31%	10%	20%	20%	19%	240
40 years and over	34	12	17	17	20	291
Party Preference:						
SPD	33%	11%	15%	20%	15%	145
CDU/CSU	43	8	13	15	15	104
FDP/LDP/DVP/NDV	42	12	11	25	10	89
Other parties	23	13	29	19	16	31
No parties	22	15	25	12	22	93
Don't know	24	5	21	17	32	66
Religion:						
Catholics	32%	11%	20%	17%	20%	205
Protestants	34	11	15	21	19	273

The comparatively few who held that Eisenhower's visit left a bad impression contended most frequently that his words were not to be trusted in view of his alleged earlier hostility toward the Germans.

"After what you have heard - did Eisenhower's visit generally leave a good impression, a bad impression, or no impression at all?" (Asked of those who answered "Yes, did visit" to previous question.)

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
-----------------	-----------------	------------	--------

Because of his past hostility towards the German soldier and towards Germany in general (he can't be trusted): His attitude is still well-known from the past, he did not mean what he said in his speech; we can't believe in the sincerity of his words, we have not yet forgotten his attitude of the past; all at once Mr. Eisenhower believes that the German soldier was not deprived of his honor after all; what he said consisted of mere phrases; many people have not yet forgotten his former attitude and can't be objective now; etc.

5%	4%	9%	2%
----	----	----	----

His visit will be taken as a preparation for a new war: His attitude is too much that of a soldier; we believe that his visit to Germany means preparation for a coming war; especially with the women, they know that Eisenhower wants their husbands and sons to be cannon-fodder; etc.

2	2	3	-
---	---	---	---

Because he wants the remilitarization of West Germany: Because everybody believes that militarism will be introduced again; etc.

1	1	2	1
---	---	---	---

Other opinions: Because he emphasized that he originally did not intend to visit Germany; etc.

1	1	1	-
---	---	---	---

No opinion/No answer:

9%	8%	15%	3%
----	----	-----	----

focused mainly on what was said to be a change of attitude toward Germany in general and German soldiers in particular.

"After what you have heard - did Eisenhower's visit generally leave a good impression, a bad impression, or no impression at all?"
(Asked of those who answered "Yes, did visit" to previous questions.)

If "Good impression": "In which respect?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
<u>Because he has changed his attitude towards Germany in general, and the German soldier in particular:</u> He has demonstrated that he now understands the Germans better and does not hate them; we are treated now as normal human beings and not as out-casts; this man too has realized that we Germans are no criminals; it is good to know that he changed his opinion in favor of Germany; because he has confidence in Germany; he showed understanding and interest for our problems; because through his declaration he re-established the honor of the German soldier; etc.	11%	9%	13%	15%
<u>Because Eisenhower as a personality is a well-educated, capable and experienced man, we can have confidence in him:</u> Eisenhower is a well-educated man, not only a soldier; because of his strong personality and his experience; he proved what he is able to do; he has an honest face; he is very firm in his decisions; because he isn't too dogmatic; he was friendly; we can trust him; etc.	5	4	5	4
<u>Because he takes a positive stand for the European Union (including West Germany):</u> Because he wants to unite Europe against Bolshevism; he has called for common action from all the nations of Europe; he pleads for re-armament and thus makes way for a joint army; he promised to establish order, security and military power and is looked upon as a saviour; etc.	2	1	5	6
<u>Because we realize that America wants to help Germany and Europe:</u> Because we feel that America wants to help us; because all nations concerned know that America is going to back them up; it is good to know that they all care for us; we Germans know that the U.S. is serious about defending Western Europe and Germany and the Russians will give up their aggressive attitude; etc.	2	3	2	7
<u>Because he is in favor of equal rights for Germany:</u> He is going to take a strong stand for equality of rights for Germany; it is obvious that the U.S. is willing to include Germany in everything and respects it; because they want to treat us as equals; etc.	2	1	3	9
<u>Other opinions:</u> Because it was of advantage to us; he had a good talk with Adenauer and refers to him as a good diplomat; because he fights for peace; etc.	3	4	1	2
<u>No opinion/No answer:</u>	3 28%	2 24%	5 34%	6 49%

*Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONCLUSION ...

All in all the fair conclusion seems to be that Eisenhower's visit left behind him considerably more favorable impressions than unfavorable, but achieved something less than the sweeping victory in public relations spoken of by a considerable body of the German press.

V. PRESENT REACTIONS TO A FOUR POWER CONFERENCE

ADVANTAGEOUS OR DISADVANTAGEOUS FOR GERMANY? ...

There is still no pronounced tendency in urban West Germany to see any German advantage in a four power conference. Only one out of five feel that there would be advantage to Germany in such a course, an equal proportion see a disadvantage, and the others see neither advantage nor disadvantage or express no opinion.

Some time ago the Russians proposed a four power conference on Germany.

"If this conference should be held, do you think it likely that the conference in general would be of advantage or disadvantage for Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Of advantage	20%	16%	27%	20%
Of disadvantage	19	20	18	32
Neither/Nor	39	43	32	43
No opinion	22	21	23	5
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Group breakdowns on this issue reveal at the present time no distinctive trends other than a relatively greater tendency for the opinion leading elements to express the judgment that a four power conference is not likely to contribute either to the advantage or disadvantage of Germany.

	Advantage	Dis- advantage	Neither /Nor	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	24%	23%	42%	11% ..100%	288
Women	16	16	37	31	352
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	20%	19%	36	25	395
Beyond elementary school	20	20	44	16	245
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	19%	17%	38%	26%	324
Lower middle to upper class	21	22	40	17	316
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 149 DM	21%	16%	30%	33%	115
150 - 299 DM	20	20	39	21	265
300 DM and over	20	21	43	16	260
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	19%	20%	42%	19%	290
40 years and over	20	19	37	24	350
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	20%	19%	44%	17%	177
CDU/CSU	16	21	44	19	116
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	18	22	41	19	92
Other parties	32	30	27	11	37
No parties	20	20	32	28	122
Don't know	20	13	37	30	95
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	19%	22%	39%	20%	241
Protestants	18	17	42	23	338

emanating from a four power conference mostly argue that such a conference offers the hope that some sort of agreement can be reached about the problems of Germany.

Some time ago the Russians proposed a four power conference on Germany.

"If this conference should be held, do you think it likely that the conference in general would be of advantage or disadvantage for Germany?"

If "Of advantage to Germany": "In which respects?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
-----------------	-----------------	------------	--------

It could lead to a talk about all problems and to a possible agreement: Because then the Western powers and Russia would come together and express their opinions; every effort should be made to come to an agreement; because there is the chance that they will come to an agreement about Germany; perhaps the four powers can come to an agreement about Germany; etc.

7%	6%	8%	8%
----	----	----	----

It could lead to a unification of West- and East Germany: Because only a conference will clear up our situation and West Germany will know whether or not she can count on being re-united with the East; it could expedite German re-unification; because then we Germans will come together after all; etc.

4	4	7	4
---	---	---	---

It could lead to maintenance of peace: Because then there won't be a war; we have all had enough of war; it won't lead to very much but they could come to an agreement and avoid a war; the situation could improve - we might have peace; etc.

3	3	3	2
---	---	---	---

Germany can't lose anything if a conference takes place - some good may come out of it: With the present German situation something good can always come out of it; in general it can only be of advantage unless Russia insists on her demands; it seems to be the only chance to get out of this confusion at least something will be done; etc.

3	1	3	2
---	---	---	---

The determination of the Western powers could make Russia give in: Perhaps the Russians will become sensible after all and give in since the U.S. gets stronger and stronger; facing the changed world situation the Russians might be willing to make concessions because the West is serious now; perhaps the Russians will be more indulgent than we expect and things will clear up; etc.

1	*	3	2
---	---	---	---

Other opinions: All events have to be looked at from two sides and Adenauer isn't the only politician; most probably the Western powers will withdraw and give Germany a certain guarantee of security; the Russians will not like us to be their enemies; because the other nations, except Russia are not going to give up claims on Eastern Germany; etc.

1	1	2	1
---	---	---	---

No opinion/No answer

1/20%	1/16%	2/28%*	2/21%*
-------	-------	--------	--------

*Less than one half of one per cent

**Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Some time ago the Russians proposed a four power conference on Germany.

"If this conference should be held, do you think it likely that the conference in general would be of advantage or disadvantage for Germany?"

If "Of disadvantage to Germany": "In which respects?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
<u>The Russians are not honest and Germany can't expect anything from them: Nothing good can be expected of the Russians; the Russians never want the best for us; the Russians can't be trusted; the Russians don't play a fair game, they make promises and don't keep them; the Russians don't do anything for the German people; etc.</u>	54	5%	5%	10%
<u>No agreement is possible with the Russians because they insist on their own stand-point: There is no chance to come to an agreement with the Russians; they won't come to an agreement and the old split will remain; the Russians will never come to terms; the Russians will always place a veto; the Russians never gave in but always insisted on their view-point; etc.</u>	4	4	4	6
<u>No conference ever turned out to be of advantage to the Germans: Conferences always turned out to be a disadvantage to the Germans; there was never a reasonable outcome of a conference for the Germans; everything is decided behind our backs; the Russians will present some sort of an ultimatum much to our disadvantage; etc.</u>	3	3	2	5
<u>The conference is only meant to serve the Russian tactic of delay: The Russians only want to drag out things; the Russians want to win time; etc.</u>	3	3	2	3
<u>The Russians want to rule Germany: Because they want a Bolshevik Germany; the Russians demand the conference only for the purpose of converting Germany to Communism; the goal of the Russians is a Communist Germany; etc.</u>	2	2	1	3
<u>Russia demands concessions of the Western powers: Because in a conference the Americans would only make concessions again; because they may make concessions to the Russians in trusting them too much; etc.</u>	1	1	2	2
<u>Russia wants the withdrawal of the occupation forces to prevent Germany from uniting with the West: The conference would only lead to a separation of Western Germany from the Western powers; the Russians want to prevent the West from becoming powerful and getting together with America; the Russians will only emphasize that the Western powers should leave Germany; etc.</u>	1	1	-	2
<u>Other opinions: Because the Russians insist on the new Oder-Weisse Linie; the Russians don't send our prisoners home; etc.</u>	1	1	*	1
<u>No opinion/No answer:</u>	1	1	2	1
	21%*	21%*	16%	33%*

*Less than one half of one per cent

**Some respondents gave more than one answer.

VI. SOME SIGNIFICANT KOREA-RELATED ISSUES

CURRENT TREND ON UN WITHDRAWAL FROM KOREA ...

Favor of UN continuance of the fighting in Korea has trended downward slightly in the past two months to the point where German urban opinion is now rather evenly divided on the issue.

"If negotiations fail should the United Nations then withdraw their troops from Korea or should they try to bring the battle of Korea to a successful conclusion?"

	WEST GERMANY			British Zone			US Zone			Berlin		
	December	Feb		December	Feb		December	Feb		December	Feb	
	4-5	11-12	1-2	4-5	11-12	1-2	4-5	11-12	1-2	4-5	11-12	1-2
Withdraw their troops	34%	33%	39%	29%	31%	33%	42%	40%	42%	7%	2%	21%
Carry on the battle	45	44	40	47	44	37	43	46	44	87	71	72
No opinion	21	15	21	24	18	24	15	14	14	5	9	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Analysis of group breakdowns reveals that the drop in support of continued UN military efforts in Korea has occurred solely among the less educated and informed levels of the urban West German population - the women, the less schooled, and the economically less fortunate. Among the more educated and informed levels the pattern of opinions is almost precisely the same as it was two months ago, i.e. preponderant favor of carrying on the battle in Korea should attempts at negotiations fail.

"If negotiations fail should the United Nations then withdraw their troops from Korea or should they try to bring the battle of Korea to a successful conclusion?"

WEST GERMANY	Withdraw their troops			Carry on the battle			No opinion			No. of cases
	December	Feb		December	Feb		December	Feb		
	4-5	11-12	1-2	4-5	11-12	1-2	4-5	11-12	1-2	
Sex:										
Men	35%	37%	34%	55%	51%	57%	9%	12%	9%	258
Women	33	35	42	35	37	25	31	23	32	352
Education:										
Elementary school	35%	40%	42%	40%	39%	33%	25%	21%	25%	395
Beyond elementary school	33	35	34	52	52	51	15	13	15	245
Socio-economic Status:										
Lower class	35%	37%	44%	39%	41%	32%	25%	22%	24%	324
Lower middle to upper class	33	39	34	51	45	48	16	13	15	315
Income (per month):										
0 - 149 DM	33%	41%	42%	35%	36%	27%	32%	23%	31%	115
150 - 299 DM	36	40	44	40	42	34	24	15	22	265
300 DM and more	32	26	32	54	48	52	14	16	16	260
Age:										
Under 40 years	33%	35%	36%	43%	47%	42%	24%	16%	22%	290
40 years and over	34	40	41	47	41	37	19	19	21	350
*Party Preference:										
SPD			47%			35%			18%	177
CDU/CSU			23			51			21	116
FDP/LDP/DVP/NDV			25			63			11	92
Other parties			13			46			11	37
No parties			12			25			27	123
Don't know			35			30			35	95
Religion:										
Catholics	37%	40%	38%	30%	42%	41%	24%	18%	21%	241
Protestants	31	35	34	49	45	39	28	19	23	338

* Party preference figures were not obtained in the earlier surveys.

IS THE U.S. STRONG ENOUGH FOR BOTH KOREAN WAR AND EUROPEAN REINFORCEMENT? ...

The preponderant opinion among urban West Germans is that the U.S. is strong enough to carry on the war in Korea and at the same time send troop reinforcements to West Germany.

"As you have probably heard, America has promised to send troop reinforcements to West Germany. Do you think America strong enough to carry on the war in the Far East on the same scale and at the same time send troop reinforcements to West Germany, or is America not strong enough for that?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Yes, strong enough	54%	54%	55%	62%
No, not strong enough	24	22	26	30
No opinion	22	24	17	8
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Optimistic judgments of American strength are greatest, group breakdowns reveal, among the more educated and informed segments of urban West German opinion.

"As you have probably heard, America has promised to send troop reinforcements to West Germany. Do you think America strong enough to carry on the war in the Far East on the same scale and at the same time send troop reinforcements to West Germany or is America not strong enough for that?"

	Yes, strong enough	No, not strong enough	No opinion	Number of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	62%	26%	12%...100%	288
Women	47	22	31	352
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	49%	23%	28%	395
Beyond elementary school	61	26	13	245
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	47%	25%	28%	324
Lower middle to upper class	61	23	16	316
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 145 DM	39%	22%	39%	115
150 - 299 DM	51	27	22	265
300 DM and more	63	23	14	260
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	54%	26%	20%	290
40 years and over	54	22	24	350
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	55%	23%	17%	177
CDU/CSU	67	19	14	116
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDP	67	23	10	92
Other parties	41	35	24	37
No parties	41	25	34	123
Don't know	44	19	37	95
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	58%	26%	16%	241
Protestants	53	23	24	331

SHOULD AMERICA BE MORE FIRM OR MORE CONCILIATORY TOWARD COMMUNIST CHINA? ...

Opinions split among West German city dwellers as to whether America should be more firm or more conciliatory with Communist China in relation to the Chinese intervention in the Korean conflict. Only in Berlin does a solid majority espouse a firmer stand.

"In your opinion, what should be America's attitude toward Communist China in view of the Chinese intervention in the Korean conflict: should America take a firmer stand toward China or should America be more conciliatory?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Take firmer stand	27%	25%	27%	64%
Be more conciliatory	27	23	35	11
Should remain same	15	20	14	16
No opinion	25	31	24	9
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Judgments that the U.S. should take a firmer stand vis-a-vis the Chinese Communists are relatively more frequent among the opinion leading segments of the urban West German population, but among all groups differences of opinion on this issue are considerable.

"In your opinion, what should be America's attitude toward Communist China in view of the Chinese intervention in the Korean conflict: should America take a firmer stand toward China or should America be more conciliatory?"

	Take firmer stand	Be more conciliatory	Should remain same	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	36%	29%	22%	13%...10%	288
Women	19	25	15	41	352
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	24%	27%	15%	33%	395
Beyond elementary school	32	27	20	21	245
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	22%	28%	15%	35%	324
Lower middle to upper class	31	26	21	22	315
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 149 DM	10%	27%	10%	44%	115
150 - 299 DM	24	27	19	30	265
300 DM and more	33	27	20	20	260
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	25%	28%	19%	25%	290
40 years and over	26	27	17	30	350
<u>Party Preferences:</u>					
SPD	27%	32%	17%	24%	177
CDU/CSU	35	22	21	22	116
FDP/LDF/DVP/EDV	36	26	20	16	92
Other parties	27	33	19	16	37
No parties	19	29	11	41	122
Don't know	17	18	21	44	95
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	25%	27%	17%	31%	241
Protestants	27	27	19	27	333

Respondents who endorse a firmer stand toward Communist China are most frequently that otherwise Communism will spread, since every concession only encourages its development.

"In your opinion, what should be America's attitude toward Communist China in view of the Chinese intervention in the Korean conflict: should America take a firmer stand toward China or should America be more conciliatory?"

If "Firmer stand toward Communist China": "In what respects?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
<u>Because otherwise Communism will spread and every concession only encourages the opponent: One country after the other will go Communist; not being firm means an increase of the danger of Communist infiltration; to make the Chinese realize that they can't go on like that and to stop the Communists; etc.</u>	13%	11%	16%	26%
<u>Because otherwise the entire Western world would be endangered: It would mean the end of the Western world; because the culture of the white race will be endangered by the Asiatic population; the Chinese danger is great and can only be met by a firm attitude; etc.</u>	4	4	1	8
<u>Because the Chinese are backed up by the Russians: Because China and Russia are friends; because the Chinese policy is exactly that of the Russians who always look for the weak spot of the opponent and take advantage of it; etc.</u>	3	3	2	8
<u>Because Communism is a danger and no method is too strong to fight it: To fight Communism even more; it's the only way to handle gangsters; the attitude toward Communism can never be too firm; etc.</u>	3	3	2	4
<u>To bring about peace in the East and in the world: To have peace finally in the Far East and here; to establish world peace; etc.</u>	1	1	2	5
<u>Other opinions: They should proclaim a blockade against China of food and textiles; all the talks don't change the fact that blood is shed constantly and once they have got to face that fact; the U.S. is the country that always helps and pleads for peace; etc.</u>	3	4	3	11
<u>No opinion/No answer:</u>	$\frac{-}{27\%}$	$\frac{1}{27\%}$	$\frac{1}{27\%}$	$\frac{2}{64\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one reason.

West German who espouse a more lenient American Policy toward Communist China are primarily influenced by the danger of world war, or an alleged American inability to conquer Red China.

"In your opinion, what should be America's attitude toward Communist China in view of the Chinese intervention in the Korean conflict: should America take a firmer stand toward China or should America be more conciliatory?"

If "America should be more conciliatory toward Communist China": "In what respects?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
<u>To avoid a world war:</u> In order not to bring on an even greater conflict; otherwise there will be war because the Russians will interfere; to prevent a third world war; etc.	7%	5%	9%	2%
<u>Because the Americans are not strong enough:</u> Because the Americans will get the worst if they insist on their view-point; otherwise there will never be peace again and the Chinese will never give in; because China cannot be conquered; because I fear that America will experience the same we did, with a two-front-war and I fear that we Germans would also be ruined in the process; etc.	6	5	8	2
<u>To bring this unfortunate war in Korea to an end:</u> To end the Korean war; in order to have peace in the world; etc.	5	6	4	1
<u>To show to the world that America wants peace:</u> Because they should first try to settle the matter in a peaceful way and show good will; it would then be obvious that the U.S. wants peace; etc.	3	3	3	4
<u>Because America has no business being in Korea:</u> Korea never belonged to the Americans, the Americans have only occupied the country; they have no right to be in Asia; because the Chinese have a greater right to establish order in Asia than the Americans; what does Europe want in Asia?; they certainly aren't there to protect democracy; because China belongs to the Chinese and not to the Americans; etc.	2	2	3	-
<u>Other opinions:</u> Except for the atom bomb they have no means of fighting; China depends on trade with America; because I'm convinced that everything started only because of American interference in Korea; they must recognize the Communist success in Asia; etc.	3	2	5	2
<u>No opinion/No answer:</u>	$\frac{1}{27\%}$	$\frac{-}{23\%}$	$\frac{3}{35\%}$	$\frac{-}{11\%}$

VII. APPENDIX

Several West European nations and America signed a defense pact, the so-called Atlantic Pact.

"Suppose West Germany would join the Atlantic Pact and be asked in connection with it to participate in a general army for the defense of West Europe. Would you then be for or against such participation in a defense army?"

WEST GERMANY

[illegible]

British Zone

[illegible]

US Zone

[illegible]

Berlin

[illegible]

LIBRARY

REPORTS AND STATISTICS DIVISION

FRANCO-GERMAN RELATIONS AS VIEWED BY RESIDENTS
OF THE US ZONE, BERLIN AND BREMEN

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Report No. 62
Series No. 2
February 28, 1951

RESTRICTED

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSTS STAFF

INTRODUCTION ...

This report, dealing with opinions of US Zone and West Berlin residents on Franco-German relations, is based on a survey made in November 1950, when the French position was that West Germany should be permitted only limited participation in the European defense system. Subsequent events and developments have lessened the importance of specific reactions to the position then taken by France. But to the extent the findings also reveal aspects of the traditional and historic attitudes of the Germans toward the French they remain pertinent.

Salient findings may be summed up as follows:

1. The issue of Franco-German relations was apparently not a burning one to the bulk of the public surveyed. Large numbers were unable to express any opinions on the issues involved. And though negative opinions were frequent among those who did take a position, in no instance was the direction of negative opinions strikingly sharp or clear-cut.
2. Traditional and historical factors tended to be given as an explanation for the current state of Franco-German relations rather than any proposals by the French regarding West German defense participation.
3. Related to the above point is the very marked tendency - as revealed in comments of respondents - to hold France solely responsible for whatever ill-feelings may exist between the two peoples. Seldom is it even suggested that past or present German actions might have something to do with the matter.
4. Satisfaction with British and particularly American efforts in West German defense was much more frequently expressed than with that of the French.

- 2 -

R E S T R I C T E D

STATE OF FRANCO-GERMAN RELATIONS ...

"Not so good" was the description respondents most frequently selected to characterize the political relations between France and West Germany. But as seen in the division of replies given below, about twice as many people claimed relations were good as chose the opposite alternative of "bad." Note, however, the large number withholding opinions on the matter.

"In general, how do you judge the present political relations between West Germany and France: are they very good, good, not so good or bad?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	US ZONE	Berlin	Bremen
Very good	-%	-%	1%	1%	-%	1%
Good	18	13	17	16	21	23
Not so good	36	36	44	38	52	40
Bad	8	12	7	9	5	11
No opinion	38	39	31	36	22	25
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

REASONS FOR POOR FRANCO-GERMAN RELATIONS ...

Only a very few persons (5%) who thought Franco-German relations were poor ascribed any responsibility to Germany for this state of affairs. For the most part the blame appeared to be entirely placed on the French - either they were said to adhere to their traditional hatred and suspicion of the Germans, or to take advantage of the present situation. Only 3% mentioned the defense issue as a reason for thinking relations were poor. And few spoke of the Saar as a source of ill-feeling. The question and replies listed in order of frequency follow.

"For what reasons, do you think, the present political relations between West Germany and France are (not so good) (bad)?"

US ZONE Berlin Bremen

There is still too much hatred, dislike and prejudice toward Germany: The French can't forget their hatred; the French still want to take revenge; the French are too fanatical and still hate us; the French still consider us their arch-enemy; the French are German-haters, especially M. Moch; the old prejudices against Germany; out of tradition the French are still disinclined; they still play the part of the victor; etc.

12% 13% 17%

Fear and suspicion are still rampant among French: The French are very distrustful of us; the French people have no confidence; a feeling of insecurity and distrust towards Germany prevails in France; the French should finally get it through their heads that we want to cooperate with them and should overcome their suspicion of us; the French wouldn't trust us in case an army would be established; because the French always had an antipathy towards us; France does not trust the German government; France does not show us the necessary confidence - the fear of German aggression determines her actions; France fears the quality of the German soldier; they are afraid of us - everything the Americans concede us the French turn down; etc.

10 19 15

(cont'd on next page)

- 1 -

R E S T R I C T E D

US ZONE Berlin Bremen

Hatred, fear and suspicion are still rampant among nations: Because the French consider the Germans their enemies and the Germans consider the French as such; envy among nations is too great; too much has happened between France and Germany; it's an old rivalry - eternal hatred; the old tensions still exist between the two countries due to the several wars; because Germany and France always were at war and still are so today; both sides lack the courage to reach understanding; etc.

5%

5%

5%

France wants to take advantage of us economically: France undermines the progress of Germany; because the French put economic demands on Germany which we cannot meet; France sees a competitor in us, because the French exploit the Ruhr district to the full; France is afraid of an eventual powerful Germany, which is favored by the U.S.; etc.

4

5

4

France thinks only of her own interests; is insincere: The French are insincere - they only want to get soldiers; because the French were always treacherous; good will on the part of the French is lacking; France wants nothing but security for herself and that is bad in the present situation; the French put their nationalism first; the mood of the government is still one of opposition to Germany - no readiness for any reasonable cooperation; etc.

4

5

2

France opposes the rearmament of Germany: France is opposed to German remilitarization; France put in a veto on the issue of German rearmament - Germany cannot tolerate that; the French are definitely opposed to the establishment of an army in West Germany; etc.

3

3

3

The annexation of the Saar region: Because the French want the Saar region very much; the solution of the Saar issue worsened relationships; the fight for the Saar region continues; etc.

2

4

1

Bad and unfair treatment by the French of the PW's and the population in general: Because they should not have treated our PW's as badly as they did five years after the war; there are still too many PW's whom they have not yet tried to send home; my uncle is still in prison at Metz without knowing why he is held; France is still treating the German people very badly - that is evident in their policy towards us as well; etc.

2

*

2

Other opinions: Negotiations have been under way, I don't know for how long and nothing comes of them; the people in West Germany are under too much pressure; because there is no peace treaty with Germany; because of the frequent French government crises it is impossible to establish a closer contact; etc.

3

3

3

No opinion / No answer:

4

3

2

49%**

61%**

54%**

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

REASONS FOR GOOD FRANCO-GERMAN RELATIONS ...

Recognition of mutual interests and a readiness to let bygones be bygones made up the bulk of reasons adduced for judging relations good between the two countries.

"For what reasons, do you think, the present political relations between West Germany and France are (very good) (good)?"

US ZONE Berlin Bremen

Mutual interests bring the two peoples and their governments together (general): The world situation forces the two countries to have good relations; they both try their best to achieve a European union; the two governments try to cooperate; they both want a united Europe; the existing cooperation shows that the old hatred has been done away with and that friendly relations are kept; we have a basis in common - the European union; we need one another; we have mutual interests; etc.

5% 6% 10%

The French have changed their minds and now want to cooperate with us: They have suffered from the war and crave peace; France no longer considers Germany her enemy but rather her ally; they are no longer as hostile as they used to be; Germany - small as it is now - is no longer a threat to France, and the French are therefore more ready to negotiate, - the Schumann Plan for instance; they are beginning to realize that they have made many mistakes; they have come to know the Germans better; they permitted the prisoners of war to return to their homes and fed them properly; etc.

4 5 5

The two countries have particular interests (economic and political) in common: They want an exchange of goods; mutual attempts at economic and political cooperation; trade negotiations; defense measures that the two countries undertake together; etc.

2 3 2

All that happened in the past is forgotten - the hatred is a thing of the past: There is no hatred between the French and the Germans anymore; there is less hatred; let bygones be bygones; etc.

1 1 2

The fight against Communism brings the two countries together: The mutual efforts at destroying Communism; their fight against Communism; etc.

1 1 -

Other opinions: The French like the West German SPD policy; France is opposed to German rearmament just like most Germans are opposed to it; etc.

1 - 2

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{3}{17\%}$ $\frac{5}{21\%}$ $\frac{3}{24\%}$

- 3 -

R E S T R I C T E D

RESTRICTED

FRANCE AND THE DEFENSE OF WEST GERMANY ...

Half of the US Zone respondents were unable to judge the adequacy of the French contribution to the defense of West Germany. Opinions of those who were ready to make an estimate split three ways between "satisfied," "dissatisfied," and "the French are doing nothing" (a volunteered answer). Among those with opinions in Berlin and Bremen, the predominant view was one of dissatisfaction, though there, too, "No opinion" replies were very frequent.

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with what the French are doing for the defense of West Germany?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	US ZONE	Berlin	Bremen
Satisfied	14%	14%	13%	14%	18%	14%
Dissatisfied	21	15	21	19	30	27
Do nothing (volunteered)	12	22	15	15	15	20
No opinion	<u>53</u>	<u>49</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>39</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

COMPARISON WITH BRITISH AND AMERICAN EFFORTS ...

To furnish a basis of comparison, respondents were also asked their opinions of British and American efforts in behalf of West German defense. On this score, the British and particularly the Americans, as noted below, come off much better than the French. The comparative table is shown:

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with what the (French) (English) (Americans) are doing for the defense of Germany?"

	US ZONE			Berlin			Bremen		
	Fr	Eng	Am*	Fr	Eng	Am	Fr	Eng	Am
Satisfied	14%	26%	51%	18%	56%	80%	14%	22%	68%
Dissatisfied	19	15	18	30	22	15	27	28	14
Do nothing (volunteered)	15	8	3	15	4	-	20	9	3
No opinion	<u>52</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>15</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The Berlin comparison is interesting in that it is the only area surveyed in which the respondents have an opportunity to become acquainted with all three of the Western powers. It is possible that the greater tendency there to express satisfaction with British and U.S. efforts and to be more critical of the French than is the case in the Zone is a carry over from the airlift days, during which the Americans and British assumed greater responsibility than the French were able to do.

* Even allowing for some measure of "courtesy replies" because of the sponsorship factor, it can be said that the predominant opinion is one of satisfaction with American efforts.

WHAT MORE SHOULD FRANCE DO? ...

Only a few of the people who expressed dissatisfaction with what the French were doing to help defend Germany made suggestions, when queried further, relative to an increased military establishment in France. The common theme of most proposals was that the French should be more cooperative with or conciliatory toward West Germany. One in ten in Berlin and Bremen and somewhat fewer in the US Zone specifically mentioned that France should agree to German rearmament. The catalogued replies follow.

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with what the French are doing for the defense of West Germany?"

If "Dissatisfied" or "They don't do anything": "What, in your opinion, should the French do?"

US ZONE Berlin Bremen

They should come to an understanding with Germany and cooperate with us - they should help us and do away with suspicions and prejudices; They shouldn't slander us all the time; they should come to terms with Germany and conclude a treaty with us; they should be able to forget and fuse with Germany; they should help our government get away from this misery; they should come to an agreement with Germany so that the defense will be guaranteed; they should realize that we are all in the same boat; discard all prejudices; they should stop being more afraid of us than they are of the Russians; they should not be so suspicious; they should show themselves to be more conciliatory; they should work with us and not against us; etc.

9% 11% 11%

For their own sake and for the security of Germany they should agree to a rearmament of Germany; They should reinforce the military potential of the Germans and Europe as much as possible; they should agree to a West German army; they should allow us to rearm for defense, as we will have to stop the first onslaught; they would gain from our rearmament as we would protect their country; they should realize that only the German soldier can protect Europe; they should show the will to grant us as much security as they demand for themselves; they should do everything to make the Elbe River the first line of defense rather than the Rhine; the French and the Germans have to come to terms about a West European army; etc.

6 11 10

They should rearm and fight Communism; They should draft all their own people instead of depending upon the Americans; they should have more troops for the defense, just as the Americans do; they should pay their share for the defense of Europe; dismiss the present government which is too Communist; deeds in lieu of words, in view of the danger from the East; etc.

6 4 2

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

US ZONE Berlin Bremen

They should cooperate with the Allies - further European union; They should cooperate more with the Americans; they should come to terms with the Allies; they should support America's plans and not boycott them; in view of the international situation, they should try to achieve unity; further unification of Europe; etc.

3% 6% 4%

They should recognize Germany as equal; They should consider us an equal nation; they should grant us more rights; they should admit us to the Atlantic Pact as an equal partner; they should recognize Germany as an ally; etc.

3 4 5

More freedom should be granted to German industry - better economic cooperation; They shouldn't take our coal away from us; support our economy; France should allow us a basis for all defense plans - namely the economic recovery of West Germany; they should demand less coal and permit us to produce more steel; they meddle in the Ruhr, which I don't like; etc.

2 1 3

They can't do anything, they are too weak (general); They are not in the position to do anything; it is too late to do anything; they are far too weak a country; they are a dying people; one can't expect anything of them; they have enough troubles as it is; etc.

1 1 2

Other opinions: Nothing, but they also should keep quiet; get out of the country; assume the role of a mediator between the East and West; etc.

2 3 4

No opinion / No answer:

$$\frac{5}{37\%} \quad \frac{5}{46\%*} \quad \frac{8}{49\%*}$$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

FRENCH STAND ON GERMAN ARMY PLAYS SMALL ROLE ...

The minor role played by the defense participation issue in the public's estimate of the state of Franco-German relations is demonstrated further in replies to queries dealing specifically with the issue. Half of the US Zone population, and almost as many in Berlin and Bremen were unable to state whether or not the French had imposed any conditions regarding West German participation in European defense. And, as would be expected, an equally large proportion was unable to judge the effect of the French position on Franco-German relations. However, of those with an opinion, more thought that the French attitude had a negative effect rather than a positive one.

"Could you please tell me, whether the French government agreed to West Germany's participation in the West European defense army (under certain conditions) or is the French government definitely opposed to it?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	US ZONE	Berlin	Bremen
Under certain conditions	32%	34%	35%	33%	42%	36%
Definitely opposed	15	10	15	14	15	16
Unconditionally in favor	1	1	-	1	-	1
No opinion	$\frac{52}{100\%}$	$\frac{55}{100\%}$	$\frac{50}{100\%}$	$\frac{52}{100\%}$	$\frac{43}{100\%}$	$\frac{47}{100\%}$

"In your opinion, has the French attitude on the issue of West Germany's participation in a West European army had a good, bad, or no influence on Franco-German relations?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	US ZONE	Berlin	Bremen
Good influence	6%	5%	7%	6%	7%	11%
Bad influence	23	22	22	23	30	26
No influence	13	16	18	15	15	14
No opinion	$\frac{58}{100\%}$	$\frac{57}{100\%}$	$\frac{53}{100\%}$	$\frac{56}{100\%}$	$\frac{48}{100\%}$	$\frac{49}{100\%}$

R E S T R I C T E D

RESTRICTED

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

The tables which follow give the pattern of replies of different groups in the population. It will be noted that in those groups where opinions tend to be more definite, the tendency toward negative attitudes is greater. In all population groups, "No opinion" replies are frequent, though as expected, they occur more often among the lesser educated, lower socio-economic groups, and among women than among their counterparts.

"In general, how do you judge the present political relations between West Germany and France: as very good, good, not so good or bad?"

	Very good	Good	Not so good	Bad	No opinion
For participation in a European army	1%	22%	42%	7%	28% ... 100%
Against participation in a European army	1	11	42	11	35
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professional	-	25%	38%	13%	24%
Business and managerial	-	16	48	13	23
Clerical	-	18	46	13	23
Skilled labor	-	16	40	10	34
Semi-skilled labor	-	14	37	6	43
Farmers and farm laborers	1	17	33	5	44
None - students, retired, pensioners, etc.	1	15	35	7	42
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 199 DM	1%	15%	31%	6%	47%
200 - 399 DM	1	17	41	10	31
400 DM and more	-	18	52	11	19
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	-	16%	34%	8%	42%
Secondary school	-	14	59	12	15
Diploma and University	3	21	49	18	9
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	1%	22%	49%	11%	17%
Women	-	11	28	6	55
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
CDU/CSU	-	18%	33%	6%	43%
SPD	1	18	45	9	27
FDP	-	22	49	11	18
RP	-	17	38	6	39
<u>City Size:</u>					
0 - 4,999 population	-	16%	34%	8%	42%
5,000 - 24,999	1	16	37	11	35
25,000 - 99,999	1	18	44	11	26
100,000 - 249,999	1	18	46	7	28
250,000 and over	-	17	47	9	27

RESTRICTED

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with what the French are doing for the defense of West Germany?"

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Do nothing	No opinion
For participation in a European army	17%	24%	16%	43%...100%
Against participation in a European army	11	18	19	52
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professional	8%	36%	21%	35%
Business and managerial	11	26	23	40
Clerical	11	29	22	38
Skilled labor	16	18	14	52
Semi-skilled labor	17	15	13	55
Farmers and farm laborers	16	15	9	60
None - students, retired, pensioners, etc.	14	12	15	59
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 199 DM	14%	13%	11%	62%
200 - 399 DM	15	23	17	45
400 DM and more	13	29	21	37
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	15%	16%	13%	56%
Secondary school	8	34	24	34
Diploma and University	10	38	25	27
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	20%	29%	20%	31%
Women	9	10	10	71
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
CDU/CSU	15%	18%	11%	56%
SPD	19	22	17	42
FDP	12	28	17	43
IP	14	20	13	53
<u>City Size:</u>				
0 - 4,999 population	15%	17%	12%	56%
5,000 - 24,999	15	20	18	47
25,000 - 99,999	13	27	15	45
100,000 - 249,999	11	25	15	49
250,000 and over	13	20	23	44

"Could you please tell me, whether the French government agreed to West Germany's participation in the West European defense army (under certain conditions) or is the French government definitely opposed to it?"

	Under certain conditions	Definitely opposed	Uncondition- ally in favor	No opinion
For participation in a European army	42%	13%	1%	44% ... 100%
Against participation in a European army	28	19	1	52
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professional	54%	16%	-	30%
Business and managerial	37	19	1	43
Clerical	52	10	2	36
Skilled labor	38	14	-	48
Semi-skilled labor	28	16	-	56
Farmers and farm laborers	20	15	1	64
None - students, retired, pensioners, etc.	26	12	-	62
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 199 DM	21%	12%	1%	66%
200 - 399 DM	40	14	1	45
400 DM and more	52	17	1	30
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	27%	14%	1%	58%
Secondary school	57	12	1	30
Diploma and University	70	10	-	20
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	51%	15%	1%	33%
Women	16	12	-	72
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
CDU/CSU	29%	11%	1%	59%
SPD	42	14	1	43
FDP	49	17	2	32
BP	24	16	-	60
<u>City Size:</u>				
0 - 4,999 population	26%	14%	1%	59%
5,000 - 24,999	35	12	1	52
25,000 - 99,999	44	16	1	39
100,000 - 249,999	51	7	-	42
250,000 and over	44	14	-	42

RESTRICTED

"In your opinion, has the French attitude on the issue of West Germany's participation in a West European defense army a good, bad or no influence on Franco-German relations?"

	Good influence	Bad influence	No influence	No opinion
For participation in a European army	8%	29%	16%	47% ... 100%
Against participation in a European army	4	18	18	60
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professional	5%	41%	16%	38%
Business and managerial	7	30	18	45
Clerical	9	33	20	38
Skilled labor	10	22	15	53
Semi-skilled labor	6	17	16	61
Farmers and farm laborers	3	14	13	70
None - students, retired, pensioners, etc.	2	18	12	68
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 199 DM	4%	15%	12%	69%
200 - 399 DM	8	26	17	49
400 DM and more	6	36	19	39
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	5%	19%	14%	62%
Secondary school	8	39	19	34
Diploma and University	9	52	18	21
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	8%	35%	22%	35%
Women	4	11	9	76
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
CDU/CSU	5%	21%	12%	62%
SPD	8	23	21	48
FLP	5	34	17	44
IP	3	22	9	66
<u>City Size:</u>				
0 - 4,999 population	4%	19%	13%	64%
5,000 - 24,999	8	24	16	52
25,000 - 99,999	9	32	12	47
100,000 - 249,999	8	34	20	38
250,000 and over	7	25	20	48

RESTRICTED

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with what the English are doing for the defense of West Germany?"

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Do nothing	No opinion
For participation in a European army	33%	17%	9%	41% ... 100%
Against participation in a European army	21	15	10	54
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professional	17%	28%	13%	42%
Business and managerial	31	16	11	42
Clerical	25	22	16	37
Skilled labor	29	14	7	50
Semi-skilled labor	30	11	8	51
Farmers and farm laborers	26	9	5	60
None - students, retired, pensioners, etc.	24	12	6	58
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 199 DM	22%	11%	5%	62%
200 - 399 DM	30	16	10	44
400 DM and more	29	22	12	37
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	27%	12%	7%	54%
Secondary school	21	27	15	37
Diploma and University	24	36	14	26
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	35%	23%	10%	33%
Women	18	8	6	68
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
CDU/CSU	28%	9%	7%	56%
SPD	30	17	9	44
FDP	37	25	12	36
DP	35	18	2	45
<u>City Size:</u>				
0 - 4,999 population	26%	12%	7%	55%
5,000 - 24,999	26	15	8	51
25,000 - 99,999	24	20	12	44
100,000 - 249,999	29	14	12	45
250,000 and over	27	21	9	43

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with what the Americans are doing for the defense of West Germany?"

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Do nothing	No opinion
For participation in a European army	68%	19%	3%	11% ... 100%
Against participation in a European army	55	22	4	19
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professional	39%	37%	3%	21%
Business and managerial	56	26	3	15
Clerical	59	27	3	11
Skilled labor	65	15	4	16
Semi-skilled labor	69	12	2	17
Farmers and farm laborers	61	15	2	22
None - students, retired, pensioners, etc.	56	10	2	22
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 199 DM	63%	12%	2%	23%
200 - 399 DM	63	20	3	14
400 DM and more	55	27	4	14
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	64%	15%	2%	19%
Secondary school	52	26	6	16
Diploma and University	45	39	4	12
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	64%	24%	2%	10%
Women	59	11	3	27
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
CDU/CSU	63%	16%	1%	20%
SPD	58	17	3	12
FDP	52	26	1	11
BP	69	10	2	19
<u>City Size:</u>				
0 - 4,999 population	60%	16%	3%	21%
5,000 - 24,999	56	15	2	17
25,000 - 99,999	64	19	2	15
100,000 - 249,999	62	22	4	12
250,000 and over	57	24	3	16
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 30 years	63%	18%	3%	16%
30 - 39 years	56	20	4	20
40 - 49 years	56	23	3	18
50 years and more	67	13	1	19

WEST GERMAN REACTIONS TO THE LANDS ERG DECISIONS

Report No. 63
Series No. 2
March 6, 1951

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION ...

This report on West German reactions to the Landsberg decisions is based on a "flash" survey made on February 26 and 27, 1951. The sample used was a representative urban quota one of 640 cases drawn from among West German cities, 50,000 and over in population, and a 200 case quota sample from the three Western sectors of Berlin.

SOME GENERALIZATIONS ...

Whatever the press or other sources of information may have implied, public reaction to the Landsberg decisions - as measured by urban West German opinion - cannot be considered encouraging to American policy makers.

- ... It can be definitely stated that there is no majority approval of the decisions. The best that can be said is that the German public splits between agreement and disagreement with them.
- ... Moreover, when those who approve in the net are questioned as to what aspects of the decisions they disapprove of, they usually bring up whatever punishments remain. The implication is that to get the unconditional approval of the group which qualify their general agreement with the decisions, even greater leniency would have to be shown.
- ... Conversely, those who disagree in the net with the decisions indicate that the only thing they approve of are the alleviations. Again the indications are that virtual abrogation of the penalties would have to occur to win the approval of this group.
- ... The general conclusion is that really widespread unconditional support for the decisions would only have been obtained by virtual elimination of the original sentences.
- ... The implications of these findings are of course extremely revealing. They clearly demonstrate that all that the bulk of urban West Germans really approve in the decisions is the elimination of sentences. Scarcely anyone indicates any awareness or appreciation of the re-allocation of punishment more equitably to fit the particular crimes. In short, they reveal an almost complete failure to grasp the principle of clemency based on automatic, impartial judicial review. The general interpretation of the action is that the Germans were given something for favors received or expected, and the objections stem essentially from a general orientation that they were not given enough by way of elimination of sentences.
- ... This bleak overall picture of German reactions to Landsberg, is not substantially relieved even among the better educated and generally more informed groups in the population who might have been expected to show greater understanding of the essential principles involved.

- ... Getting specifically to the death sentences, it is found as already intimated that fewer people approve of these than approve of the Landsberg decisions as a whole. Perhaps the most significant finding here is that those who disapprove the death sentences do not do so out of ignorance of the crimes. Almost all of these who oppose these sentences could specify in some degree the nature of the crimes committed.
- ... If the Landsberg decisions are not to go down in the minds of the West German majority as largely an ulteriorly motivated effort to capture their allegiance, the American information program must sooner or later succeed in education the German public in the essential principles of Anglo-Saxon law, and in particular the principle of clemency as based upon automatic, impartial judicial review, quite removed from considerations of expediency or political partizanship.

WIDESPREAD AWARENESS OF DECISIONS ...

Claimed awareness of the Landsberg decisions is widespread in urban West Germany: Eight out of every ten residents of cities of 25,000 and over say they have heard of the American decision on the sentences. West Berliners, however, are not nearly so well-informed - only 56 per cent of them claim to have heard. (Berlin's relative and unusual unawareness on this matter may reflect the scanty coverage given the decisions in the West Berlin press.)

"Have you heard of the decisions made by the Americans about the prisoners at Landsberg?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Yes, have heard	80%	77%	84%	56%
No, have not heard	20	23	16	43
No answer	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

RECEPTION IS MIXED ...

The best that can be said of the urban West German reception of the Landsberg decisions reached by the Americans is that it is mixed. Precisely as many disagree with the decisions as agree. Only in West Berlin is the predominant view one of agreement with the outcome of the U.S. review of the sentences.

"In general, do you agree with these decisions or not?" (Asked of those who answered "Yes, have heard" to previous question.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Agree	31%	28%	35%	32%
Do not agree	32	32	34	12
No opinion	<u>17</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>12</u>
	80%	77%	84%	56%

MODERATION OF SENTENCES PLAYS SMALL ROLE IN DISAGREEMENT ...

The mitigation of many of the original sentences is certainly not an important source of disagreement with the decisions. (Only 5% in West Germany take issue with the moderating of some of the sentences.) On the contrary, the decisions are mainly criticized in this order of frequency: 1) the alleged delay; 2) the legality of the original judgments; 3) the severity of the sentences; and 4) the complicity of the Allies in war crimes, viz.: the U.S. bombing of open cities, and the U.S.S.R., generally.

"In general, do you agree with these decisions or not?" (Asked of those who answered "Yes, have heard" to previous question.)

If "Do not agree": "Could you please tell me, why you disagree?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
<u>They waited too long before inflicting punishment:</u> Seven prisoners were to be executed, that could have been done immediately after the end of the war, but not anymore today, these people have suffered enough; they have suffered enough through the last years, they could have been pardoned too; they have suffered more than those who were hanged right away; it is a crime to have left these people in uncertainty as to what was going to happen to them and then finally to hang them; etc.	10%	11%	9%	2%
<u>Investigations and legal proceedings were questionable, sentences as well:</u> They are not criminals, there are innocent ones among them - sentences should be reviewed; an objective review of the legal proceedings would be more necessary than official pardon; the decisions violate the laws of humanity; the sentences prove that they have the same concepts of law as our former leaders did - extortion of confessions; etc.	4	5	4	2
<u>The sentences are too severe:</u> Death sentences and life terms are too severe; they should act more generously in the interest of understanding among the peoples of the world; those sentenced should not be killed, no matter what they did - they should be put to work instead; etc.	4	5	2	2
<u>War crimes are committed by other nations as well and go unpunished:</u> If these people are executed, then those Americans should be executed too who plastered open German cities with incendiary bombs; I find that inhuman because the Americans' conscience is not pure either and they are not tried; it is unjust that the loser should always suffer, the Russians have committed crimes against humanity too and nobody calls them to account; etc.	4	3	5	1

(cont'd on next page)

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
-----------------	-----------------	------------	--------

The sentences are not severe enough: The sentences should never have been reduced the way they were, especially for the arch-criminals Pohl and the like; those crooks will be having the say in two years; they deserved more than death! - they are responsible for our misery and now they run around free; etc.

4%	2%	7%	3%
----	----	----	----

It makes a very bad impression on the Germans: On the one hand they want us to rearm, and on the other they hang the people because of the last war - that isn't going to promote our happiness; it contradicts all the bargaining that goes on about Germany now; they should have been more lenient yet, that would have made a good impression on us; etc.

2	2	2	-
---	---	---	---

The small crooks are hanged and the big ones escape: If I had been in jail, my sentence would probably not have been modified, as I am only small fry; the big ones can always get away; etc.

1	1	2	*
---	---	---	---

Other opinions: They were sentenced by an Allied court, therefore Americans cannot pronounce a modification of the sentences - an Allied court would have to do that; the legal proceedings should be left to the Germans, then we would have objective judgment at least; etc.

4	4	3	2
---	---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

* 33%**	1 34%**	1 35%**	- 12%
------------	------------	------------	----------

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

MODERATION OF SENTENCES IS IMPORTANT BASIS FOR AGREEMENT ...

The reduction or modification of several of the sentences appears to be the most decisive factor making for agreement with the Landsberg decisions. Only a few mention that they approve the decisions because they are based on legal reviews of the cases or because the penalties adhered to conform to the crimes committed. Those who approve the decisions do so, then, mainly because they feel the sentences were lightened. In other words, the decisions largely are welcomed to the extent that they are regarded as evidence of an acknowledgment of past errors on the part of the U.S.

"In general, do you agree with these decisions or not?" (Asked of those who answered "Yes, have heard" to previous question.)

If "Agree": "Could you please tell me, why you agree?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
<u>The decisions are based on a legal review;</u> I have enough confidence that the verdicts were sufficiently examined as to whether they should be upheld or not - I think it was done justly; because they examined everything to their best knowledge and ability - even the death penalties were postponed; the innocent were released, the guilty not; etc.	7%	6%	8%	5%
<u>Revision of verdicts was necessary because they were pronounced under the influence of hatred and revenge;</u> It was high time to do something about hatred and revenge - they just resulted in negative reactions among the public; the pardons showed that the former standards have been recognized as false and that the other nations of the world attempt to be more objective; because slowly they begin to realize that many mistakes were made on these issues; the verdicts were made under different conditions; etc.	5	5	6	8
<u>Crimes have to be punished;</u> Each one of them has to take his punishment for his crime; because these men have a lot on their conscience, why should they go without punishment for it?; if they committed crimes against humanity, they should be punished for them; people who have committed crimes have to take the responsibility for them; because these people committed murders themselves and acted according to orders; etc.	4	3	6	1
<u>Revision of the verdicts was necessary because many of the convicted were innocent;</u> They will have proved that many of the convicted were innocent of crimes; many were innocently convicted; because the people were in jail without reason; because many of the severe verdicts were modified; etc.	4	3	4	3

(cont'd on next page)

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
-----------------	-----------------	------------	--------

The decisions are welcomed for humanitarian reasons: For the sake of humanity, they are people too; because the Americans showed that they can be humane; etc.

3%	2%	4%	2%
----	----	----	----

The convicted only did their duty: They only obeyed their orders during the war and now that we have peace they deserve a revision of the verdicts; they only obeyed orders; because these people did not commit any crimes but were soldiers; etc.

2	2	2	6
---	---	---	---

War crimes were committed by others: Not only they but the others too committed war crimes, because the Americans did similar things in Korea; etc.

2	2	3	2
---	---	---	---

The war crime trials were not justified: I welcome the decisions as a great step forward toward understanding as I fundamentally deny Americans the right to try Germans - I believe that reason finally got the upper hand; the war crime trials were neither necessary nor justified; etc.

1	1	2	1
---	---	---	---

Other opinions: Because many of them were accused not only for political reasons but for personal reasons; the possibility should be left open to represent the previous viewpoints and attitudes of the prisoners; etc.

3	3	*	2
---	---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{1}{32\%}^{**}$	$\frac{1}{28\%}$	$\frac{-}{35\%}$	$\frac{2}{32\%}$
-----------------------	------------------	------------------	------------------

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

The decisive role which moderation of some of the sentences plays in determining the public's agreement or disagreement with the Landsberg decisions is again demonstrated by a further line of queries.

Approximately half of the urban West Germans who initially stated their general agreement with the decisions, replied when questioned further that they disliked certain of the decisions. In almost all instances the seven death sentences were the reasons specified for withholding complete agreement.

On the other hand, proportionately more of those claiming general disagreement with the decisions acknowledge approval in specific instances. Again, however, the basis of agreement centers on the alleviation of some of the sentences. Few expressed satisfaction with the retention of the death sentences for such persons as Pohl and Ohlendorf as reasons for limited agreement.

The question and replies including listed comments follow.*

"Are there any decisions among them which you do not agree with?"
(Asked of those who answered "Agree" to initial question.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Yes, which? (List)	10%	9%	11%	6%
No	13	10	17	14
No opinion	8	9	7	12
	31%	28%	35%	32%

List of replies to above question:

Delay of the death sentences;

The seven death sentences;

Colonel Peiper;

Because they still want to hang people, six years after the war is ended, that is unmoral - whatever they did they should have done it right away;

Many of the sentences should have been clearly announced and carried out five years ago;

They have sentenced generals who did no more or no less than the victorious generals;

The seven death sentences still in effect;

That they were not at least changed to life imprisonment;

The death sentences - if we are to bear arms again these things cannot continue;

That those who are going to be hanged were not given life imprisonment instead;

Those who are sentenced to death should not have to wait so long, but should have been executed at once;

All the sentences should be revised;

The death sentences which are still going to be carried out;

The older men should not be sentenced to death;

The executions of the seven condemned men are carried out too late;

Many officers who are still in prison only carried out their orders.

* Comments are listed rather than categorized as categorizing is not advisable because relatively few cases are involved.

"Are there any decisions among them which you do agree with?" (Asked of those who answered "Do not agree" to initial question.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Yes, which? (List)	16%	14%	19%	5%
No	9	11	7	3
No opinion	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>4</u>
	32%	32%	34%	12%

List of replies to above question:

That so many people were let off;
 Mercy for many of the prisoners;
 Freeing of leading personalities like Krupp;
 That at least some people were set free;
 Because of the men who were released who had committed no crime against humanity;
 Freeing of generals and high officials;
 That the less guilty were freed;
 The punishment of Pohl, Ohlendorf and Neumann;
 The many death sentences.

SPECIFIC REACTION TO THE DEATH PENALTIES ...

Queried specifically about the seven death sentences which were sustained, only three in ten city dwellers in West Germany could name one or more of the condemned men. US Zone respondents are the best informed on this score, four in ten of them being able to specify names. As will be noted in the table below, Pohl and Ohlendorf are the two men most frequently mentioned.

The death sentences are approved by a quarter of the West German public. Approval is more frequently given in the US Zone than in the British Zone or in West Berlin.

"Could you perhaps name some of the prisoners at Landsberg whose death penalties were upheld?" (Asked of those who had heard about the decisions made by the Americans about the Landsberg prisoners.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Yes, which?(List)	29%	23%	40%	11%
No, don't know	<u>51</u>	<u>54</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>45</u>
	80%	77%	84%	56%

"Can you name any of the prisoners whose death sentences have been sustained?"

WEST GERMANY	Pohl	13%
	Ohlendorf	10
	Schmidt	4
	Others:	2
	(Neumann, Braune Ebel, Schellmeyer)	<u>29%</u>

"Are you of the opinion that those condemned to death deserve their penalty?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Yes, all of them	25%	19%	36%	18%
No, not all of them	9	10	7	6
No, none of them deserved it	12	13	12	7
No opinion	<u>34</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>25</u>
	80%	77%	84%	56%

Those persons who reject the death penalties carte-blanche bring up a variety of arguments among which similar crimes by the Allies and the need to respond to orders, lead in frequency.

"Are you of the opinion that those condemned to death deserve their penalty?"

If "No, none of them deserved it": "Why are you of this opinion?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
<u>Similar crimes committed by the Allies were not punished:</u> The Allies demanded the same of their officers during the last war; because I know that on the other side, similar and in some instances, identical things happened; there are many more on the other side who deserve a death sentence; etc.	5%	5%	4%	2%
<u>They acted according to their orders and merely did their duty:</u> They did their duty such as was asked of them; they only did what they were ordered to do; they couldn't do anything about it; they acted in the best of faith and thought they were helping their country; etc.	3	4	3	3
<u>Capital punishment has been abolished:</u> Inasmuch as capital punishment has been abolished, I don't see why these people should be hanged, if they are murderers or not; nobody has the right to decide over life and death; I am opposed to capital punishment in principle; etc.	1	1	3	1
<u>Sentences were imposed without sufficient proof and justification:</u> Because certain sentences were passed without complete justification; I believe that the sentences come from a one-sided revenge psychology; etc.	1	1	*	1
<u>They have suffered enough:</u> They have suffered enough through the long time they spent in prison and the constant thought that they were to die; etc.	1	*	*	-
<u>Other opinions:</u> They are human beings too and want to live; they deserve hard labor but not execution; etc.	1	1	2	*
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	$\frac{*}{12\%}$	$\frac{1}{13\%}$	$\frac{-}{12\%}$	$\frac{-}{7\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

Respondents who are not in complete agreement with the retention of the death sentences also adduce a variety of reasons for their beliefs that exceptions should have been made. Replies of both groups are listed in order of frequency of mention.

"Are you of the opinion that those condemned to death deserve their penalty?"

If "Yes, but not all of them": "Why are you of this opinion?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
<u>In some cases, guilt has not been established:</u> I believe that in some cases, guilt has not been proved; Ohlen-dorf didn't deserve it, in Pohl's case it isn't quite clear, he was an administrator; there are borderline cases where one should decide in favor of the accused; some of the political ones should be reviewed; etc.	3%	4%	3%	1%
<u>Some of them have committed crimes:</u> as some of them have actually committed crimes; the concentration camp commanders; some of them surely are guilty of inhuman crimes; etc.	2	2	2	2
<u>Many acted under pressure:</u> Many acted that way because they had to; many of them were forced to their actions by superior orders; etc.	2	2	1	2
<u>Sentences are too severe:</u> The army leaders did not deserve them; they are punished for more than they have done; etc.	*	*	1	1
<u>Other opinions:</u>	1	1	-	*
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	$\frac{1}{9\%}$	$\frac{2}{11\%}$ **	$\frac{-}{7\%}$	$\frac{*}{6\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent

**Some respondents gave more than one reason.

CRIMES FOR WHICH DEATH PENALTY IMPOSED ARE KNOWN ...

It is important to note that disagreement in whole or in part with the decisions to retain the death penalties in certain cases does not arise from ignorance of the crimes these persons are guilty of. Almost all of the respondents who feel that some or all of the death sentences should have been modified can state the case against these men.

"Do you know by any chance which crimes the condemned were accused of?"

If "Yes, which": "What kind of crimes?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
<u>Crimes against humanity:</u> Violation of the laws of humanity; crimes against humanity; etc.	7%	7%	9%	5%
<u>Crimes against Jews and foreigners:</u> Shooting of hostages; murdering of Eastern Jews; crimes against political enemies, Jews and foreigners; they are supposed to have given orders to have prisoners of war and Jews shot; etc.	3	3	2	1
<u>Cruelties and Crimes in concentration camps:</u> Because of cruelties in the concentration camps; manhandling and slaughtering of concentration camp-inmates; gas chambers; they gave the orders to have concentration camp inmates exterminated; because they were in charge of concentration camps; etc.	2	3	1	1
<u>War crimes and other crimes (general):</u> Because of war crimes; because of crimes that they committed; etc.	2	3	1	*
<u>Combination of all these:</u> Because of war crimes, cruelties, crimes against humanity; etc.	2	2	3	1
<u>Other opinions:</u> Because they were members of the "Waffen-SS"; because they were Nazis presumably; etc.	1	1	-	1
<u>No, don't know:</u>	$\frac{4}{21\%}$	$\frac{4}{23\%}$	$\frac{3}{19\%}$	$\frac{4}{13\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

THE KRUPP CASE ...

The settlement of the Krupp case is widely known among those who are aware of the Landsberg decisions. And most of those informed about the case agree with the settlement.

"Could you perhaps tell me what the decision was in the case of Alfred Krupp?" (Asked of those who had heard about the decisions made by the Americans about the prisoners at Landsberg.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Yes, correct	62%	61%	67%	46%
Yes, incorrect	5	4	4	4
Yes, indeterminate	4	1	13	-
Don't know	<u>9</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>6</u>
	80%	77%	84%	56%

"Do you agree with this decision or not?" (Asked of those who answered "Yes" to previous question.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Agree	48%	48%	49%	40%
Do not agree	8	6	13	5
No opinion	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>
	62%	61%	67%	46%

Supporters of the Krupp decision defend their point of view largely by arguing that Krupp's role in the Third Reich was only that of an industrialist or businessman.

Opponents of the decision, on the other hand, tend in general to emphasize the common guilt of the "munition maker." Comments of both groups are shown below.

"Do you agree with this decision or not?" (Asked of those who answered "Yes" to previous question.)

If "Agree": "Why are you of this opinion?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
<u>Krupp did no more than war industrialists in countries:</u> Because Krupp only somewhat furthered armament, Ford and the other plants in the United States do the same; otherwise they could hang all big industrialists throughout the world; Krupp's firm did what all the others did - manufacture armaments, i.e. produce arms; Krupp did nothing but what everyone else in his position also does in other countries; because otherwise the armament experts in the USA would also have to be punished; because he was only a business leader like many others abroad; etc.	14%	14%	15%	8%
<u>Krupp only worked in his special field and put his knowledge at disposal without being a criminal:</u> After all, Krupp was only a specialist in his particular field; I regard A. Krupp only as a man who worked as a manager of his plant; it was not A. Krupp's fault that as a big industrialist he got armament orders; etc.	8	9	8	11
<u>His punishment was unjust from the very beginning:</u> Also Krupp was unjustly sentenced simply because the original sentence was unjust; because this was another wrong sentence; thus another great injustice is being made good; I never understood why they put this man into prison; etc.	8	9	5	7
<u>He only did what the state (Hitler) demanded:</u> After all, industry must work for the state; he did everything because he had to (dictated by the state); because Krupp was practically not allowed to dispose of his plant and, therefore, had no responsibility for it; because in those days he had to cooperate anyway; etc.	6	6	6	3
<u>He substituted for his father's place in the trial:</u> Because this Krupp had nothing to do with the whole procedure - he only replaced his father and was not guilty at all; as far as I know, he had to go to jail for his old father, and that is a bit too much, I think; Alfred Krupp has only been sentenced as his father's representative; etc.	3	3	4	3

(cont'd on next page)

WEST British US Berlin
GERMANY Zone Zone

He contributed to social welfare, was humanitarian and honest: He was always honest and humane with his workers; he gave work to thousands; he was efficient and earned his money - he gave work to the "little man"; the Krupps have always been honest people; etc.

3 2 3 3

His punishment has been sufficient: He has suffered enough during the six years; for what Krupp committed, his punishment is sufficient; a post-rehabilitation already long overdue; etc.

2 2 4 2

He is needed for Germany's economic recovery (including rearmament if necessary): Because Krupp's plant gets a head again and gets ahead; we need him for the German economy; the Axis may need him for rearmament; etc.

2 2 3 3

Other opinions: I welcome the releases, because they are worthy of a civilized nation; Krupp was not a warmonger, he had his wealth already before the Third Reich; etc.

4 5 1 2

No opinion / No answer:

2 1 3 -
52% 53% 52% 42%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"Do you agree with this decision or not?" (Asked of those who answered "Yes" to previous question.)

If "Disagree": "Why do you disagree?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
<u>Because he is really guilty, compared to others:</u> Because in comparison to many another he came out too well (e.g. in comparison to Neurath); because he is really guilty of the war; Krupp earned his money from the war, and now he gets it back - that is injustice; under normal conditions should have been doomed; Krupp supplied the cannons and thus is just as guilty as the others; perhaps he is now needed again, instead, the seven from the KZ* have to pay the bill; he should be hanged - he has enough on his conscience; etc.	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
<u>Krupp and the industrialists were Hitler's allies:</u> Because these industrialists supported Hitler - he grew through them; because Krupp collaborated intimately with Hitler; etc.	2	1	4	1
<u>Because Krupp will produce arms again; he may become a danger for Germany:</u> In case of rearmament he will again produce tanks and guns; because Krupp is militarization itself and will do it again in order to do business; etc.	1	1	1	1
<u>The little man is hanged, the big shot goes free:</u> The poor little devils have been hanged and heavily punished and the big shots get away unharmed; etc.	*	*	1	*
<u>Other opinions:</u> Because this implies danger for our country; etc.	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{2}{13}$	$\frac{1}{5}$

* (concentration camps)

WHY DID THE U.S. MODERATE SOME SENTENCES? ...

Finally, the legal considerations motivating the American decisions in the Landsberg cases, apparently completed failed to impress the German public. The principle and implications of judicial review and clemency entirely escapes urban West Germans. The rectification of past errors and opportunism vie with each other in urban West German thinking as the main reasons why the Americans modified some of the sentences. Not one respondent even mentions that the modifications may have resulted from a careful, legal review of the issues involved.

"And why, do you think, have the Americans moderated the sentences in many cases?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
<u>They realize injustice of trials: They realize now that the Nuremberg trials and the proceedings were not just and objective; they have seen that they are not infallible either and that their sentences were too severe; because their sentences were not always entirely justified - they have recognized that now; etc.</u>	23%	20%	32%	17%
<u>They need the Germans and try to win them for their cause: Because they think that they may eventually need the Germans; to win us for their cause; they need Germany and that's probably why they did it; etc.</u>	18	17	21	9
<u>To promote the growing understanding between America and West Germany: A few years ago the Americans didn't know the Germans as well as they do now; they see that it is senseless to still entertain thoughts of revenge; not to increase the hard feelings of the Germans; etc.</u>	10	11	8	10
<u>They need the freed prisoners for their aims: Because they need Krupp for their purposes; because they are needed for rearmament; because they need them for a new war - especially the officers; in order to profit from these experts in their fields; etc.</u>	7	6	8	6
<u>To prove that they can think and act in a human fashion: To show us once again how humane they are; to preserve their claim to humanity; perhaps because they don't want people to think badly about them; etc.</u>	5	4	3	6
<u>The lesson of Korea: As they have learned from Korea; Korea proves to them that the Germans were fairer enemies than they are fighting now; etc.</u>	3	3	3	-
<u>They recognize mutual guilt: May be they have become conscious of the fact that even in their own allies there are certain people who deserve punishment; they probably felt uneasy about the sentences, because then Americans too would have to be labeled war criminals; etc.</u>	2	2	2	2

(cont'd on next page)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
<u>Intervention of German groups and individuals:</u>				
Even clerical quarters pleaded for mercy; because of the pressure of certain important Germans; etc.	1%	2%	1%	2%
<u>Other opinions:</u> Because the Americans want to prevent Germany from becoming Communist; because they are afraid; because the prisoners conducted themselves well; etc.	6	5	6	4
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	$\frac{9}{84\%}$ *	$\frac{11}{82\%}$ *	$\frac{5}{89\%}$ *	$\frac{4}{60\%}$ *

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

The attitudinal picture on the Landsberg decisions is scarcely relieved by examination of the opinions of the various population groups. A scrutiny of the following tables will reveal that there is no group within the population as a whole who takes a firmly positive stand. Thus, while the better educated and upper income groups are more inclined to voice general agreement with the Landsberg decisions than do those with less education and lower incomes, men, on the other hand, are more likely than women to disagree with the verdicts.

And though the men appear more frequently to approve the retention of certain of the death sentences than to the women, there is little or no difference among other population groups on attitudes toward the issue.

Only on awareness of the Krupp decision are the usual group differences apparent. Men, the better educated, and the upper socio-economic groups are much more likely than their counterparts to be aware of what was decided.

"In general, do you agree with these decisions or not?" (Asked of those who answered "Yes, have heard" to previous question.)

	Agree	Do not agree	No opinion	Number of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
Sex:				
Men	39%	44%	17% ... 100%	263
Women	39	36	25	245
Education:				
Elementary school	36%	39%	25%	277
Beyond elementary school	43	41	16	230
Socio-economic Status:				
Lower class	37%	39%	24%	219
Lower middle to upper class	41	41	18	289
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	31%	5%	19%	68
150 - 299 DM	36	39	25	187
300 DM and more	44	38	18	251
Age:				
Under 40 years	43%	36%	21%	232
40 years and over	36	44	20	276
Party Preference:				
SPD	4%	36%	22%	138
CDU/CSU	44	37	19	97
FDP/LDP/DVP/FDV	44	45	11	66
Other parties	39	39	22	31
No parties	35	46	19	103
Don't know	3	37	33	73
Religion:				
Catholics	40%	41%	19%	192
Protestants	40	37	23	264

"Could you perhaps tell me what the decision was in the case of Alfred Krupp?" (Asked of those who had heard about the decisions made by the Americans about the Landsberg prisoners.)

	Yes, correct	Yes, incorrect	Yes, indeterminate	Don't know	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	87%	3%	1%	9%..10%	263
Women	69	9	1	21	243
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	68%	8%	2%	22%	276
Beyond elementary school	91	3	-	6	229
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	72%	5%	2%	21%	218
Lower middle to upper class	85	4	1	10	288
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 149 DM	66%	5%	2%	27%	67
150 - 299 DM	73	9	-	18	187
300 DM and more	86	3	2	9	250
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	75%	6%	1%	18%	231
40 years and over	81	8	1	12	275
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	75%	5%	1%	19%	138
CDU/CSU	85	3	2	10	97
FDP/LDP/DVP/EDV	91	3	1	5	66
Other parties	77	10	-	13	30
No parties	79	2	-	19	103
Don't know	67	15	1	17	72
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	75%	7%	2%	16%	191
Protestants	81	4	1	14	264

"Are you of the opinion that those condemned to death deserve their penalty?"

	Yes, all of them	No, not all	No, have not deserved	No opinion	Number of cases:
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	57%	13%	16%	34%...100%	265
Women	36	10	13	51	243
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	32%	10%	16%	42%	277
Beyond elementary school	31	13	14	42	230
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	35%	13%	12%	40%	219
Lower middle to upper class	29	10	17	44	289
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 149 DM	32%	13%	21%	34%	68
150 - 299 DM	30	13	14	43	187
300 DM and more	33	10	14	43	251
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	29%	15%	13%	43%	232
40 years and over	34	9	16	41	276
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	36%	14%	14%	34%	138
CDU/CSU	32	10	11	47	97
FDP/LDP/DVP/MDV	32	11	21	36	66
Other parties	42	10	13	35	31
No parties	27	12	20	41	103
Don't know	22	10	8	60	73
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	32%	11%	15%	42%	192
Protestants	32	12	13	43	264

ATTITUDES BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN
A Survey Approach To East German Thinking

I. General ~~North~~ Resistance Sentiments

Classification changed to
Restricted
by authority of L. B. Crespi
Special Report
March 9, 1951
63-5

CONFIDENTIAL
FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

SUMMARY

Introduction

... The present report is an opening attempt in an experimental series initiated to help meet the needs of the psychological warfare program. The general project has been prompted by two major considerations: first by the fact that Berlin is one of the extremely few places remaining where there is an opportunity to come into contact with any appreciable groups of people from behind the iron curtain - and hence no effort should be spared to exploit all informational possibilities in such a situation. The second reason for the project is the belief of the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, that despite a considerable number of limitations and difficulties attendant upon the use of the survey instrument for East German intelligence, such techniques can contribute materially to the piecing together of a factual and objective picture of the state of mind of East Berliners and other residents of the Communist controlled areas of Germany.

... In the survey period between December 14th and 21st 1950, 429 interviews were completed from among East Berlin and East Zone residents approached in the vicinity of money changing stations in West Berlin. Interviewing was conducted by the trained German interviewers of the Reactions Analysis Staff. All readers who plan to make serious use of the present material are advised to read the general introduction to the present study which presents in some detail the limitations involved and the cautions which should govern interpretations.

Findings

ARE EAST GERMANS BETTER OFF TODAY THAN HALF YEAR AGO? ...

... When East Berliners and the other East Zone residents who fell into the sample were asked to compare their present situation with that of six months past, somewhat more spoke of an improvement than of a deterioration. In both groups, however, approximately four out of ten judged no change to have occurred in the past six months in their living conditions.

... The returns revealed a considerable difference between the judgments of East Berliners and those of the adjacent Brandenburg areas as against the inhabitants of more distant Laender. The considerably more frequent judgments of better off in the former groups suggest as one hypothesis worth wider study, that the Soviets are possibly exerting special efforts to improve the economic situation in East Berlin and its close environs to lessen the unfavorable effects of comparisons between East and West Zone conditions. *this point already made of the prices, etc.*

... The various indications from the FDJ Whitsuntide rally and other sources that Soviet authorities in the East Zone are devoting particular attention to German youth is strikingly corroborated in the present survey by the remarkably large proportion of the respondents in the 15-24 year age range, as compared to those older, who state that they are better off today than they were six months ago. Only a negligible four per cent in the critical youth group state that they are currently worse off than before. *newly confirmed in previous work would be better*

... Other group differences are not so marked, though there is a suggestion that manual workers (including both skilled and unskilled) have more frequently experienced living improvements in the past six months than have other occupational elements - particularly professional and executive. Whether such a state of affairs is largely inadvertent or reflects a deliberate Soviet emphasis is worth further study.

WHAT IS POST-ELECTION MOOD OF EAST ZONE GERMANS? ...

- ... Further insight into East German reactions to their general political and economic situation derives from a question about the general mood of the population following the "elections" of October 15th, 1950. The returns make it very evident that despite the improvements in living conditions spoken of by an appreciable proportion of respondents in the prior query, only one in twenty describes the post-election mood of the population in the East Zone in terms that could be classified as good. The great bulk of the judgments were bad to very bad, frequently in such terms as "unbearable", "very depressed", "catastrophic", completely miserable", and the like.
- ... That the post-election mood of the East Zone population is bad to very bad appears to be the majority opinion among all of the population sub-groups examined. However a relatively larger proportion of the opinion leading elements - the men, the better educated, and the professional and executive occupations - make such adverse judgments than do their counterpart groups. It is notable, too, that of all the groupings examined, youths from 15 to 25 years ovince the smallest proportion who are inclined to judge the mood of the East Zone population to be bad.
- ... Both East Berliners and East Zone residents advance a considerable variety of reasons for their adverse judgments of East Zone morale following the October elections. These comments taken together add up to an indication of marked dissatisfaction behind the iron curtain with political and economic conditions - particularly the former. Of particular interest in the comments is the evidence of a boomerang effect in the Communist election strategy, i.e. an election too obviously rigged does more harm than good for people's morale.
- ... The miniscule proportion who judged the post-election mood of East Zone residents to be good argued mainly from an alleged improvement in economic conditions.

EAST GERMAN EVALUATION OF THE "STAMMABSCHNITTE" ...

- ... Mayor Ernst Reuter of West Berlin devised a dramatic expedient to express condemnation of the rigged East Zone election by inviting East Berliners to mail into the office of the Magistrat a portion of their last ration card. This would constitute, so as to speak, a vote for the West. Almost 400,000 such cards were received which is in itself evidence of a favorable reception. The present survey however yielded an opportunity to obtain an evaluation of the plan on a more representative basis.
 - ... The returns indicate that the preponderant opinion both in East Berlin and in the East Zone areas tapped by the sampling is that the Stammabschnitte had a useful effect.
 - ... Favorable judgments on the usefulness of the informal balloting were relatively more frequent among the opinion leading ^{middle} levels of the population sampled, i.e. the men, the better educated, and respondents of professional and executive occupations.
 - ... The arguments advanced for the utility of the project stressed mainly the opportunity to show the world what East Berliners really think, and the general demonstrational value against the East and for the West.
- change in time* Those who held the "Stammabschnitte" to be valueless argue mainly either nothing substantial was achieved or that the voting procedure was not such as to make an adequate participation possible.

WHAT CAN THE WEST DO TO IMPROVE THE EAST ZONE POLITICAL SITUATION? ...

- ... The single most frequent recommendation of East Berliners and East Zone residents as to what the West can do to improve the East Zone political situation is - "throw out the Russians." This recommendation is generally couched in terms which make it very clear that military action is what the respondent has in mind. However when various other proposals are examined it is evident that an approximately equal proportion advocate measures which could result only from negotiations with the Russians.

CAN EAST GERMANS DO ANYTHING TO HELP THEMSELVES? ...

- ... A major finding of the present survey is that approximately three out of four of those interviewed - both East Berliners and East Zone residents - feel that they can do nothing toward improving their present political situation. Only one out of five takes the position that something can be done by East Germans themselves.
- ... The one out of five figure for those who feel that something could be done to help improve the East German political situation is not quite the proportion that the West can consider as potentially available for varying degrees of resistance against the Communist regime. This is the case because follow-up inquiry reveals that 3 per cent of the West Berliners and 1 per cent of the East Zoners are answering the question in terms of doing something to strengthen rather than encounter the present regime. So the net remaining as a potential resistance core is approximately 16 per cent in East Berlin and 18 per cent in the East Zone.
- ... Group breakdowns reveal that feelings of helplessness preponderate in all of the groups examined - usually by strong majorities. However it is interesting to note that such feelings are least widespread among East German youth. Though this point needs further checking in view of the limited number of cases involved, the suggestion does emanate that despite the special measures the Communists are taking to coddle and win over East German youth, they are still the group that the West can count on most heavily for resistance to the East Zone regime. There are also indications in the group breakdowns - not large enough to be entirely reliable - that men and the better educated have more confidence in their own efforts to help than do women and the lesser educated.
- ... Suggestions as to what East Germans could do to help improve their political situation expressed varying shades of active and passive resistance.

WHICH SIDE IS THE STRONGER IN THE EAST-WEST STRUGGLE? ...

- ... One of the most provocative findings of the present study derives from a comparison that was made between West Germans and East Germans on the relative general strength of the East versus the West. In urban West Germany around the turn of the year, 46 per cent - a preponderance - held that the Communist powers were stronger, in West Berlin 36 per cent made such a judgment. But in East Germany according to the mid-December survey only 25 per cent took the position that the Communist powers were stronger than the West. The preponderant stand was the contrary with almost half the sample expressing such a view.
- ... Such results are obviously worth pursuing further both thru additional survey studies and through other avenues of information. For it would be a fact of no inconsiderable importance if it could be concluded that East Germans have a more favorable impression of the strength of the West than do West Germans.

- 0 -

CONFIDENTIAL

- ... Group comparisons indicate that in none of the various population segments examined does the view preponderate that the Communists are stronger than the West. It is particularly interesting to note that in the critical youth groups judgments of superior Western strength outweigh contrary opinions by almost three to one.
- ... The single most frequent reason advanced by those who judged the West to be stronger than the East was economic and military superiority. However it is of considerable interest to find that more than a negligible proportion speak of Western power deriving from its humanitarian ideals and devotion to justice. Relatively few focused on the atom bomb as the basis for assigning greater strength to the West.
- ... The minority who held that the strength of the East outweighs that of the West brought up varied considerations. Few, especially among the East Zone respondents, assigned Eastern strength to idealistic considerations.

CONFIDENTIAL

GENERAL INTRODUCTION ...

The present report is an opening attempt in an experimental series initiated to help meet the needs of the psychological warfare program. The general project has been prompted by two major considerations: first by the fact that Berlin is one of the extremely few places remaining where there is an opportunity to come into contact with any appreciable groups of people from behind the iron curtain - and hence no effort should be spared to exploit all informational possibilities in such a situation. The second reason for the project is the belief of the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, that despite a considerable number of limitations and difficulties attendant upon the use of the survey instrument for East German intelligence, such techniques can contribute materially to the piecing together of a factual and objective picture of the state of mind of East Berliners and other residents of the communist controlled areas of Germany.

In the survey period between December 14th and 21st 1950, 429 interviews were completed from among East Berlin and East Zone residents approached in the vicinity of various money changing stations in West Berlin. Interviewing was conducted by the trained German interviewers of the Reactions Analysis Staff. In the absence of the statistical facts needed to set precise sampling quotas the interviewers were instructed to select respondents at random save that the sex proportions should approximate roughly equal proportions. The results added up to a sampling of the following composition.

Composition of East German Sample

With Some Comparisons With West Berlin and US Zone Population Proportions

	No. of cases: <u>In Sample</u>	% in Obtained Sample <u>East Berlin & East Zone</u>	*Population Proportions <u>West Berlin</u>	*Population Proportions <u>US Zone</u>
<u>Origin:</u>				
East Berlin	114	27%		
East Zone	302	70		
Brandenburg	183	43%		
Thuringen	10	2		
Saxon-Anhalt	35	8		
Saxony	68	16		
Mecklenburg	6	1		
Not ascertained	13	3		
	429	100%		
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	207	48%	43%	47%
Women	222	52	57	53
	429	100%	100%	100%
<u>Education:</u>				
8 years or less	325	76%	74%	81%
9 years and more	104	24	26	19
	429	100%	100%	100%
<u>Age:</u>				
15 - 24 years	44	10%	8%	11%
25 - 49 years	221	52	52	57
50 years and over	164	38	40	32
	429	100%	100%	100%

(cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

(cont'd from preceding page)

Occupation:

Professional and Executive	38	9%
White-collar workers	65	15
Manual workers	111	26
Housewives	116	27
Unemployed and pensioners	81	19
Farmers	13	3
No answer	5	1
	429	100%

* Population proportions for West Berlin and US Zone are based on the 1950 census in the case of sex. Since education and age breakdowns are not yet available, these figures are from a RAS study of 1947 returns - see ICD Opinion Surveys Report No. 124, 1 June 1948, "Social Characteristics of the German People in the American Zone and in Berlin (British and American Sectors).

** Occupational comparisons cannot be made here unfortunately as changes have been made since 1947 in the bases of classification.

Clearly the figures on the geographical origin of the respondents indicate that the sampling primarily embraces East Berlin and broadly adjacent areas. So any reference to East Zone opinion as distinguished from that of East Berlin must be interpreted in this circumscribed sense.

Since any reliable recent demographic statistics on East German areas have not as yet come to hand, no firm statements can be made as to how closely the obtained sampling approximates correct population proportions for the geographic areas tapped on the basic population indices for sex, education, age, and occupation. But inspection of the comparisons in the above tables would seem to justify some preliminary confidence in a rough representativeness of the figures. The obtained sex figures can hardly be very distant from the correct East German proportions; the educational breakdown looks quite reasonably in line with the general statistical facts about German education, and age also seems to distribute in a fashion that one might expect to be reasonably similar to East Berlin and East Zone figures. The occupational breakdown also has a reasonable look, but it cannot be denied that much more information would be desirable here because of the general importance of a proper socio-economic stratification in achieving any representative cross section of a population. Income inquiry was reluctantly omitted as injudiciously prying in this type of survey. If, in the light of further experience, such questioning proves practicable this very important index will be included.

However closely the obtained sampling may agree with the population proportions of the areas tapped, an obvious limitation on representativeness which will remain inherent in the entire approach - and which should never be forgotten - is that the residents of East Berlin and the East Zone who come to West Berlin are certainly not entirely representative of those who do not. It will be up to study and experience to suggest whether this bias possibility is serious or not so serious in its effects. One reasonable initial assumption is that the East Berlin sample is probably less vulnerable to such a bias than the East Zone sample exclusive of East Berlin, since it is so much less demanding on East Berliners in money, time, initiative, and the like, to visit West Berlin.

CONFIDENTIAL

Finally, the representativeness of the sampling is limited somewhat by the factor of non-response. Approximately one contact out of five refused to be interviewed giving such reasons as "general mistrust," "lack of time," "fear of spies," etc. Refusals were most frequent among women over 45 who account for 48 of the 91 such cases, women under 45 accounted for 11, men over 45, 16, and men under 45, 16. According to interviewers' judgments, 86% of the respondents who gave interviews gave an impression of candor and honesty in their replies. One out of ten gave occasional indications of evasiveness, and the remaining few could not be readily judged.

A point remaining to be discussed is the factor of sponsorship. Most of those interviewed (65 per cent) did not inquire as to the auspices of the survey and were, as far as could be inferred, under the impression that it was being conducted by one of the opinion polling organizations that have sprung up in West Berlin and West Germany. However, 35 per cent of the respondents did inquire and were informed that it was being conducted for HICOG. This procedure yielded some opportunity* to see if the nature of the sponsorship would seriously affect the replies received. The general indication was of relatively minor influence with only two of the six questions manifesting reliable differences and these being limited to but 11 and 15 per cent.

In conclusion it should be said that though the stress has been upon cautions and limitations in this initial methodological introduction, the values of the survey approach should not be obscured. Despite all the departures from ideal standards that survey assessment of East German thinking necessitates under present circumstances, the results are likely to be quite superior in validity to the opportunistic unsystematic inquiry and guesswork that must be so often relied upon for the lack of anything better. Properly interpreted the survey approach would seem to be able to contribute an avenue of information which, coordinated with other sources, should help materially to illuminate the pressing problems and questions of East German intelligence. (New)

* It was recognized that the two groups are not entirely comparable, since one is composed of those who were interested enough in sponsorship to inquire about it. However this was the best that could be done under the circumstances.

CONFIDENTIAL

C O N F I D E N T I A L

ARE EAST GERMANS BETTER OFF TODAY THAN HALF YEAR AGO? ...

When East Berliners and the other East Zone residents who fell into the sample were asked to compare their present situation with that of six months past, somewhat more spoke of an improvement than of a deterioration. In both groups, however, approximately four out of ten judged no change to have occurred in the past six months in their living conditions.

"When you look back to your situation half a year ago, do you have the impression that you are better off today than you were at that time, worse off, or the same?"

	TOTAL EAST	EAST BERLIN	EAST ZONE	Brandenburg (exclusive of Berlin)	Other Laender
Today better off	36%	38%	35%	44%	18%
Today worse off	25	24	25	18	35
Same	39	38	40	38	46
Don't know	-	-	-	-	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Not to be overlooked in the above figures is the considerable difference between the judgments of East Berliners and those of the adjacent Brandenburg areas as against the inhabitants of more distant Laender. The considerably more frequent judgments of better off in the former groups suggest as one hypothesis worth wider study, that the Soviets are possibly exerting special efforts to improve the economic situation in East Berlin and its close environs to lessen the unfavorable effects of comparisons between East and West Zone conditions.

The present question was one upon which some differences in replies appeared between respondents who probably assumed German sponsorship of the survey and those who upon inquiry were told that it was being done for the American High Commission. The comparative results were:

	Better off today	Worse off today	Same	Don't know	Number of cases:
German sponsorship	40%	19%	41%	- ... 100%	276
American sponsorship	28	34	37	1	150

Though hard and fast statements about comparative validity are very difficult to make when sponsorship differences arise, "the above comparison does tend to suggest at least the possibility that some of the respondents under the American sponsorship conditions allowed their judgments to be swayed by an opportunity to give the American authorities the kind of answer which might encourage greater efforts to help the Germans in the East. If such reasoning seems plausible and the returns under German sponsorship conditions are considered the more valid in the present instance, then the conclusion becomes even more firm that judgments of better off preponderate over those of worse off among East Germans in their evaluation of present as against past living conditions.

* See Crespi, Leo P., "The Influence of Military Government Sponsorship in German Opinion Polling," International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research, Vol. 4, No. 2, Summer 1950.

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN JUDGMENTS OF LIVING CONDITIONS ...

The various indications from the FDJ Whitsuntide rally and other sources that Soviet authorities in the East Zone are devoting particular attention to German youth is strikingly corroborated in the present survey by the remarkably large proportion of the respondents in the 15-24 year age range, as compared to those older, who state that they are better off today than they were six months ago. Only a negligible four per cent in the critical youth group state that they are currently worse off than before.

"When you look back to your situation half a year ago, do you have the impression that you are better off today than you were at that time, worse off, or the same?"

	Today better off	Today worse off	Same	Don't know	Number of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	39%	26%	35%	—% ... 100%	207
Women	33	23	44	—	222
<u>Education:</u>					
8 years or less	37%	24%	39%	—%	325
9 years and more	32	27	40	1	106
<u>*Occupation:</u>					
Professional and Executives	24%	26%	50%	—%	38
White-collar workers	37	18	43	2	65
Manual workers	43	22	35	—	111
Housewives	32	25	43	—	116
Unemployed, pensioners	34	31	35	—	81
<u>Age:</u>					
15 - 24 years	75%	4%	21%	—%	44
25 - 49 years	29	26	45	—	221
50 years and over	35	29	36	—	164

* In this and the following tables, farmers are omitted as the number of cases are too few for any reliable conclusions.

Other group differences, it will be noted, are not so marked, though there is a suggestion that manual workers (including both skilled and unskilled) have more frequently experienced living improvements in the past six months than have other occupational elements - particularly professional and executive. Whether such a state of affairs is largely inadvertent or reflects a deliberate Soviet emphasis is worth further study.

WHAT IS POST-ELECTION MOOD OF EAST ZONE GERMANS? ...

Further insight into East German reactions to their general political and economic situation derives from a question about the general mood of the population following the "elections" of October 15th, 1950. The returns make it very evident that despite the improvements in living conditions spoken of by an appreciable proportion of respondents in the prior query, only one in twenty described the post-election mood of the population in the East Zone in terms that could be classified as good. The great bulk of the judgments were bad to very bad, frequently in such terms as "unbearable", "very depressed", "catastrophic", "completely miserable", and the like.

"How, in your opinion, is the mood of the population in the East Zone after the elections on the 15th of October, 1950?"

	TOTAL EAST	EAST BERLIN	EAST ZONE	Brandenburg	Other Laender
Very bad	21%	20%	22%	17%	31%
Bad	51	39	56	59	50
Not so good	12	11	11	14	6
Good	5	8	4	3	6
No opinion	11	22	7	7	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Since the question asked for a judgment about East Zone residents in general, it is not surprising that expressions of no opinion were fairly frequent among East Berliners. It is to be noted however that the judgments of those East Berliners who do voice an opinion substantially parallel those of East Zone respondents.

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN JUDGMENT OF POST-ELECTION MOOD ...

That the post-election mood of the East Zone population is bad to very bad appears to be the majority opinion among all of the population sub-groups examined. However a relatively larger proportion of the opinion leading elements - the men, the better educated, and the professional and executive occupations - make such adverse judgments than do their counterpart groups. It is notable too that of all the groupings examined, youths from 15 to 25 years evince the smallest proportion who are inclined to judge the mood of the East Zone population to be bad.

"How, in your opinion, is the mood of the population in the East Zone after the elections on the 15th of October, 1950?"

	Bad to very bad	Not so good	Good	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	78%	7%	7%	8%	206
Women	58	13	5	14	221
Education:					
8 years or less	70%	11%	7%	12%	324
9 years and more	82	8	2	8	103
Occupation:					
Professional and Executives	84%	8%	3%	5%	38
White-collar workers	74	9	8	9	64
Manual workers	66	18	4	12	111
Housewives	76	9	5	10	115
Unemployed, pensioners	71	10	4	15	81
Age:					
15 - 24 years	61%	16%	9%	14%	44
25 - 49 years	73	11	6	10	219
50 years and over	76	9	4	11	164

WHY IS POST-ELECTION MOOD POOR? ...

The tables below indicate that both East Berliners and East Zone residents advance a considerable variety of reasons for their adverse judgments of East Zone morale following the October elections. These comments taken together add up to an indication of marked dissatisfaction behind the iron curtain with political and economic conditions - particularly the former. Of particular interest in the comments is the evidence of a boomerang effect in the Communist election strategy, i.e. that an election too obviously rigged does more harm than good for peoples morale.

"How, in your opinion, is the mood of the population in the East Zone after the election of October 15th?"

If "Very bad," "Bad," or "Not so good": "Why are you of this opinion?"

EAST BERLIN	EAST ZONE
----------------	--------------

Situation did not improve but grew worse: Because the promises of the pre-election campaign were not kept; nothing was changed by the election; because everything got worse than it was before; we see how everything improves in the West, nothing improves here; etc.

15%

17%

Because it was not a free election, etc.: Because we know that the results of the election were a fraud; because it was not an election yet it clarified the situation to us; this ridiculous election brought us even more down; because it was not a free election; because it cannot be considered as an election - only forced, and the fear is increasing; that was no real election - nobody knows what they are going to do next; etc.

11

26

Freedom of speech more and more restricted: Because everybody is arrested that dares to speak up; because we can't say the truth; the numbers of informers increased; nobody is satisfied, yet everybody is afraid to profess any ideas in front of neighbors even; informers are everywhere; etc.

11

9

Economic situation is bad: Because now as before we get nothing - our economy is shot to hell; because the middle class has no means for existence anymore; the question of our existence has become acute; we have been badly off for a long time and lost all hope; everybody hoped that our living standard would improve because they had promised it - yet nothing's come of it; etc.

11

7

The food situation is very bad: The food has grown worse since then; we don't get any butter, just oil and margarine; because we don't have enough to eat and the pressure increases; they wanted to stop rationing - but that was just an empty promise; it's grown worse, we don't get any margarine even; we have nothing to eat; no coal and nothing to clothe ourselves; because the people counted on the elimination of the rationing system and are now disappointed; etc.

5

5

Suppression is greater: Because we are oppressed more and more - we don't see a way out anymore; the terror increases; because we are oppressed; because the political pressure increases - even the enthusiasts become aware of it; our government tortures us and makes fun of it at the same time; etc.

4

13

(cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

(cont'd from preceding page)

	EAST BERLIN	EAST ZONE
<u>General answers which stress bad conditions:</u> It just can't go on this way; because we fear that everything will grow worse; because we see how we are treated - just as the Russians please - living gets worse and worse; because everything is so terrible; etc.	3%	8%
<u>Various complaints about authorities, SED, Russians:</u> They oppress us more and more - we have to submit more and more of our products; because the people's police takes more and more away from us; because the Russians and the East Zone government behave very badly; because we can't do anything against those robbers; etc.	3	3
<u>Other opinions:</u> Sometimes we think it will get better, sometimes we don't think so; because we never know how well off we will be; the Communists get the better deal and we have to look on - everybody is for the West; the SED is very depressed because they didn't go along; etc.	4	5
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	$\frac{4}{71\%}$	$\frac{3}{96\%}$

The miniscule proportion who judged the post-election mood of East Zone residents to be good argued mainly from an alleged improvement in economic conditions.

If "Good": "Why are you of this opinion?"

<u>We have more to eat:</u> Now one can get more to eat; one can buy more food; etc.	3	-
<u>We are economically better off:</u> Slowly but steadily it is getting better; we all have work and earn money; they see it is going forward; after the election one can buy more; everything is getting better and cheaper and wages are going up; etc.	2	2
<u>Other opinions:</u> The population has greater confidence; the national front keeps them all together; no more propaganda and signature-campaigns; etc.	4	1
<u>Don't know:</u>	$\frac{1}{10\%}$	$\frac{1}{4\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

EAST GERMAN EVALUATION OF THE "STAMMABSCHNITTE" ...

Mayor Ernst Reuter of West Berlin devised a dramatic expedient to express condemnation of the rigged East Zone election by inviting East Berliners to mail into the office of the magistrat a portion of their last ration card. This would constitute, so as to speak, a vote for the West. Almost 400,000 such cards were received which is in itself evidence of a favorable reception. The present survey however yielded an opportunity to obtain an evaluation of the plan on a more representative basis.

The returns below indicate that the preponderant opinion both in East Berlin and in the East Zone areas tapped by the sampling is that the Stammabschnitte had a useful effect.

"Was it of any use, in your opinion, that the Magistrat of Western Berlin called upon the people of the East sector to send in their "Stammabschnitte", or was it of no use?"

	TOTAL EAST	EAST BERLIN	EAST ZONE	Brandenburg	Other Laender
Useful	53%	59%	51%	54%	48%
Not useful	20	29	16	16	16
Qualified answer	1	-	2	3	-
Don't know	26	12	31	27	36
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Favorable judgments on the usefulness of the informal balloting were relatively more frequent among the opinion leading levels of the population sampled, i.e. the men, the better educated, and respondents of professional and executive occupations.

"Was it of any use, in your opinion, that the Magistrat of Western Berlin called upon the people of the East sector to send in their "Stammabschnitte" or was it of no use?"

	Useful	Not useful	Qualified answer	Don't know	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	58%	23%	2%	17%	207
Women	48	17	1	34	222
<u>Education:</u>					
8 years or less	49%	20%	1%	30%	325
9 years and more	64	22	2	12	106
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professional and Executives	74%	18%	-	8%	38
White-collar workers	62	20	3	15	65
Manual workers	60	16	-	24	111
Housewives	41	23	3	33	116
Unemployed, pen- sioners	46	22	-	32	81
<u>Age:</u>					
15 - 24 years	59%	14%	-	27%	44
25 - 49 years	55	21	1	23	221
50 years and more	49	20	2	29	164

CONFIDENTIAL

The arguments advanced for the utility of the project stressed mainly the opportunity to show the world what East Berliners really think, and the general demonstrational value against the East and for the West.

"Was it of any use, in your opinion, that the Magistrat of Western Berlin called upon people of the East sector to send in their "Stammabschnitte", or was it of no use?"

If "Of use": "Why are you of this opinion?"

EAST BERLIN	EAST ZONE
----------------	--------------

Made it possible to show what East Berliners really think:

Because everybody could see what the people in the East really think; because the whole world saw what the real opinion of the population is; it proved to the West how all of us feel; so our real opinion is known; it showed the true attitude of the population; because we saw how the people really feel - it should be done for the whole sector; because it gave the people from East Berlin the opportunity to freely express their opinion; because we could express ourselves freely for once; because the world could see what is going on in the East sector; etc.

24%	16%
-----	-----

Was a demonstration against the East: Those gentlemen from the East Zone saw the real opinion of the people; the Russians saw what the people really think; so they have seen that we are not satisfied with the Eastern regime; it was a demonstration against the East by the people in the East; etc.

14	9
----	---

Was a demonstration for the West: The people in East Berlin proved this way that they are for the West; thus their sympathy for the West was determined; it was a proof that all of us want to join the West; to show that the people in East Berlin approve of Western policy; etc.

10	9
----	---

General positive answers: So as to improve the living standard in the East Zone; so we will have a united Germany; to establish unity; because the population expected something would come of it; etc.

4	5
---	---

This showed that the West did not forget them: It was seen that the West did not forget us; this proved that the West thinks of us; because Berlin is helping us, that was very decent; etc.

4	3
---	---

Could express adherence to freedom: Because it was the only opportunity for the people in the East Zone to show their will to freedom; because we want freedom; etc.

2	3
---	---

It boosted the morale of the people in the East: It boosted our morale; we got some encouragement by that; etc.

1	2
---	---

Other opinions: We hope that things will get better for us; a certain objective attitude was expressed by that; so we will be taken over by the West and accepted as equal; etc.

-	2
---	---

No opinion / No answer:

1	3
60%	52%

*Some respondents gave more than one reason.

CONFIDENTIAL

Those who held the "Stammabschnitte" to be valueless argue mainly either nothing substantial was achieved or that the voting procedure was not such as to make an adequate participation possible.

"Was it of any use, in your opinion, that the Magistrat of Western Berlin called upon people of the East sector to send in their "Stammabschnitte", or was it of no use?"

If "Of no use": "Why are you of this opinion?"

EAST	EAST
BERLIN	ZONE

Nothing was achieved: Nothing has improved by that; they won't compromise in the East; it didn't disturb the Russians; as long as the occupation powers are here everything is in vain; it did not have any success - it's all a big nonsense; because we are not taken into consideration anyway; the East Zone government do as they please anyway; etc.

12%

6%

Not everyone participated: Because not all of us could participate, it was too dangerous; because it is not possible to get a result in percentages on this basis; the people didn't dare to do it because they have to be careful; most of the people didn't dare to give their "Stammabschnitte" away; because not all people from Berlin and none from the zone could participate, it was too dangerous; etc.

8

5

Answers indicating respondent is hostile to West: Was superfluous - the East doesn't have anything in common with the West; I am satisfied with what we get here in the East and I can't buy anything in the West anyway; it was only a big show-off - nothing can come of it anyway; because the East wants unity, and the West doesn't; the East can handle everything right - nobody needs to interfere; etc.

3

-

Other opinions: Unification is more important; because it awakened hopes that can't be realized yet; we will be oppressed more and more; I can't see any sense in the whole matter; it was hoped to determine the real opinion of the people; the evaluation was only for instances, that don't have any decisive influence on East Zone politics; they only annoyed the Russians by that; etc.

3

3

No opinion / No answer:

3

29%*

4

18%*

* Some respondents gave more than one reason.

WHAT CAN THE WEST DO TO IMPROVE THE EAST ZONE POLITICAL SITUATION? ...

The single most frequent recommendation of East Berliners and East Zone residents as to what the West can do to improve the East Zone political situation is - "throw out the Russians." This recommendation is generally couched in terms which make it very clear that military action is what the respondent has in mind. However when various other proposals are examined it is evident that an approximately equal proportion advocate measures which could result only from negotiations with the Russians.

"What could the West do to improve the political situation of the East Zone population?"

	EAST BERLIN	EAST ZONE
<u>Throw the Russians out:</u> Send the Russians to the devil; chase the Russians out; they shouldn't take anymore from the Russians, just start to fight them; should declare war on the Russians; should liberate us from the Russians, even if it means war; simply occupy the East Zone and throw the Russians out; start the war against Russia, all of us wait for it; liberate us; force the Russians to retreat by the force of economic superiority; etc.	21%	26%
<u>See to it that free elections are held:</u> A free election would be successful if supported by the UN; to try to unite with the East and to insist on free elections for the whole population; to insist on free elections so the people can vote without fear; etc.	11	6
<u>Negotiate with Russians:</u> To find a way of negotiating with the East; to try to come to some sort of an agreement on the basis of negotiations; they should sit down to a conference with Stalin - should not underestimate the Russians - force is cowardice too; should try to agree with the Russians; should try to reach a close relationship with the Eastern powers; should try to reach an improvement of the situation through negotiations; etc.	8	8
<u>Nothing, cannot do anything:</u> They can't do anything for the East Zone; nobody can help us; etc.	8	7
<u>Make currency regulations more favorable for the East:</u> Establish equal currency for East and West; to agree with the Russians and establish equal currency for East and West; devalue the West-mark; bring the currency exchange to a basis that enables us to buy in the West sector; etc.	6	4
<u>See to it that zonal borders are abolished:</u> Abolish the zonal border; agree with the Russians and abolish the zonal border; unify the East and the West Zone; unite Germany; etc.	4	5
<u>Give economic support - food, etc.:</u> Support us; deliver goods to the East Zone; deliver food; send us something to eat; etc.	3	3
<u>See to it that we get a peace treaty:</u> To try to get contact with the Russian government and insist on a peace treaty; to do everything for a German peace treaty; they could insist on a peace treaty by negotiating with the East; etc.	1	3
<u>Other opinions:</u> Should not negotiate anymore with Russians; should not let the Russians make a fool of them; insist that all occupation powers leave; they should show us again and again that they remember us; etc.	15	13
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	28 106%	28 103%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

CAN EAST GERMANS DO ANYTHING TO HELP THEMSELVES? ...

A major finding of the present survey is that approximately three out of four of those interviewed - both East Berliners and East Zone residents - feel that they can do nothing toward improving their present political situation. Only one out of five takes the position that something can be done by East Germans themselves.

"And do you think that the people of the East Zone could do something to improve their political situation or not?"

	TOTAL EAST	EAST BERLIN	EAST ZONE	Brandenburg	Other Leander
Could do something	19%	19%	19%	19%	18%
Couldn't do anything	73	76	73	73	73
Don't know	8	5	8	8	9
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The one out of five figure for those who feel that something could be done to help improve the East German political situation is not quite the proportion that the West can consider as potentially available for varying degrees of resistance against the Communist regime. This is the case because follow-up inquiry reveals that 3 per cent of the West Berliners and 1 per cent of the East Zoners are answering the question in terms of doing something to strengthen rather than counter the present regime. So the net remaining as a potential resistance core is approximately 16 per cent in East Berlin and 18 per cent in the East Zone.

Group breakdowns reveal that feelings of helplessness preponderate in all of the groups examined - usually by strong majorities. However it is interesting to note that such feelings are least widespread among East German youth. Though this point needs further checking in view of the limited number of cases involved, the suggestion does emanate that despite the special measures the Communists are taking to coddle and win over East German youth, they are still the group that the West can count on most heavily for resistance to the East Zone regime. There are also indications in the group breakdowns - not large enough to be entirely reliable - that men and the better educated have more confidence in their own efforts to help than do women and the lesser educated.

"And do you think that the people of the East Zone could do something to improve their political situation or not?"

	Could do something	Could do nothing	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	23%	73%	5% ... 100%	207
Women	16	74	10	222
<u>Education:</u>				
8 years or less	17%	75%	8%	325
9 years and more	26	67	7	106
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professional and Executives	18%	77%	5%	38
White-collar workers	15	79	6	65
Manual workers	24	70	6	111
Housewives	19	73	8	116
Unemployed, pensioners	16	73	11	81
<u>Age:</u>				
15 - 24 years	34%	55%	11%	44
25 - 49 years	21	73	6	221
50 years and over	12	79	9	164

Suggestions as to what East Germans could do to help improve their political situation expressed varying shades of active and passive resistance.

"And do you think that the people in the East Zone could do something to improve their political situation or not?"

If "Yes, could do something": "What, in your opinion, could they do?"

	EAST BERLIN	EAST ZONE
<u>Various proposals for passive resistance:</u> Take a completely passive attitude - no participation in any demonstration; resign from political parties and trade unions as a demonstration of passive resistance; be passive resistance; less political activity; avoid political meetings; should not support the HD (Handels-Organisation); should stay away from those who adhere to the system; etc.	4½	3½
<u>Express opposition:</u> They can unite and say that they won't play their game; show opposition at all occasions; should show again and again how they really feel; the population should make more propaganda among themselves; etc.	4	2
<u>Put up active resistance:</u> To be prepared to risk something and to push against the Russians - rather an ending in terror than terror without ending; establish a resistance movement; fight underground; etc.	3	2
<u>Measures which indicate support of East:</u> They should unite against the war-mongers in USA and Bonn; they should acknowledge the good intentions of the Russians; they should really try to understand the Russian individual - try to show understanding for him; should fight for peace; stronger participation in the re-building of Germany; boost production and export; work more; etc.	3	1
<u>Help throw out the Russians:</u> Throw out the Russians; cooperate in driving out the Russians; should wait for the right moment and then go together with the West against the Russians; show the Americans how to throw out the Russians; etc.	1	2
<u>Fight informers:</u> Everybody should stick together against the informers; make a firm united stand - lynch informers; everything that happens should be recorded, so nobody will be forgotten later on; etc.	-	1
<u>Support free elections:</u> We should all try to advocate free elections if we know we have the support of the West; have a free election in the West sector where everybody can vote secretly; we should all try to participate in a fair election; etc. -		1
<u>Other opinions:</u> They should firmly stick to their convictions - take newspapers out of Berlin and not lose their confidence in the West; we should all try to unite - get rid of our desire for vengeance - the Germans grudge themselves everything; East and West should agree in order to achieve peace and get a united Berlin; to get an agreement with the Russians so they withdraw; should have more confidence in Christ - should pray more; should inform themselves about current world affairs; the people should stick closer together; they should stick to one opinion and be prepared for an insurrection; should try to maintain hope in a united Germany; should support any link with the West; never give up hope for final liberation; etc.	3	5
<u>No opinion:</u>	1 19½	2 19½

WHICH SIDE IS THE STRONGER IN THE EAST-WEST STRUGGLE? ...

One of the most provocative findings of the present study derives from a comparison that was made between West Germans and East Germans on the relative general strength of the East versus the West. In urban West Germany around the turn of the year, 46 per cent - a preponderance - held that the Communist powers were stronger, in West Berlin 36 per cent made such a judgment. But in East Germany according to the mid-December survey only 25 per cent took the position that the Communist powers were stronger than the West. The preponderant stand was the contrary with almost half the sample expressing such a view.

"Who seems to you to be stronger, generally speaking:
the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

	*West Germany Jan 3-4	West Berlin Jan 3-4	TOTAL EAST	EAST BERLIN	EAST ZONE	Brandenburg	Other Laende
Communist powers	46%	36%	25%	25%	25%	23%	29%
Western powers	24	48	49	51	49	50	47
Both equally strong	15	12	11	10	11	11	11
Don't know	15	4	15	14	15	16	13
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

*West German urban sample.

Such results are obviously worth pursuing further both thru additional survey studies and through other avenues of information. For it would be a fact of no inconsiderable importance if it could be concluded that East Germans have a more favorable impression of the strength of the West than do West Germans.

Since this is the other of the two questions in the present survey that turned up statistically reliable sponsorship differences, it is advisable to examine the comparative returns under RICOG versus German sponsorship conditions.

"Who seems to you to be stronger, generally speaking:
the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

	Communist powers	Western powers	Both equally strong	No opinion	Number of cases:
American sponsorship	29%	42%	15%	14%	150
German sponsorship	22	53	9	16	279

The direction of variations above is as important as it is unexpected. It indicates that whatever may have influenced respondents to somewhat modify their answers under HICOG sponsorship conditions, it cannot derive from any attempt to flatter the sponsors of the survey, since 11 per cent more respondents under conditions of assumed German sponsorship state that the Western powers are stronger than the East.

Group comparisons indicate that in none of the various population segments examined does the view preponderate that the Communists are stronger than the West. It is particularly interesting to note that in the critical youth groups, judgments of superior Western strength outweigh contrary opinions by almost three to one.

"Who, in general, seems to be stronger at the moment:
the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

	Communist powers	Western powers	Both equally strong	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	30%	50%	12%	8% ... 100%	207
Women	20	48	11	21	222
<u>Education:</u>					
8 years or less	26	48	9	17	325
9 years and more	23	51	17	9	106
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professional and Executives	29%	47%	16%	8%	38
White-collar workers	38	46	11	5	65
Manual workers	26	52	12	10	111
Housewives	23	42	11	24	116
Unemployed, pensioners	14	57	11	18	81
<u>Age:</u>					
15 - 24 years	18%	52%	14%	16%	44
25 - 49 years	26	48	12	14	221
50 years and more	25	50	9	16	164

REASONS FOR BELIEVING THE WEST TO BE STRONGER ...

The single most frequent reason advanced by those who judged the West to be stronger than the East was economic and military superiority. However it is of considerable interest to note the more than negligible proportion who spoke of Western power deriving from its humanitarian ideals and devotion to justice. Relatively few, it should be noted, focused on the atom bomb as the basis for assigning greater strength to the West.

"Who, in general, seems to be stronger at the moment: the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

If "Western powers": "Why are you of this opinion?"

EAST	EAST
BERLIN	ZONE

They have economic and military superiority: Because they have everything and the Russians nothing; they are ten times superior to the Russians, but I guess they just don't know it; they have more material and more people, justice is on their side and they are more intelligent too; better techniques; more reserve power; they are superior in their technical developments and the people follow not under pressure but from ideals; due to the superiority of their airpower; etc.

24%	21%
-----	-----

Western powers fight for ideals: They are intellectually superior to the Eastern powers - their actions are more humane; because they are for justice; because they advocate free dom; because they have a healthy morale; because they are honest and think in human terms; etc.

11	8
----	---

Have more countries and people on their side: There are many countries that side with the Western powers, Russia is, thank God, only a single country; because they have more support in the world; because they have more followers; we are disappointed in Communism; because the people that are backing the Western powers are happy and satisfied; because they have many followers among us; etc.

9	13
---	----

Russia and the Russian system cannot survive: The Russian system can't be maintained on the long run; because the whole world fears Bolshevism and must try to subdue it; etc.

3	3
---	---

They have the Atom Bomb: Because they have got the atom bomb; etc.

3	1
---	---

Other opinions: Because the Communists say it themselves and are afraid of the other Communists; Russia is not very strong - Germany defeated them already once; etc.

3	2
---	---

No opinion:

1	5
5.4%	53%

* Some respondents gave more than one reason.

REASONS FOR BELIEVING EAST STRONGER ...

The minority who held that the strength of the East outweighs that of the West brought up varied considerations. Few, especially among the East Zone respondents, assigned Eastern strength to idealistic considerations.

"Who, in general, seems to be stronger at the moment: the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

If "Communist powers": "Why are you of this opinion?"

	EAST BERLIN	EAST ZONE
<u>They have more countries and people:</u> Because the West didn't watch out - they let the Russians have too much territory; that's why they have so many people today; etc.	9%	3%
<u>Success in Korea indicates that:</u> Because they are the victors in Korea; it seems as if they will win in Korea; the West gets the worst of the deal at the moment; if you look at Korea you must admit that the Communist powers are stronger at the moment; because Red-China has interfered with it's masses of people; etc.	5	8
<u>Act more ruthlessly:</u> They are more impudent - put on a bigger show; because the Russian is worse than all the others; because they never give in and don't take any orders; because they act by pressure and not by justice; because the Communists can do as they please, nobody can prevent them from it; etc.	4	8
<u>Because they fight for ideals:</u> Because they want to help the worker everywhere in the world; because they want peace; etc.	4	1
<u>They have economic and military superiority:</u> They have modern weapons too; etc.		3
<u>Other opinions:</u> Because the whole world is afraid of the Russians; because they always win everywhere; etc.	-	3
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	- 25%	2 27%*

* Some respondents gave more than one reason.

64
GERMAN ATTITUDES
ON EVE OF PARIS DEPUTIES CONFERENCE

Classification cancelled
by authority of ^{Ref. No. 150P} ^{March 14, 1951} Crespi
PUB/RAS.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION ...

This report continues the series of regular studies being conducted by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, to chart the developments in urban West German thinking on issues related to West German participation in European defense. The interviews on which the data are based were made February 26 and 27, 1951, by means of a "flash" survey embracing a representative urban quota of 640 cases drawn from among West German cities of 50,000 and over in population and 200 cases from the three Western sectors of Berlin.

HIGHLIGHTS ...

I. CURRENT ATTITUDES ON GERMAN DEFENSE PARTICIPATION

- ... The predominant view of urban West Germans remains favorable to German participation in West European defense. The current figure for participation is still somewhat below the average maintained up to December. Berlin which has to date consistently maintained a high participation level, dropped its support somewhat in the current survey. Whether this is only a transitory change or a departure from the former trend can only be determined by further study.
- ... Though predominant opinions favor participation in West European defense, only one out of ten West Germans is for immediate action on the issue. Three-quarters of the people favoring participation in principle believe that political equality for West Germany should precede participation.
- ... When the proportion advocating such a delayed participation is combined with those opposed to it, a majority of almost three-quarters of urban West German results. This suggests that considerable resistance could develop to any efforts on the part of West German political leaders to press for speeding up a West German contribution to European defense. Opponents of participation conceivably could stir up opposition even among those who are in principle favorable to the idea by insisting on equality as a sine-qua-non of taking part.
- ... Reported speculations that American policy has recently been shifting toward a delay on the question of West German entry into the defense set-up finds little echo among the urban public. Only about one out of ten West Germans believes that the U.S. wishes to hold up on a German contribution to European defense.
- ... The present findings and those of other studies previously reported indicate that approval of participation in principle may not be as favorable as appears at first glance. Not only do the German people have serious reservations about the conditions under which they would be willing to participate, but not surprisingly their reactions are conditioned to a considerable extent by the terms in which the issue is presented.
- ... Since the mode of presentation of the German military issue would be likely to influence popular reactions if ever a plebiscite were held on the matter, participation sentiment was tested with a more unfavorably phrased query on participation but considerably short of the crude, obviously double-barreled creation of Communist propaganda - "Are you against remilitarization and for a peace treaty in 1951?" The words "rearmament" and "participation of German soldiers," both likely to conjure up unpleasant associations in German minds, were used. The returns under these conditions show less approval than does the basic trend question on participation in the framework of the Atlantic Pact. The vote is approximately four in ten in favor and a similar proportion against with the remainder expressing no opinion.

- 2 -

CONFIDENTIAL

II. NEUTRALISM VERSUS WESTERN INTEGRATION

- ... Neutralist sentiments appear on the decline when the choice of a Russian proposed neutral, unified Germany is balanced against a Western bid for West German integration with the West on a basis of equality. Measured thus, among urban West Germans, pro-Western attitudes now lead neutralist views by almost five to one compared with a three to one lead a month ago.
- ... The increase in pro-Western sentiment results in great part from a shift in opinions of German women, as well as of the lesser educated and lower income city dwellers.
- ... However, a Russian offer of neutrality couched in more favorable terms would tempt many Germans away from their pro-Western sentiments. About four in ten urban West Germans, and three in ten Berliners, believe if Russia should promise at the projected four powers' conference to support free elections for a united, independent Germany on condition that she be unarmed and the four occupying powers withdraw, the plan should be accepted.
- ... The advisability of neutrality even when free elections and independence are promised becomes doubtful with some when they are asked to weigh the implications of Russia in the scheme of things. Bluntly reminded of Russia's proximity and of their previous knowledge of Russia, more than half of those who previously espoused acceptance of the Russian plan are thrown into indecision or frankly relinquish their prior stand - another indication of the large admixture of unrealistic thinking which RAS surveys have repeatedly turned up in German reactions to the neutrality issue.

III. THE FOUR POWER CONFERENCE

- ... As to general attitudes toward a four power conference, the view that Germany stands neither to gain nor to lose continues to be the predominant one. There is some indication that more people are beginning to feel that such a conference would be to Germany's advantage, but further studies are required to confirm whether this is an actual trend. On the whole, lack of enthusiasm for the conference remains the attitude of most urban West Germans.
- ... That Russia is dishonest, refuses to compromise and desires world domination are among the main arguments cited by those who feel a four power conference would be disadvantageous to Germany. Another line of argument emphasizes that the four powers are all self-seeking and would only exploit Germany at a conference.
- ... Again, as in a preceding survey, the hope that agreement on Germany's problems will be reached is the predominant reason voiced by those who see German advantages in a conference.

IV. REACTIONS TO EAST ZONE "UNITY" PROPOSALS

- ... Chancellor Adenauer's rejection of the first Grotewohl bid to discuss the unity issue is disapproved by about as many urban West Germans as approve of it when all respondents are informed of the rejection. Only in Berlin does a majority approve the Chancellor's course of action.

- 5 -

CONFIDENTIAL

- ... It is generally indicated that it is among those who are not even aware of the East Zone's unity proposals that potential sympathy for the surface appearance of such appeals is relatively the greatest. That the specific proposals themselves are making much headway in stirring up the West German people is doubtful since most of the people are unaware of them. Seven out of ten did not know of the Eastern Volkskammer follow-up of Grotewohl's bid with a direct proposal to the Western Bundestag for unity negotiations.
- ... The informed and largely opinion leading minority which was aware of the Volkskammer proposal was about evenly divided as to whether to accept it or to reject it. The degree of receptivity to East Zone unity bids indicated by this finding is somewhat offset, however, by the fact that the opinion leaders were far more favorable, once it had been announced and explained, to Adenauer's rejection of the original Grotewohl proposal than were their counterparts.
- ... Less than one tenth of the population believes that the East German bids are really motivated by a desire to achieve the unity and independence of Germany. Seven out of ten believe that the East Zone representatives would pursue the interests of Russia rather than those of Germany at any conference on unity. The contrast between these findings and the considerable support for acceptance of the original Grotewohl letter highlights the clash between wishful sentiments and realism in thinking on the unity issue.
- ... It should not be assumed that all those respondents who favor negotiations with the East Zone government are antagonistic toward the West. More than one fourth of those advocating discussions with the East Zone government favor participation under conditions of equality in the Western defense effort. Over half would prefer West German inclusion in a union of equal West European nations to a Russian sponsored unity and neutrality for all Germany.

I. CURRENT ATTITUDES ON GERMAN DEFENSE PARTICIPATION

LATEST TREND ON THE PARTICIPATION ISSUE ...

Support for German participation after having recovered slightly from its low point at the turn of the year stayed relatively stable throughout the month of February. It is still, however, somewhat below the level which it averaged up to December - and the widely reported American reverses in Korea. Berlin which has been constant in its high level of participation dropped its support somewhat in the latest survey. Whether this is only a transitory change or indicates a departure from the trend of the last three months can only be established through further study.

"Several West European nations and America signed a defense pact, the so-called Atlantic Pact.

Suppose West Germany would join the Atlantic Pact and be asked in connection with it to participate in a general army for the defense of West Europe. Would you then be for or against such participation in a defense army?"

WEST GERMANY

	Oct-Nov	November				December			January		February	
	<u>31-1</u>	<u>9-10</u>	<u>15-16</u>	<u>27-28</u>	<u>4-5</u>	<u>11-12</u>	<u>19-20</u>	<u>3-4</u>	<u>18-19</u>	<u>1-2</u>	<u>26-27</u>	
For it	63%	58%	51%	64%	55%	56%	53%	48%	52%	53%	51%	
Against it	30	32	41	26	36	35	36	40	34	34	36	
No opinion	7	10	8	10	9	9	11	12	14	13	13	
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	

48 43
40 43
12 14

British Zone

	Oct-Nov	November				December				January	February	
	31-1	9-10	15-16	27-28	4-5	11-12	19-20	3-4	18-19	1-2	26-27	
For it	61%	59%	51%	65%	54%	57%	53%	49%	52%	52%	52%	
Against it	31	31	39	25	37	33	35	37	34	34	35	
No opinion	8	10	10	10	9	10	12	14	14	14	13	
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	

48 47
39 41
13 15

US Zone

	Oct-Nov		November		December			January		February	
	31-1	9-10	15-16	27-28	4-5	11-12	19-20	3-4	18-19	1-2	26-27
For it	65%	57%	48%	64%	59%	53%	53%	45%	54%	54%	49%
Against it	29	32	45	24	33	41	38	48	35	35	37
No opinion	6	11	7	12	8	6	9	7	11	11	14
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

51 40
39 48
16 12

Berlin

	Oct-Nov		November		December				January		February	
	<u>31-1</u>	<u>9-10</u>	<u>15-16</u>	<u>27-28</u>	<u>4-5</u>	<u>11-12</u>	<u>19-20</u>	<u>3-4</u>	<u>18-19</u>	<u>1-2</u>	<u>26-27</u>	
For it	89%	80%	85%	86%	88%	82%	84%	81%	79%	87%	75%	
Against												
it	8	16	12	8	10	14	12	16	19	12	19	
No opinion	3	4	3	6	2	4	4	3	2	1	6	
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	

The bulk of support for participation continues to lie in the more active and informed levels of the urban West German population with no markedly significant changes evident in any group.

"Several West European nations and America signed a defense pact, the so-called Atlantic Pact.

Suppose West Germany would join the Atlantic Pact and be asked in connection with it to participate in a general army for the defense of West Europe. Would you then be for or against such participation in a defense army?"

	For Defense Participation				Against Defense Participation				No opinion				No. of cases
	January		February		January		February		January		February		
	3-4	18-19	1-2	26-27	3-4	18-19	1-2	26-27	3-4	18-19	1-2	26-27	
WEST GERMANY													
Sex:													
Men	53%	59%	67%	61%	39%	33%	30%	35%	8%	8%	3%	4%	28%
Women	43	46	42	42	41	36	37	38	16	18	21	20	35%
Education:													
Elementary school	39%	44%	44%	39%	46%	38%	40%	42%	15%	18%	16%	19%	39%
Beyond elementary school	61	67	69	70	30	27	24	26	9	6	7	4	24%
Socio-economic Status:													
Lower class	39%	41%	42%	37%	45%	41%	41%	44%	16%	18%	17%	19%	31%
Lower middle to upper class	56	64	65	63	35	28	27	29	9	8	8	8	32%
Income(per month):													
0-149 DM	35%	32%	26%	34%	42%	46%	50%	41%	23%	22%	24%	25%	107
150-299 DM	42	47	53	47	46	39	35	41	12	14	12	12	24%
300 DM and more	59	65	66	60	34	25	25	30	7	10	9	10	28%
Age:													
Under 40 years	47%	50%	53%	50%	42%	35%	37%	36%	11%	15%	10%	14%	29%
40 years and over	47	54	54	52	39	34	31	37	14	12	15	11	34%
*Party Preference:													
SPD	-	56%	49%	53%	-	36%	40%	42%	-	8%	11%	5%	16%
CDU/CSU	-	67	75	70	-	21	19	22	-	12	6	8	11
FDP/LDP/DVP/EDV	-	67	68	80	-	29	24	18	-	4	8	2	7
Other parties	-	32	41	46	-	47	40	41	-	21	19	13	3
No parties	-	38	38	36	-	40	44	46	-	22	13	18	17
Don't know	-	33	45	30	-	44	35	40	-	23	20	30	10%
Religions:													
Catholics	46%	55%	53%	50%	39%	32%	33%	34%	15%	13%	14%	16%	25%
Protestants	48	54	53	53	41	32	34	34	11	14	13	13	32%

* Breakdown figures are presented only through the first of the year. Earlier figures and a graphical summary of the returns over the winter quarter are available in RAS report No. 61, Series No. 2, dated February 23, 1951, DEFENSE PARTICIPATION SENTIMENTS AND THE EXTENT OF "OHNE MICH" - With Other Current Developments on Issues Related To German Defense Participation.

PARTICIPATION NOW OR LATER? ...

Though predominant opinions in Western Germany favor participation in principle, only one in ten is for immediate action on the issue. Of those in favor of participation, over three-fourths are for waiting for the granting of political equality (Gleichberechtigung) when asked:

"In your opinion, should the West German Federal Republic participate in the West European army immediately or should it wait until a status of political equality is granted?" (Asked of those who answered "For it" to previous question.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Participate immediately	11%	11%	10%	36%
Wait	37	37	38	34
No opinion	3	4	1	5
	<u>51%</u>	<u>52%</u>	<u>49%</u>	<u>75% **</u>

Even in Berlin only slightly over one third of the population is for immediate action on participation. Obviously most of the support for participation is, under present conditions, based far more on necessity than on enthusiasm. The comments accompanying both answers tend to bear this out.

"In your opinion, should the West German Federal Republic participate in the West European army immediately or should it wait until a status of political equality is granted?" (Asked of those who answered "For it" to previous question.)

If "Participate immediately": "Why are you of this opinion?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
--------------	--------------	---------	--------

Because the danger of Russian aggression is getting more imminent - no time should be lost for adequate defense preparation: In order not to lose time for defense preparations; because each lost day increases the danger for West Germany; so a strong force confronts the Russians; the enemy does not sleep - it could be too late if we waited some more; it is necessary in order to throw the Russians out of Germany as quickly as possible; because we cannot lose any more time, the danger of Communist aggression is too great; because the danger is increasing; etc.

6%	7%	6%	28%
----	----	----	-----

Because it would result in economic advantages: It would mean economic advantages and more work; because many of the unemployed would immediately be provided with work and social conditions would improve; inflation would recede and life be more organized; the Americans would even help us more than now; etc.

1	2	-	*
---	---	---	---

Because it would mean political progress on the whole issue of Germany: The greater the defense army, the better is the chance for the German situation; perhaps there would be some way for East and West to agree; etc.

1	1	*	2
---	---	---	---

Other opinions: Otherwise the Russians will get fresh; etc.

1	1	2	6
---	---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>*</u>
11%	11%	10%	36%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** All percentages are of the entire population, totals represent favoring participation.

"In your opinion, should the West German Federal Republic participate in the West European army immediately or should it wait until a status of political equality is granted?" (Asked of those who answered "For it" to previous question.)
If "Wait": "Why are you of this opinion?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
<u>Equal duties - equal rights for us - it won't work if Germany has no equality: We should have the same rights as the others; so we will have our right again in regard to politics; without a status of equal rights it won't work; so we have the same rights as other nations; without the status of equal rights they can do as they please with us; etc.</u>	27%	25%	27%	26%
<u>Because the honor of the German soldier has to be restored: I don't see why we should cooperate immediately - the whole matter of Landsberg is not cleared up yet; the honor of the soldiers has to be restored first; in order to prevent convicting our generals again as it's happened once before; we were treated very badly - see the Nuerenberg trials; etc.</u>	2	1	3	1
<u>So we know what we are fighting for: So we know what we are fighting for - it means the survival of democratic freedom and that applies to us too; every soldier must know what he has to be prepared for in case of an emergency; etc.</u>	2	2	2	2
<u>Perhaps there are other possibilities than an army and war: Perhaps the whole situation will ease off and an army need not be established; it is always good to wait - maybe there are other and better possibilities; because I still think it will come to some form of an agreement among the nations; etc.</u>	1	1	1	1
<u>So the Federal government will have a sound basis to negotiate on: So the Federal government won't sign a treaty that does not give us certain advantages; because we can state our conditions to the Western powers today; etc.</u>	1	1	1	*
<u>Other opinions: It is better not to take a risk; from experience - the Germans should not have any political and military power because they would misuse it; after the experience of the Germans with the Allies it's evident that the Germans are only a means to the end without German interests being considered even; etc.</u>	3	3	4	2
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	$\frac{1}{37\%}$	$\frac{2}{38\%}$ **	$\frac{1}{39\%}$ **	$\frac{3}{35\%}$ **

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Those Germans who oppose participation together with those who support it but advocate waiting for prior equality, add up to a majority of almost three-quarters. This fact tends to suggest that considerable resistance could develop to any efforts on the part of West German political leaders to press for speeding up German contributions to European defense. Opponents could stir up even the bulk of those who are in principle for German participation by demands for prior "Gleichberechtigung," prior rehabilitation of German military honor and the like.

Such dangers are underscored when it is found that among supporters of defense participation, sentiment in favor of waiting for prior political equality tends to be relatively greater among opinion leadership elements - the non-, the better educated, and the better off.

"In your opinion, should the West German Federal Republic participate in the West European army immediately or should it wait until a status of political equality is granted?" (asked of those who answered "For it" to previous question.)

WEST GERMANY	Participate immediately	Wait	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	23%	75%	2%...100%	177
Women	21	70	9	146
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	23%	65%	9%	152
Beyond elementary school	21	77	2	170
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	23%	73%	4%	117
Lower middle to upper class	21	73	6	206
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	26%	69%	3%	36
150 - 299 DM	20	72	8	114
300 DM and more	22	74	4	171
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	22%	72%	6%	143
40 years and over	22	73	5	130
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	29%	64%	7%	67
CDU/CSU	21	77	2	78
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	21	77	2	57
Other parties	22	78	-	18
No parties	26	66	8	50
Don't know	3	65	12	33
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	24%	63%	8%	127
Protestants	22	74	4	173

It is uncertain whether those who would delay participation until the achievement of equality, supported by those opposed to any sort of participation, would develop strong opposition sentiments if they felt Germany were being forced to participate without what they consider to be "Gleichberechtigung." At the least the effectiveness of Germany's defense effort would be hampered.

That the opinion leading groups are in the forefront of a widespread willingness to wait even among those in favor of German participation, seems to give weight to General Eisenhower's doubt about the desirability of a German contribution before an earned equality has been attained.

DOES AMERICA WANT PARTICIPATION AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE ...

The Western press has recently reported speculations to the effect that American policy was shifting toward a slow-up on the question of West German rearmament. To a great extent the West German press has echoed these same reports. Very little of all this seems to have filtered down to the German people - or at least to have made any impression on them. Scarcely more than one person in ten believes that the Americans want to hold up on German participation.

"Do you believe America desires West Germany's participation in a West European defense army as quickly as possible or do you have the impression that America prefers to delay this issue a little?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
As quickly as possible	61%	58%	69%	70%
Delay	13	13	12	14
No opinion	26	29	19	16
	100%	100%	100%	100%

All told, the results below serve to discount the theory that any significant portion of the German population is worried lest Germany has overplayed her hand with her demands for "Gleichberechtigung," and caused America to slow up on her support of the creation of German defense forces,

	As quickly as possible	Delay	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	71%	16%	13%...100%	289
Women	52	10	38	350
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	56%	10%	34%	393
Beyond elementary school	69	18	13	244
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	56%	8%	36%	313
Lower middle to upper class	65	18	17	326
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	51%	8%	41%	107
150 - 299 DM	59	11	30	243
300 DM and more	66	16	18	285
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	58%	14%	23%	292
40 years and over	63	12	25	346
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	71%	12%	17%	165
CDU/CSU	65	11	24	115
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	72	21	7	72
Other parties	70	5	25	39
No parties	55	13	32	139
Don't know	37	13	50	109
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	59%	11%	30%	251
Protestants	60	14	26	326

The small minority who see a shift to an American policy of delay give a variety of reasons for their judgments. The results indicate that there is no particularly currency to the view that America is going slow on German rearmament to see first if a possible deal can be made with the Russians.

"Do you believe America desires West Germany's participation in a West European defense army as quickly as possible or do you have the impression that America prefers to delay this issue a little?"
If "Delay the issue": "Why do you have this impression?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
-----------------	-----------------	------------	--------

Lack of interest in Western Europe - lack of preparedness for war: Because America is not very interested in Western Europe; America is not yet quite prepared for war; it seems as if they were only interested in case there was immediate danger of war; they don't put as much pressure behind it as they could if they wanted to; etc.

3%	3%	4%	3%
----	----	----	----

Possibility of agreement with Russia at four power conference: America first wants to wait for the outcome of the four power conference; America still wants to attempt to come to an agreement with Russia; because America is not prepared enough and has to come to an agreement with the Russians about the rearmament of Germany first; they want to see the outcome of the Paris-talks first; etc.

2	3	1	1
---	---	---	---

Disagreement among the Western powers: The Western powers have not come to an agreement yet among each other; the Western powers have not agreed yet on the extent of eventual German participation; the Americans differ on this issue with the French and the English; etc.

2	2	2	2
---	---	---	---

Lack of German economic and political preparedness: Because Germany's economy is not stabilized yet; because we have no peace treaty; they want to give us time to think it over - they know it is a serious decision; etc.

1	1	2	3
---	---	---	---

Conclusions drawn from Eisenhower's attitude: After Eisenhower's visit a certain reluctance is apparent; we read in the newspapers that Eisenhower has not mentioned the issue yet; after the interview by Eisenhower it is not pressing yet - at least that is my conclusion; etc.

1	1	1	1
---	---	---	---

Because of the news: According to the latest news; I am only oriented according to the headlines in the newspapers; etc.

1	1	1	1
---	---	---	---

Other opinions: Because this rearmament will lead to war; because of the Plevon-Plan; etc.

2	2	2	2
---	---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{1}{13\%}$	$\frac{1}{14\%}$ **	$\frac{1}{13\%}$ **	$\frac{1}{14\%}$
------------------	---------------------	---------------------	------------------

* Less than one half of one per cent.
** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

HOW WOULD THE GERMANS VOTE IN A PLEBISCITE ON THE PARTICIPATION ISSUE?

The present findings and those of prior studies have indicated that a straight approval of the participation principle may not be so favorable as it sounds. Not only do the German people have serious reservations about the conditions under which they would be willing to participate,* but their reactions like all peoples', are apt to be conditioned to a great extent by the terms in which the issue is presented. Thus the Communists with considerable reason hope to gather an impressive list of anti-participation votes if they can circulate a petition in the West Zone asking for a "Yes" or "No" vote on the question: "Are you against remilitarization and for a peace treaty in 1951?"

Since the mode of presentation of the participation issue would certainly influence popular reactions if ever a plebiscite were held on the issue, it was decided to test participation sentiment with a further query phrased as unfavorably as possible toward participation - short of the crude, obviously double-barreled creation of Communist propaganda. The question was brought in considerably later in the interview after the initial participation inquiry had been left well behind. The words, "rearmament", and, "participation of German soldiers", both conjuring up unpleasant association in German minds, were used. The returns, as might be expected, varied somewhat from those obtained on the basic Atlantic Pact participation question (see page 1) support dropping 10 per cent and opposition rising 3 per cent.

"Supposing a plebiscite were held in the near future on the issue of whether West Germany should participate with a contingent of German soldiers in a West European defense army. Would you then vote for or against such a rearmament of West Germany?"

WEST GERMANY British Zone US Zone Berlin

For	41%	40%	42%	69%
Against	44	43	43	23
No opinion	15	17	10	8
	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Report No. 61, Series No. 2, dated February 22, 1951 - DEFENSE PARTICIPATION SENTIMENTS AND THE EXTENT OF "OHNE WICH" - With Other Current Developments On Issues Related To German Defense Participation.

CONFIDENTIAL

All sections of the population were about equally influenced by the adverse emotional coloring, opposition growing and support declining proportionately about as much among opinion leaders as among others. However, here as earlier, participation support is far stronger among opinion leaders who continue to give it a definite, if smaller preponderance.

"Supposing a plebiscite were held in the near future on the issue of whether West Germany should participate with a contingent of German soldiers in a West European defense army. Would you then vote for or against such a rearmament of West Germany?"

	For	Against	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY:				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	47%	42%	11%	239
Women	34	47	19	350
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	32%	52%	16%	393
Beyond elementary school	54	33	13	244
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	30%	52%	18%	313
Lower middle to upper class	51	36	13	326
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	31%	50%	19%	107
150 - 299 DM	33	49	18	243
300 DM and more	51	37	12	235
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	33%	46%	16%	292
40 years and over	43	43	14	346
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	40%	50%	10%	165
CDU/CSU	57	30	13	115
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	67	24	9	72
Other parties	36	46	18	39
No parties	27	53	20	139
Don't know	25	52	23	109
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	43%	39%	15%	251
Protestants	41	46	13	326

The fact the opinion leaders were influenced almost as much by the change in wording as were their less educated and informed counterparts - despite an expectation of more resistance to biasing, emotional coloring among such levels - brings up the possibility that the change in wording affected the sense of the question as well as its emotional atmosphere. The basic Atlantic Pact question brings up the participation issue in the context of prior entry into the Atlantic Pact - thus implying the prior achievement of a measure of equality. This implication is not present in the subsequent presentation of the participation issue, and may thus account for part of the drop in favorable responses.

II. NEUTRALISM VERSUS WESTERN INTEGRATION

NEUTRALIST SENTIMENTS APPEAR TO BE ON THE WANE ...

Neutralist sentiments appear on the decline when the choice of a Russian proposed neutral, unified Germany is balanced against a Western bid for West German integration with the West on a basis of equality. Measured thus, pro-Western attitudes now lead neutralist views by almost five to one compared with a three to one lead a month ago. Berliners maintain a nine in ten vote in favor of the West.

"Supposing West Germany were offered the following two alternatives:*

1. The Western powers: offer West Germany admission to the union of the Western nations as an independent, politically and militarily equal nation.
2. Russia: offers unification with East Germany and proposes that Germany as a neutral nation keeps out of a conflict between East and West.

In case the Federal government had the choice of only one of these two proposals, which alternatives should they take in your opinion, considering everything you know about the Western powers and Russia?"

	WEST GERMANY			British Zone			US Zone			Berlin		
	Jan	Feb	Feb	Jan	Feb	Feb	Jan	Feb	Feb	Jan	Feb	Feb
	15-19	1-2	26-27	13-19	1-2	26-27	13-19	1-2	26-27	13-19	1-2	26
Would accept Western offer	61%	63%	70%	60%	63%	70%	63%	61%	72%	83%	87%	8
Would accept Russian offer	24	22	15	23	21	14	25	25	17	12	6	
No opinion	15	15	15	17	16	16	12	14	11	5	7	6
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Alternatives were presented on a card read by respondents.

MORE WOMEN TURNING TO WEST ...

The increase in opinions that partnership with the West is a sounder choice than Russian sponsored neutralism results largely from a shift of opinions from the ranks of German women, as well as from the lesser educated and lower income city dwellers. However, men, the better educated and the upper income groups still continue in greater proportions to prefer the West to Russian-proposed neutralism.

"Supposing West Germany were offered the following two alternatives:

- 1. The Western powers: offer West Germany admission to the union of the Western nations as an independent, politically and militarily equal nation.
- 2. Russia: offers unification with East Germany and proposes that Germany as a neutral nation keeps out of a conflict between East and West.

In case the Federal government had the choice of only one of these two proposals, which alternatives should they take in your opinion, considering everything you know about the Western powers and Russia?"

	Would accept Western offer			Would accept Russian offer			No opinion			No. of cases:
	Jan	Feb	Feb	Jan	Feb	Feb	Jan	Feb	Feb	
	18-19	1-2	26-27	18-19	1-2	26-27	18-19	1-2	26-27	
WEST GERMANY										
Sex:										
Men	66%	72%	73%	25%	20%	17%	9%	5%	10%	269
Women	56	56	65	23	24	13	21	20	22	350
Education:										
Elementary school	53%	54%	63%	26%	27%	17%	21%	19%	20%	393
Beyond elementary school	72	73	81	21	14	11	7	8	8	244
Socio-economic Status:										
Lower class	47%	52%	60%	29%	28%	19%	24%	20%	21%	313
Lower middle to upper class	74	73	79	19	17	10	7	10	11	326
Income (per month):										
0 - 149 DM	39%	39%	57%	30%	34%	19%	31%	27%	24%	107
150 - 299 DM	54	62	67	30	22	14	16	16	19	243
300 DM and more	76	75	77	17	17	13	7	8	10	285
Age:										
Under 40 years	61%	67%	72%	28%	22%	14%	11%	11%	14%	292
40 years and over	60	60	69	22	22	15	18	18	16	346
Party Preference:										
SPD	62%	62%	68%	27%	24%	19%	11%	14%	13%	165
CDU/CSU	75	80	89	13	10	5	12	10	6	115
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	76	77	92	20	15	3	4	8	5	72
Other parties	46	54	56	43	35	33	11	11	11	39
No parties	47	52	55	26	29	20	27	19	22	139
Don't know	42	49	59	29	26	13	29	25	28	109
Religion:										
Catholics	66%	67%	73%	19%	19%	9%	15%	14%	18%	251
Protestants	59	60	72	27	23	16	14	17	12	326

RUSSIAN "FREE ELECTIONS" PROPOSAL WOULD ATTRACT MANY ...

But a Russian offer of German neutrality couched in more favorable terms, would tempt many urban West Germans away from their pro-Western sentiments. About four in ten - almost three in ten in Berlin - believe that, if Russia promised at the Foreign Ministers' Conference to support free elections for a united, independent Germany on condition that she be unarmed and the four occupying powers withdraw, the plan should be accepted. Thus if the Soviets should be prepared to make as good an offer as this, it would apparently be attractive to a substantial proportion of the urban West German population.

"Suppose the Russians were to support the following at such a conference. Russia would support really free elections for a united and independent Germany under the following conditions:

1. That Germany will not be rearmad;
2. That all four occupying powers will leave Germany.

Would you want the Western powers to accept or reject this plan? "

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Accept	37%	37%	40%	27%
Refuse	47	46	49	68
No opinion	16	17	11	5
	100%	100%	100%	100%

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

Rejection of a Russian proposal for neutrality based upon free elections and four power withdrawal is advocated more often by upper class, higher income, better educated and male members of urban West Germany than their opposites. In line with these findings, the predominately middle and upper class FDP adherents favor rejection of such a plan by a large majority, while the followers of the SPD, largely a workers' party, are almost evenly divided in their recommendations. CDU supporters also are much more likely to want the plan rejected than accepted.

	Accept	Refuse	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	39%	53%	3%...100%	289
Women	36	43	21	350
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	43%	33%	19%	393
Beyond elementary school	28	61	11	245
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	45%	36%	19%	313
Lower middle to upper class	30	57	13	326
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	50%	29%	21%	107
150 - 299 DM	40	44	16	243
300 DM and more	30	57	13	207
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	40%	46%	16%	292
40 years and over	36	49	15	346
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	47%	41%	12%	165
CDU/CSU	25	65	10	115
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	17	77	6	72
Other parties	49	46	5	39
No parties	43	35	22	139
Don't know	40	32	23	109
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	31%	50%	19%	251
Protestants	39	47	14	326

* Alternatives were presented on a card read by respondents.

WOULD IT BE WISE TO ACCEPT? ...

The advisability of neutrality even when free elections and independence are promised becomes doubtful with some, however, when they are asked to weigh the implications of Russia in the scheme of things. Bluntly reminded of Russia's proximity and their previous knowledge of Russia, more than half of those who previously espoused acceptance of the Russian plan are thrown into indecision, or frankly relinquish their prior stand - another indication of the large admixture of unrealistic thinking which RAS surveys have repeatedly turned up in German reactions on the neutrality issue.

"If you consider everything you know about Russia and think of the proximity of Russia, do you believe that, with the safety of Germany in mind, it would be wise to accept such a plan or do you think it would not be wise?" (Asked of those who answered "Accept" to previous question.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Wise	16%	16%	17%	7%
Not wise	9	9	10	16
No opinion	12	12	13	4
	37%	37%	40%	27%

	Wise	Not wise	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	57%	19%	24% ... 100%	113
Women	32	27	41	125
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	43%	23%	34%	170
Beyond elementary school	46	23	31	63
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	44%	24%	32%	140
Lower middle to upper class	43	21	36	93
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	43%	22%	35%	54
150 - 299 DM	38	26	36	98
300 DM and more	51	21	28	66
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	43%	24%	33%	113
40 years and over	44	23	33	124
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	33%	27%	35%	77
CDU/CSU	25	43	32	28
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	50	42	8	12
Other parties	84	11	5	19
No parties	44	13	43	59
Don't know	47	16	37	43
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	42%	20%	38%	77
Protestants	43	26	31	123

III. FOUR POWER CONFERENCE

As to general attitudes toward a four power conference, the view that Germany stands neither to gain nor lose by one continues to predominate in urban West Germany. There is some indication that more people are beginning to feel that such a conference would be to Germany's advantage, but further studies are required to confirm whether this is an actual trend. On the whole, lack of enthusiasm for the conference remains the attitude of most West Germans.

Some time ago the Russians proposed a four power conference on Germany. "If this conference should be held, do you think it likely that the conference would in general be of advantage or disadvantage for Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY		British Zone		US Zone		Berlin	
	February		February		February		February	
	1-2	26-27	1-2	26-27	1-2	26-27	1-2	26-27
Of advantage	20%	23%	16%	22%	27%	27%	20%	22%
Of disadvantage	19	14	20	13	18	16	32	26
Neither/Nor	39	36	43	37	32	32	43	44
No opinion	22	27	21	28	23	25	5	8
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Scrutiny of group differences reveals no marked shift in opinion, though more SPD adherents see advantages for Germany in a four power conference than did so previously.

	Of advantage February		Of disadvantage February		Neither/ Nor February		No opinion February		No. of cases:
	1-2	26-27	1-2	26-27	1-2	26-27	1-2	26-27	
WEST GERMANY									
Sex:									
Men	24%	27%	23%	16%	42%	42%	11%	15%	259
Women	16	19	16	13	37	30	31	38	350
Education:									
Elementary school	20%	24%	19%	14%	36%	29%	25%	33%	393
Beyond elementary school	20	22	20	13	44	47	16	15	244
Socio-economic Status:									
Lower class	19%	26%	17%	13%	38%	27%	26%	34%	313
Lower middle to upper class	21	20	22	15	40	45	17	20	326
Income (per month):									
0 - 149 DM	21%	26%	16%	16%	30%	23%	33%	35%	107
150 - 299 DM	20	21	20	14	39	34	21	31	243
300 DM and more	20	23	21	13	43	42	16	22	265
Age:									
Under 40 years	19%	25%	20%	11%	42%	34%	19%	20%	292
40 years and over	20	21	19	16	37	37	24	26	346
Party Preferences:									
SPD	20%	31%	19%	13%	44%	31%	17%	25%	165
CDU/CSU	16	20	21	18	44	43	19	19	115
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	18	14	22	18	41	60	19	8	72
Other parties	32	44	30	10	27	23	11	23	39
No parties	20	22	20	11	32	34	28	33	139
Don't know	20	14	13	13	37	28	30	45	109
Religion:									
Catholics	19%	17%	22%	15%	39%	36%	20	32	251
Protestants	18	25	17	14	42	35	23	26	326

Again, as in the previous survey, the hope that agreement on Germany's problems will be reached is the predominant reason voiced by those who see advantage for Germany in a four power conference.

"Some time ago the Russians proposed a four power conference on Germany.

If this conference should be held, do you think it likely that the conference in general would be of advantage or disadvantage for Germany?"

If "Of advantage to Germany": "In which respects?"

WEST British US Berlin
GERMANY Zone Zone

It is an opportunity for discussions about all problems and could lead to eventual agreement:

We can't know, but something good might come of it - at least we can keep them at bay; because they have an open discussion and that is good; because then they have to be honest and we'll get our due; a general talk will only be of advantage; perhaps the whole situation could be cleared up this way; they could come to some kind of agreement; because it would be good if the four powers had a heart-to-heart talk; etc.

11% 10% 13% 5%

War could be avoided and peace be preserved:

Because the danger of war would be eliminated; etc.

3 3 3 2

It could lead to the unification of Germany: Because it would lead to unification; it would result in the unification of Germany; etc.

2 2 4 3

Germany cannot lose anything by a conference: We would only have an advantage from it; the German issue could be discussed and be of highest priority; we could only profit by a conference; etc.

2 3 1 5

The results of the conference should be seen first:

We should wait for the outcome of the conference - perhaps everything turns out well; only if the negotiations are held correctly it could lead to the final preservation of peace; any kind of negotiations should be welcome to us if both sides have the intention of coming to a reasonable agreement; etc.

2 2 4 -

Other opinions: Because in regard to the economy it could bring improvements of the inter-zonal trade relations; trade between East and West would start; because the Russians want to prevent the rearmament of Germany; because the main issue at the conference will be the demilitarisation of Germany; because the Western powers would really be on their guard and try to get the Russians to accept concrete proposals and decisions; because all of them want Germany's support; etc.

2 1 2 4

No opinion / No answer:

2 2 - *

24% 23% 27% 22%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Russia's dishonesty, her refusal to compromise, and her desire for world domination are some of the main reasons why a four power conference would be disadvantageous for Germany, according to respondents who take this tack. Another line of argument emphasizes that the four powers are all self-interested and a conference would only help them exploit Germany.

"Some time ago the Russians proposed a four power conference on Germany.

If this conference should be held, do you think it likely that the conference in general would be of advantage or disadvantage for Germany?"

If "Of disadvantage to Germany": "In which respects?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
<u>The Russians are dishonest - Germany cannot expect anything good from them: Because the Russians proposed it, nothing good would come of it; because the agreements of such a conference won't be kept by the Russians; because I suppose that the Russians pursue some shady deal; I am distrustful of everything that comes from Russia's side; because the Russians don't want to help us; because of our previous experiences; etc.</u>	4%	3%	4%	9%
<u>They only see their own advantages - Germany never gains by any of the conferences: An agreement between East and West would only be at the expense of Germany; because East and West both seek their own advantages - this and agreement would only mean even greater exploitation of Germany; because all of them want to destroy Germany; because each one of the four powers are after their own advantage; etc.</u>	3	3	5	3
<u>Agreement with the Russians is impossible because they won't deviate from their point of view: The Russians won't give in; the Russians only pursue their own interests and don't want any agreement; any conference with the Russians will be of disadvantage because conferences are futile anyway; etc.</u>	2	2	3	6
<u>Russia wants to rule Germany and the whole world; The Russians try to get greater influence in Germany; because the Russians will try everything to get West Germany under their jurisdiction; because Russia does not want Germany to regain her power and wants to keep us down; Russia wants to dominate the whole world; etc.</u>	2	2	2	5
<u>Gulf between East and West is too wide: Because I just can't imagine that Russia and America would harmonize; they are too adversary to each other; we will never achieve peace; etc.</u>	1	1	1	*
<u>Russia wants to prevent Germany's siding with the West: Russia wants to split Germany off the Western block; any conference with the Russians is of disadvantage, because they want to split Western coalition; etc.</u>	*	*	1	1
<u>Other opinions: Could only result in the unification of Germany; they would only agree to delay our re-armament; etc.</u>	1	1	*	1
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	$\frac{1}{14\%}$	$\frac{1}{13\%}$	$\frac{1}{16\%}$	$\frac{2}{27\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

IV. REACTIONS TO EAST ZONE "UNITY" PROPOSALS

FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS ON THE GROTEWOHL LETTER ...

Chancellor Adenauer's rejection of the first Grotewohl bid to discuss the unity issue is disapproved by about as many West Germans as approve when all respondents are informed of the Chancellor's action. Only in Berlin does a majority approve, whereas in the US Zone disapproval if anything outweighs approval.

"As you probably know the East German Prime Minister Grotewohl proposed to Federal Chancellor Adenauer to appoint an equal number of representatives for East and West Germany to discuss the unification of Germany. The Federal government of West Germany refused this proposal.

Do you approve of the refusal of the Grotewohl proposal by the West German Federal government or are you of the opinion that one should have negotiated about this proposal?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Approve of refusal	43%	44%	41%	73%
Should have negotiated	40	38	46	20
No opinion	$\frac{17}{100\%}$	$\frac{18}{100\%}$	$\frac{13}{100\%}$	$\frac{7}{100\%}$

The tendency to advocate negotiations with the East Zone appears to come from groups among whom sentiments for unification as a good thing in itself play a more important role than does actual knowledge about the East Zone proposals. This was born out in a previous survey*, in which the same question was asked only of those who were aware of the Grotewohl proposal (48% of the population.) Among these respondents Adenauer's rejection was approved two to one. The same point is indicated in the following tabulation of group differences. It will be noted that the preponderant opinion among those likely to have heard of Grotewohl's letter - the better educated, the higher income groups - favors Adenauer's refusal to accept negotiation.

"As you probably know the East German Prime Minister Grotewohl proposed to Federal Chancellor Adenauer to appoint an equal number of representatives for East and West Germany to discuss the unification of Germany. The Federal government of West Germany refused this proposal.

Do you approve of the refusal of the Grotewohl proposal by the West German Federal government or are you of the opinion that one should have negotiated about this proposal?"

	Approve of refusal	Should have negotiated	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	51%	44%	5%...100%	289
Women	36	37	27	350
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	33%	44%	23%	393
Beyond elementary school	58	34	8	244
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	34%	42%	24%	313
Lower middle to upper class	50	38	12	326
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	32%	41%	27%	107
150 - 299 DM	37	43	20	243
300 DM and more	51	38	11	285
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	39%	41%	20%	292
40 years and over	45	40	15	346
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	39%	49%	12%	165
CDU/CSU	58	31	11	115
FDP/LIP/DVP/EDV	68	28	4	72
Other parties	41	49	10	39
No parties	33	45	22	139
Don't know	27	35	38	109
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	46%	31%	23%	251
Protestants	41	45	14	326

* Report No. 60, Series No. 2, dated January 31, 1951, NEW LIGHT ON GERMAN NEUTRALITY SENTIMENTS - With Other Current Developments On Issues Related To German Defense Participation, page 21.

CONFIDENTIAL

EXTENT OF AWARENESS OF VOLKSKAMMER FOLLOW-UP ON GROTEWOHL BID ...

Before the West German Bundestag took the initiative on the unity issue with its recent call for general free elections the Reactions Analysis Staff tested the effectiveness of the East German attempt to follow-up the Grotewohl proposal with a new appeal sent directly from the East German Volkakammer (People's Chamber) to the Bundestag.

The preceding findings indicate that it is among those who have not become aware of unity proposals announced from the East that the potential attractiveness of the surface appearance of such proposals is greatest. That the specific proposals themselves are making much headway in stirring up the West German people is doubtful, however, since most of the people are unaware of them - and those who are aware are largely opposed to them. Seven out of ten were obviously unaware of the Volkakammer follow-up of the rejected Grotewohl proposal.

"As far as you know, did the East Zone government make a second proposal for negotiations or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Did make second proposal	30%	30%	34%	21%
Did not make second proposal	9	10	8	15
Don't know	61	60	58	64
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Awareness of the follow-up proposals is far greater among opinion leaders, the majority of whom, however, have also not heard of the Volkakammer proposal.

"As far as you know, did the East Zone government make a second proposal for negotiations or not?"

	Did make second proposal	Did not make second proposal	Don't know	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	48%	10%	42% ... 100%	289
Women	15	7	78	350
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	22%	8%	70%	393
Beyond elementary school	44	10	46	244
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	21%	9%	70%	313
Lower middle to upper class	39	9	52	326
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 IM	22%	10%	68%	107
150 - 299 IM	25	7	68	243
300 IM and more	39	11	50	285
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	31%	8%	61%	292
40 years and over	30	10	60	346
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	33%	11%	56%	165
CDU/CSU	31	10	59	115
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	49	7	44	72
Other parties	43	8	49	39
No parties	25	6	69	139
Don't know	16	8	76	109
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	37%	9%	54%	251
Protestants	30	9	61	326

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

The rank and file is obviously not being directly influenced very much by the East Zone unity maneuvers, which does not mean, however, that there may not be some gradual filter effect that awakens longings for unity and dissatisfaction with the Western governments seeming reluctance to take steps toward the achievement of this end.

ATTITUDES ON VOLKSKAMMER PROPOSAL ...

The small but largely opinion leading group which was aware of a second proposal is about evenly divided as to whether to negotiate on it or reject it.

"If you consider this second proposal, would you think it preferable to negotiate with the East Zone government about this proposal or should the West German Parliament (Bundestag) refuse this second proposal without negotiating?" (Asked of those who answered "Did make second proposal" to previous question.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Negotiate	14%	13%	15%	5%
Refuse	13	13	15	15
No opinion	3	4	4	1
	<u>30%</u>	<u>30%</u>	<u>34%</u>	<u>21%</u>

Before Dr. Adenauer's rejection of the original Grotewohl proposal a better than five to four preponderance of opinion leaders favored acceptance.* After Adenauer's statement of rejection informed opinion leaders averaged more than a two to one support of his stand.**

Initial receptivity to Eastern unity proposals does not seem necessarily to mean that rejection of loaded proposals can not be explained to and accepted by the informed urban public.

* Report No. 55, Series No. 2, dated December 28, 1950, GERMANS VIEW THE REMILITARIZATION ISSUE - Year-End Developments And The Present Status Of Neutralism, -, page 23.

** Report No. 60, Series No. 2, dated January 31, 1951, NEW LIGHT ON GERMAN NEUTRALITY SENTIMENTS - With Other Current Developments On Issues Related to German Defense Participation -, page 21.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

The reasons given for both answers are almost exact reflections of the main arguments which have been brought up for and against negotiations with the East Zone. Obviously, these arguments seem to be making about equal progress among the most informed third of the population.

"If you consider this second proposal, would you think it preferable to negotiate with the East Zone government about this proposal or should the West German Parliament (Bundestag) refuse this second proposal without negotiating?" (Asked of those who answered "Did make second proposal" to previous question.)
If "Negotiate": "Why are you of this opinion?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US ZONE	Berlin
<u>Offers to negotiate should always be accepted - they could prove successful: Something useful might come of it; because even the tiniest chance to reach some kind of agreement should not be neglected; an open talk is better than a refusal; it should be accepted in order to see what the East Zone has to offer; we should show our good will; because we should act diplomatically; as a union member I would never refuse an offer to negotiate; etc.</u>	10%	10%	10%	2%
<u>In order to further the unification of Germany: Every effort should be made to unite Germany; because it would be in the interest of the rebuilding and unification of the "Reich;" East and West should unite; the Germans should come to an agreement and not be afraid to sign another Rapallo-treaty with the Allies - especially because we are unimportant politically and militarily as a nation; etc.</u>	3	2	4	2
<u>Because it would have good influence on the population of the East Zone: The negotiations would at least have a good psychological influence on the population in the oppressed East Zone - people there cling to every straw; etc.</u>	*	1	-	-
<u>Other opinions: Because they are part of us; etc.</u>	1	*	1	1
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	$\frac{*}{14\%}$	$\frac{*}{13\%}$	$\frac{-}{15\%}$	$\frac{-}{5\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

"If you consider this second proposal, would you think it preferable to negotiate with the East Zone government about this proposal or should the West German Parliament (Bundestag) refuse this second proposal without negotiating?" (Asked of those who answered "Did make second proposal" to previous question.)
If "Refuse to negotiate": "Why are you of this opinion?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
<u>Negotiations with the East are futile - they cannot be trusted; the Russians are behind it:</u> I am for a refusal in any case - the Russians are behind it; so far our experiences with the Russians were bad - their tactics are to postpone everything; the second proposal did not contain anything different from the first; to negotiate with Russia's stooges is out of the question; in case negotiations were held we'd soon be as bad off as the people in the East Zone - they are much more tricky than our people; it is impossible to trust the Russians; negotiations with the East would not result in anything acceptable to us - the East always intends to cheat us; etc.	8%	7%	9%	10%
<u>East Zone government does not have the right to negotiate (not legal):</u> Because it is a mere propaganda trick - the people's cabinet does not represent the opinion of the population in the East Zone; the representatives of the East Zone do not have the right to negotiate because they were not elected by the people; the East Zone government is not legal, consequently not a partner at a conference; etc.	2	2	2	5
<u>Conditions are not acceptable:</u> The conditions are not acceptable - they would soon take our present freedom away from us; basis for negotiations not acceptable; etc.	1	1	2	-
<u>The East intends to sovietize all of Germany:</u> Because the East Zone government only plans the bolshevization of Germany; the SED government wants us to be part of the Communist block; because the East Zone wants to get the rule - then life will be the same as during the Third Reich; etc.	1	1	1	*
<u>We must take a firm stand toward the East:</u> Nothing would come of it - a firm stand right at the beginning is the best; we have refused it now and we must remain firm; etc.	1	1	1	-
<u>The occupation powers should agree with each other first; etc.</u>	*	-	-	*
<u>Other opinions:</u>	1	1	*	-
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	* 14%**	- 13%	* 15%	- 15%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

It is probable that these arguments filter down through innumerable channels to influence the rank and file of the population far more than do the official maneuvers and counter maneuvers between Bonn and the East Zone. The political moves do, however, doubtless tend to strengthen and stimulate the arguments, particularly at what is probably their main starting and distribution point - the opinion leading elements.

WHAT ARE THE EAST ZONE GOVERNMENT'S MOTIVES? ...

A frequently advanced argument of those opposed to negotiations with the present East Zone regime is that negotiations with it are in effect negotiations with Russia. Considerable acceptance of this argument is indicated by the answers received on the following question designed to measure reactions to possible motives of the East Zone government in proposing negotiations.

"Do you believe that the East Zone government made this new proposal mainly in order to bring about an independent, unified Germany or do you believe that the East Zone government made this proposal mainly for other reasons?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Independent Germany	8%	8%	10%	6%
Other reasons	57	53	65	82
No opinion	37	41	26	15
	<u>102%*</u>	<u>102%*</u>	<u>101%*</u>	<u>103%*</u>

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

The "other reasons" listed make quite clear the apprehensions that quickly come to many German minds.

"Do you believe that the East Zone government made this new proposal mainly in order to bring about an independent, unified Germany or do you believe that the East Zone government made this proposal mainly for other reasons?"

If "For other reasons": "Which reasons do you have in mind?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
<u>In order to sovietize all of Germany: Bolshevization of Germany; they want Germany to be a Communist state; it's just a bait to make the idea of Communism a little more agreeable; etc.</u>	14%	13%	15%	18%
<u>In order to rule West Germany too: They want to rule all of Germany; in order to unite Germany under their rule; for political reasons - they want the rule over West Germany too; etc.</u>	9	9	8	15
<u>Under Russian pressure, so Germany can be exploited by Russia: Russia forced them to do that; because the Russians demand it; the initiative comes from Russia; under Russian order, so as to prevent the rearmament of West Germany; the Russians only want to get more power in Germany; etc.</u>	6	6	8	4
<u>In order to make a Russian satellite out of Germany: They want to make Germany one of their satellites; in order to make Germany another satellite to Russia and enlarge Russian power; they want to get the jurisdiction over all of Germany and make her dependent on Russia; etc.</u>	6	5	7	10
<u>For reasons of propaganda and bluff: Just as a bluff - it's a trick by their propaganda; they want to show how they will serve a united Germany; etc.</u>	6	8	6	11
<u>To their own advantage: To get an advantage from it; they only want to seek their advantages; so they will be heading the government longer; etc.</u>	5	3	7	9
<u>In order to prevent German rearmament and German union with the West: In order to prevent the rearmament of West Germany; they want to prevent in every way that West Germany unites with the Western powers; the military neutralization of Germany as a preparation for the seizure by the Communist party; in order to prolong the process of remilitarization; etc.</u>	5	3	7	7
<u>In order to win time for their own rearmament program: In order to win time for their war preparations; to win time; etc.</u>	2	3	1	4
<u>Other opinions: So we won't get our power back; just to have some basis for discussions with us; it's a new tactic by the Soviets in order to approach the West; in order to get hold of our industries; in order to eliminate our being solely oriented in Western ideas; etc.</u>	$\frac{4}{57\%}$	$\frac{3}{53\%}$	$\frac{6}{65\%}$	$\frac{4}{82\%}$

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Skepticism in regard to East Zone intentions is pronouncedly greater among opinion leading groups.

"Do you believe that the East Zone government made this new proposal mainly in order to bring about an independent, unified Germany or do you believe that the East Zone government made this proposal mainly for other reasons?"

	Independent Germany	Other reasons	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	9%	67%	24%...100%	289
Women	8	44	48	350
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	10%	44%	46%	393
Beyond elementary school	5	71	24	244
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	11%	45%	44%	313
Lower middle to upper class	6	63	31	326
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	8%	35%	57%	107
150 - 299 DM	10	52	38	243
300 DM and more	7	64	29	285
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	8%	51%	41%	292
40 years and over	9	57	34	346
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	9%	57%	34%	165
CDU/CSU	4	70	26	115
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	7	74	19	72
Other parties	20	49	31	39
No parties	11	39	50	139
Don't know	5	42	53	109
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	6%	55%	39%	251
Protestants	10	53	37	326

It will be noted that the "no opinion" group is relatively large - over one third of the population - and as usual concentrated in the less active and informed groups. These are the groups largely unaware of the barrages of official proposals and rejections being volleyed back and forth across the zonal border. That they may, however, have been gradually and to a great extent indirectly influenced to an unreflecting sympathy for the idea of unity which can put some pressure on the Federal Republic in its handling of the East Zone regime's maneuvers is indicated by the relatively lower level of support for Adenauer's rejection of the Grotewohl letter. among the lower income and educational levels as shown on page No. 18.

CONFIDENTIAL

C O N F I D E N T I A L

HOW STRONGLY WOULD RUSSIA INFLUENCE NEGOTIATIONS? ...

That the receptivity for negotiations which grows out of the desire for unity is based on wishful thinking and avoidance of what most Germans admit to be hard facts is shown by the answers to the following blunt question. Though four out of ten Germans favor negotiations, seven out of ten feel that the East Zone government would be but a Russian cat's paw in any unity discussions.

"Supposing negotiations were held about the proposals by the East Zone government, do you believe that the East Zone representatives would pursue the interests of Germany at the conference or rather the interests of Russia?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
Interests of Germany	13%	14%	12%	3%
Interests of Russia	70	70	74	90
No opinion	17	16	14	7
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

This is quite obviously another case of wishful thinking versus realism earlier noted in regard to neutralist sentiments.* The opinion leaders seem to be even more skeptical of the Democratic Republic's independence.

	Interests of Germany	Interests of Russia	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	13%	73%	14% ... 100%	289
Women	12	69	19	350
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	16%	64%	20%	393
Beyond elementary school	7	81	12	244
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	17%	63%	20%	313
Lower middle to upper class	9	77	14	326
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	17%	57%	26%	107
150 - 299 DM	12	71	17	243
300 DM and more	11	75	14	285
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	13%	71%	16%	292
40 years and over	12	70	18	346
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	14%	73%	13%	165
CDU/CSU	5	83	12	115
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDF	7	85	8	72
Other parties	36	56	8	39
No parties	16	65	19	139
Don't know	11	56	33	109
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	10%	72%	18%	251
Protestants	14	70	16	326

It remains, however, apparent that many West Germans react to the appeal of unity without considering what they themselves believe about the true nature of the East Zone government. The appeal of fancy packaged unity proposals of dubious content will probably decrease to the extent that the people are reminded of the true nature of the East Zone regime.

* Report No. 60, Series No. 2, dated January 31, 1951, NEW LIGHT ON GERMAN NEUTRALITY SENTIMENTS - With Other Current Developments On Issues Related To German Defense Participation.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

CONFIDENTIAL

COMPARISON OF ATTITUDES ON UNITY PROPOSALS WITH THOSE ON PARTICIPATION ...

It may be generalized that most of those partial to negotiations with the East Zone government are opposed to participation in the European defense effort, most of those who are dubious about such proposals are for participation. A comparison of results on the question:

"Do you approve of the refusal of the Grotewohl proposal by the West German Federal government or are you of the opinion that one should have negotiated about this proposal?"

with those on the question:

"Supposing a plebiscite were held in the near future on the issue of whether West Germany should participate with a contingent of German soldiers in a West European defense army. Would you then vote for or against such a rearmament of West Germany?"

presents the following picture:

	For participation	Against participation	No opinion	No. of cases:
Reject	64%	26%	10% ... 100%	258
Negotiate	28	59	13	283

A readiness to explore the possibility of negotiations does not, however, necessarily mean the abandonment of the attempt to strengthen Western defense. More than a fourth of those advocating negotiations want German participation. Nor does a support of rejection of the East Zone proposal necessarily mean support of participation. Better than a fourth of those for rejection are against participation.

RELATIONSHIP OF UNITY AND NEUTRALIST SENTIMENTS ...

Those favoring negotiations with the East Zone government show some susceptibility to Soviet neutrality proposals; those opposed to negotiations show practically none. A comparison of answers to the question:

"Do you approve of the refusal of the Grotewohl proposals by the West German Federal government or are you of the opinion that one should have negotiated about this proposal?"

with those to the question:

"Supposing West Germany were offered the following two alternatives:

1. The Western powers: offer West Germany admission to the union of the Western nations as an independent, politically and militarily equal nation.
2. Russia: offers unification with East Germany and proposes that Germany as a neutral nation keep out of a conflict between East and West.

In case the Federal government had the choice of only one of these two proposals, which alternatives should they take in your opinion, considering everything you know about the Western powers and Russia?"

produce the following results:

	Accept Western offer	Accept Russian offer	No opinion	No. of cases:
Reject	94%	3%	4% ... 100%	271
Negotiate	55	29	16	257

A predominance of those advocating discussions with the Eastern German government show a preference for unity with Western Europe as against a Soviet sponsored neutralism. In the light of the obviously widespread longing for unity and the perhaps equally great distrust of East Zone intentions it will be interesting to observe the response to the Western Bundestag's recent initiative in the unity issue which shall be probed in following surveys of the Reactions Analysis Staff.

CONFIDENTIAL

FRANKFURT SCHOOL-CHILDREN
REACT TO THE BOOKLET "EIGHT GREAT AMERICANS"

Report No. 65

Series No. 2

Classification cancelled
by authority of Leo P. Crespi
RESTRICTED
PUB/RAS.

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION . . .

At the request of Editorial Projection Branch, ISD, PUB, AICOG, a study of the reactions of German children to the booklet "Acht Grosse Amerikaner" (Eight Great Americans) was conducted by Reactions Analysis Staff. The booklet which utilized comic-book-technique was distributed to 465 school-children between the ages of 10 and 15 in ten selected schools in Frankfurt. The children - after having had the opportunity for a few days to read the booklet - were given write-in questionnaires and asked to express their views on what they had just read. The interviews were conducted on February 23rd and March 1st 1951 by two trained members of the staff.

Generally, the children seemed to welcome this chance to express their ideas, and their specific comments to many of the questions are both articulate and copious.

It must be pointed out that the sample used for the study was not selected on a strict random basis and is therefore not entirely representative for the population group discussed. But the schools were selected in a way that the three different types of schools (Elementary school, middle school, high school)* are represented and thus it can be said that all socio-economic and educational levels were reached.

It must also be kept in mind that in view of the small number of cases differences between any two percentages must be fairly large to be beyond the possibility of chance.

Factual background and sample information is given at the end of the report.

- * Elementary school here refers to Volksschule. Almost without exception Volksschule pupils of the age interviewed in this study will complete their formal education at the end of 8 years of Volksschule schooling, usually at the age of 14.

In high school (Hoehere Schule) the children interviewed were of the same age, but a majority can be expected to go on and receive the diploma (Abitur) which permits them to enter a university. The curriculum of the Hoehere Schule is designed toward this end.

Middle school (Mittel Schule) pupils normally receive 10 years of formal education in all.

- Thus children of the age interviewed are found in the three different types of schools.

- 2 -

R I S T R I C T E D

HIGHLIGHTS. . .

EVERYONE READ IT. . .

Practically every pupil read the booklet entirely or in part; two in three say they read all of it.

APPROVAL HIGH. . .

More than eight in ten respondents state they liked the booklet or liked it very well, as opposed to only 15 percent who express disfavor. High school students seem somewhat more critical than pupils of the other types of schools.

The one single reason most frequently given for approval of the booklet is the manner of presentation. Thus the comic-book-technique appears to win wide favor. Also many mention that they found the booklet instructive.

The few who professed not to like it mainly criticize the abundance of pictures. Others merely said they did not find the booklet very interesting.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, JANE ADDAMS LIKED BEST. . .

As to the specific biographies, boys, mostly in elementary school - like Washington best in the whole booklet, whereas girls - mostly in middle school - are particularly enthusiastic about Jane Addams. Certain general features of the whole publication are also mentioned as best-liked.

WHAT THEY LIKED LEAST. . .

Opinions scatter when children indicate what they liked least about the booklet. However, the most sizeable fraction claims that "there really wasn't anything they didn't like." With some respondents, Walt Whitman did not make much of an impression. Many high school pupils voice their dislike of some of the pictures, although in a previous question they declared that the pictures on the whole appealed to them.

MAJORITY IN FAVOR OF USING SUCH BOOKLETS IN CLASS-ROOM INSTRUCTION. . .

Nine out of ten pupils are for using the booklets in-class-room instruction. History and geography classes are most frequently mentioned as the classes where the booklet should be used. More high-school students than pupils of other schools would like to have such booklets for civics. This is probably due to the different type of curriculum in different schools; civics receives more emphasis in high school. The reasons cited for being against use in class-room instruction show general disfavor - but come from a very small fraction.

BOOKLETS WANTED IN SCHOOL LIBRARY. . .

Again nine out of ten would welcome being able to take this kind of reading matter out of their school library.

THEIR FRIENDS WOULD LIKE SUCH BOOKLETS TOO. . .

Here also a definite majority of youngsters (86%) state that their friends would like this kind of booklets too and about the same number of children who have shown themselves opposed to such a publication in two preceding questions say that their friends would not like it either.

THERE WERE SOME WORDS THE CHILDREN COULD NOT UNDERSTAND. . .

Three out of ten say that they could not understand some of the words. Girls seem to have had more trouble than boys. The percentage is lowest in high school, of course. But again, a majority (69%) read everything without difficulty.

PRINT FOR MOST CHILDREN LEGIBLE WITHOUT DIFFICULTY . . .

Only two out of ten say they could not read the print so well. No significant difference between high and elementary schools was found, as one might have been inclined to assume. The most frequent reason for not being able to read the print so well was "because everything is in capital letters."

TEXT AND PICTURES BOTH APPLAUDED. . .

Both the text and the pictures are liked by a majority of the children (text : 87%, pictures : 83%). High school students are somewhat less satisfied than students in other schools with the pictures in the booklet.

When the respondents are asked to voice their preference of either pictures or text, it turns out that in effect both are liked equally well; equal numbers of children name one or the other, except in middle school where the pictures were more popular than the text.

Most frequently cited explanation for this preference is that the pictures give a better idea of everything and a more rounded impression.

The text on the other hand was preferred by some because, as they say, it yields more information and instructive details.

MORE BOOKS OF THIS KIND DESIRED ; TO DEAL WITH VARIETY OF SUBJECTS. . .

Almost unanimously (96%) respondents indicated their wish to see more publications like "Eight Great Americans." In this general question most children say that they want to read about Germany ; others are interested in America or in countries besides Germany and the United States, or in the field of history.

WISH TO READ ABOUT AMERICA AND GERMANY EQUALLY PRONOUNCED; SUBJECTS OF INTEREST SIMILAR. . .

Between eight and nine out of ten children want to read booklets about America, and the same proportion would like to read about Germany. The subjects the children would be most interested in are similar for both countries, i.e. history, inventions, technical science, nature, etc. About America some would like to hear adventure tales, and the wild west seems to be just as popular with German adolescents as it is with American children of that age.

50 PERCENT OF THE PARENTS READ THE BOOK AND LIKED IT. . .

About 50% of the parents read the booklet. too, children inform us, and of these most were quoted as liking it.

- C -

R E S T R I C T E D

EVERYONE READ IT. . .

Practically every pupil read the booklet entirely or in part; two in three say they read all of it.

"Have you read the booklet?"

	Total	Boys	Girls	Elem. School	Middle School	High School
Yes, all of it	70%	73%	68%	70%	63%	75%
Yes, parts of it	29	27	31	29	31	27
No	<u>1</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>-</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

APPROVAL HIGH. . .

More than eight in ten respondents state that they liked the booklet or liked it very well, as opposed to only 15 percent who express disfavor. High school students seem somewhat more critical than pupils of the other types of schools.

"How did you like the booklet?"

I like it very much	29%	30%	23%	37%	26%	14%
I liked it	56	56	56	52	65	58
I didn't particularly like it	13	13	13	9	8	25
question not answered*	<u>-*</u>	<u>-*</u>	<u>-*</u>	<u>-*</u>	<u>1*</u>	<u>-*</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* As often happens with write-in questionnaires, some questions were left unanswered or unchecked. Thus the "question not answered" figures in the tables of this report mean that some respondents failed to check any of the answer boxes provided or did not write an answer to open-end questions.

The children were asked to give reasons for their judgment. Those who said they liked the booklet or liked it very much, advanced the reasons found in the table below. The one single reason most frequently given for approval of the booklet is the manner of presentation. Thus the comic-book-technique appears to win wide favor. Also many mention that they found the booklet instructive.

	Total	Boys	Girls	Elem. School	Middle School	High School
<u>Because I liked the presentation (it was clear, interesting, detailed):</u> Because of the pictures and the clear text; mostly the important events were given and no unimportant details; written in a clear and simple style; the booklet was excitingly written; etc.	33%	28%	37%	23%	54%	35%
<u>Because I could learn something from this booklet:</u> There were many great achievements I could learn about; I learned about the lives these people led and what they achieved; because I got to know some of the great Americans; as it is a vivid description of the life and the character of these Americans; because I got a small impression of the lives of the famous men of another country; etc.	25	29	23	21	31	30
<u>Because they made many inventions and worked for the good of the whole world:</u> Many inventions were made that helped the whole world; these eight Americans did a lot of good for mankind; because many good and useful inventions were made; every single one of them, man or woman, worked for the well-being of mankind, they have increased America's wealth thereby; etc.	7	8	6	12	3	1
<u>Because the Americans fought for their country and for freedom:</u> I saw that all these Americans actively worked for freedom and for the good of their people; because of the struggle for freedom; because they all contributed to the founding of their nation; the Americans battled for their fatherland and for the freedom of the whole world; etc.	6	7	6	11	2	-
<u>Because there were nice stories in this book:</u> I liked the book, because many of the stories appealed to me; I like to read stories like that; there were nice stories about great Americans; etc.	6	8	4	10	1	2
<u>Because they all interceded in favor of the poor and the suppressed; their kindness:</u> Because they did everything they possibly could to help the poor; in spite of their elevated positions and their wealth these men and women did not forget the poor; they were people who helped the poor and didn't suppress them; etc.	3	2	5	4	3	2
<u>Other opinions:</u> Because the booklet describes the way people fought for street-cleaning; because negroes too fight for freedom; because all of these people had the wish to learn; etc.	4	4	3	5	3	2
<u>No Opinion:</u>	2	3	1	4	-	-
<u>Question not answered:</u>	4	2	5	4	4	2
	90%**	91%	90%**	94%**	101%**	74%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer

Those who did not like the booklet particularly well or did not like it at all substantiated their judgment in the comments below. They mainly criticize the abundance of pictures. Others merely say they did not find the booklet very interesting.

Total Boys Girls Elem. Middle High School School School

Not enough text - too many pictures: Not enough about the individual personalities and the short comments are in most cases not clear enough; one could expect more of a booklet like this - too many pictures and not enough text; because this booklet contains very little text - just about two or three typewritten pages only; there were too many pictures, in a way everything was already explained - nothing was left to the imagination; it contains too many pictures in my opinion; etc.

5% 7% 3% 4% 5% 12%

It is not very interesting: I am not interested in it; because it was not very exciting; because I thought it boring; because something like that is of little interest to me; it doesn't contain anything of interest for Germany; etc.

2 1 3 2 1 3

It should be about Germany: I am of the opinion that we should rather learn something about Germans; why is there so much propaganda for America and why not for Germany?; I am of the opinion that the subject should rather be about 8 great Germans; etc.

2 2 2 3 - 1

The pictures did not make a big hit: The illustrations in this booklet are in my opinion better suited for a novel than for a historical book - those people who have never heard anything of these men could get a wrong idea about them; the pictures were kind of distracting; there was no order in the arrangement of the pictures; etc.

2 4 - - 9

It was difficult to understand - many foreign words: Because it was difficult to understand; I am of this opinion, because I did not understand many of the words; etc.

1 - 2 2 4 -

There was too much about war: Because they wrote so much about wars; because they treat the subject of war too much and I don't like that; etc.

1 - 3 5 -

Because the Americans are not popular: I didn't like the booklet too much because I don't like the Americans very much; because the Americans are not very popular with us; etc.

1 - 1 - -

Other opinions: Because we have nothing like that in Germany; I don't think that all of it is 100% true; a lot is superfluous; etc.

2 3 - - - 5

No opinion:

1 1 - 1 - -

Question not answered:

16% 15% 17% 11% 10% 30%

* Less than one half of one percent.
** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

In the following two questions the children were asked to indicate what they liked most about the booklet and what had not appealed to them.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, JANE ADDAMS LIKED BEST. . .

As to the specific biographies, boys - mostly in elementary school - like Washington best in the whole booklet, whereas girls - mostly in middle school - are particularly enthusiastic about Jane Addams. Certain general features of the whole publication are also mentioned as best-liked.

"What did you like most about the booklet?"

	Total	Boys	Girls	Elem. School	Middle School	High School
<u>George Washington:</u>	25%	43%	8%	36%	14%	11%
<u>Jane Addams:</u>	23	6	39	20	54	5
<u>Thomas Edison:</u>	19	25	14	24	19	9
<u>I especially liked the pictures: I liked the many illustrations - we get a clear picture of conditions at the time and the way people dressed then; the drawings of the main figures; etc.</u>	15	18	12	9	19	26
<u>George Carver:</u>	10	11	10	14	8	5
<u>Abraham Lincoln:</u>	9	12	6	8	13	8
<u>I liked all of it: I liked everything about it; I liked the whole booklet; etc</u>	8	8	3	2	2	24
<u>I liked certain characteristics of these Americans; their industriousness, their love of freedom and equality: They worked hard to achieve their goals; they were determined to get ahead; negroes are considered too; they gave their fortune to the poor and to the state, they helped the slaves acquire freedom; they contributed to the advancement of their country; etc.</u>	7	5	9	9	5	5
<u>I especially liked the text: The text was good and clear, etc.</u>	6	5	7	6	-	12
<u>Thomas Jefferson:</u>	6	7	6	7	8	3
<u>Walt Whitman:</u>	4	4	3	6	2	-
<u>Andrew Carnegie:</u>	4	7	2	5	1	5
<u>I am interested in reading about America: I like to read about the Americans; I am interested in learning about America's past; etc.</u>	1	2	*	*	*	5
<u>I didn't like any of it:</u>	1	1	1	1	-	2
<u>Other opinions: The landscape; the way Washington led the troops; etc.</u>	3	4	1	3	-	4
<u>Question not answered:</u>	2	*	3	1	*	2
	14%	15%	12%	15%	14%	12%

* Less than one half of one percent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

WHAT THEY LIKED LEAST

Opinions scatter when children indicate what they liked least about the booklet. However, the most sizeable fraction claims that "there really wasn't anything they didn't like." With some respondents, Walt Whitman did not make much of an impression. Many high-school pupils voice their dislike of some of the pictures, although in a previous question they declared that the pictures on the whole appealed to them.

"And what did you like least about the booklet?"

	Total	Boys	Girls	Elem. School	Middle School	High School
<u>There was nothing I didn't like:</u>	16%	22%	11%	20%	3%	12%
<u>Walt Whitman:</u>	14	15	13	11	16	20
<u>I didn't like the pictures (or some of the pictures):</u>	10	7	13	2	3	33
<u>Thomas Jefferson:</u>	6	8	4	7	6	3
<u>George Carver:</u>	6	5	6	7	6	3
<u>Andrew Carnegie:</u>	6	6	7	6	13	1
<u>Jane Addams:</u>	6	12	1	9	2	3
<u>Abraham Lincoln:</u>	5	3	7	6	10	-
<u>George Washington:</u>	5	*	6	2	18	-
<u>I would have liked to read about certain other Americans (i.e. Franklin, Tesla):</u>	4	7	2	3	1	-
<u>I liked the print least of all:</u>	3	2	3	2	6	2
<u>I didn't like the way the text was printed into some of the pictures:</u>	3	1	4	1	2	6
<u>I liked the text least of all:</u>	2	2	1	-	2	4
<u>Thomas Edison:</u>	2	2	2	2	3	-
<u>There were so many words I didn't know and couldn't understand:</u>	1	-	2	1	1	-
<u>I didn't like the way the slaves were treated:</u>	1	-	2	2	-	-
<u>Other opinions:</u> That there was so much shooting - just as in Germany; too many private details, not exciting enough; there is nothing one could do about that, but the people lived pretty much the same kind of life; etc.	3	4	3	2	4	5
<u>No opinion:</u>	1	*	2	2	-	-
<u>Question not asked:</u>	13	14	13	18	8	9
	107%	110%	104%	103%	109%	103%

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

MAJORITY IN FAVOR OF USING SUCH BOOKLETS IN CLASS-ROOM INSTRUCTION.

Fine out of ten pupils are for using the booklet in class-room instruction. History and geography classes are most frequently mentioned as the classes where the booklet should be used. More high school students than pupils of other schools would like to have such booklets for civics. This is probably due to the different type of curriculum in different schools; civics receives more emphasis in high school. The reasons cited for being against use in class-room instruction show general disfavor - but come from a very small fraction.

"Would you be for or against using such booklets in class room instruction?"

	Total	Boys	Girls	Elem. School	Middle School	High School
For it	93%	93%	94%	93%	99%	89%
Against it	7	7	6	6	1	11
Question not answered	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Those who said they would be for using such booklets in class room instruction also stated in which courses they should be used.

"In which class should they be used?"

	Total	Boys	Girls	Elem. School	Middle School	High School
In history class	71%	66%	75%	64%	84%	73%
In geography class	35	38	34	32	39	40
In civics	14	21	7	3	1	46
In German class	12	11	14	11	18	11
In botany	12	10	13	9	25	8
In English class	4	2	6	4	11	-
In all classes	1	1	1	1	-	1
In other classes: music, handicraft, sports, arithmetic, religion;	4	5	4	4	4	5
No opinion	1	2	-	2	-	-
Question not answered:	<u>2</u> 156%**	<u>3</u> 159%**	<u>1</u> 155%**	<u>3</u> 133%**	<u>1</u> 133%**	<u>1</u> 135%**

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

RESTRICTED

The few who were opposed to the idea of using similar booklets in class-room instruction reasoned as follows:

"Why are you against using such booklets in class-room instruction?"

	Total	Boys	Girls	Elem. School	Middle School	High School
<u>We can't learn anything from these booklets:</u> There is nothing one can learn from them; then we would learn even less than we do now; etc.	2%	1%	2%	2%	1%	2%
<u>Not suitable, because there are too many pictures:</u> There is almost nothing but pictures, like in picture books; they are more like picture books than like school books; the pictures are distracting; it is hard to concentrate on the text; etc.	1	1	1	-	-	5
<u>We should be taught about Germany in the first place:</u> Because we want to learn about Germany most of all; as I want to hear about the Germans; etc.	1	1	2	2	-	*
<u>There are enough text books:</u> There are enough text books for every subject; in class I think it would be better to use our proper text books; etc.	1	1	*	-	1	1
<u>Too much propaganda is made for the Americans:</u> These booklets are used for propaganda purposes; the Americans are always pushed into the foreground; etc.	1	1	-	1	-	1
<u>Other opinions:</u> They are not suitable for any of the classes we have; etc.	*	-	1	-	-	1
<u>No opinion:</u>	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Question not answered:</u>	$\frac{1}{7\%}$	$\frac{2}{7\%}$	$\frac{*}{6\%}$	$\frac{1}{6\%}$	$\frac{-}{1\%}$	$\frac{1}{11\%}$

* Less than one half of one percent.

BOOKLETS WANTED IN SCHOOL LIBRARY ...

Again nine out of ten would welcome being able to take this kind of reading matter out of their school library.

"Would you welcome it, if your school library had such booklets for you to take out, or not?"

	Total	Boys	Girls	Elem. School	Middle School	High School
Would welcome it	91%	92%	91%	92%	97%	86%
Would not welcome it	7	7	7	6	2	11
question not answered	2	1	2	2	1	3
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

THEIR FRIENDS WOULD LIKE SUCH BOOKLETS TOO ...

Here also a definite majority of youngsters (86%) state that their friends would like this kind of booklet too, and about the same number of children who have shown themselves opposed to such a publication in two preceding questions say that their friends would not like it either.

"Do you think that your friends would like to read such booklets?"

	36%	36%	36%	37%	91%	81%
Yes	7	6	7	6	5	8
No	4	5	3	4	2	6
No opinion	3	3	4	3	2	5
question not answered	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Two questions were asked pertaining to whether the children could read the print easily and whether there were any difficult words in the text.

THERE WERE SOME WORDS THE CHILDREN COULD NOT UNDERSTAND ...

Three out of ten say that they could not understand some of the words. Girls seem to have more trouble than boys. The percentage is lowest in high schools, of course. But again, a majority (69%) read everything without difficulty.

"Were there any words in the text that you didn't understand, or could you understand everything?"

	30%	14%	44%	32%	35%	19%
Some words I couldn't understand	69	86	55	67	65	80
Could understand everything	1	*	1	1	-	1
question not answered	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

* Less than one half of one per cent.

PRINT FOR MOST CHILDREN LEGIBLE WITHOUT DIFFICULTY ...

Only two out of ten say they could not read the print so well. No significant difference between high and elementary schools was found, as one might have been inclined to assume. The most frequent reason for not being able to read the print so well was "because everything is in capital letters."

"Were you able to read the print easily, or not?"

	Total	Boys	Girls	Elem. School	Middle School	High School
Able to read easily	82%	86%	79%	81%	89%	80%
Not able to read easily	17	13	20	18	10	20
Question not answered	1	1	1	1	1	-
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

All of those who stated that the legibility of the print was poor, explained their opinion in the commentaries below:

"Why couldn't you read the print too well?"

Because everything was in capital letters and the letters were cramped: Because it was all in capital letters, and it was hard to distinguish nouns from other words; the letters were so close together; the letters were unclear; it would have been better to have capital and small letters; a different type should have been used; etc.

11% 9% 13% 12% 8% 13%

The print was bad, unclear, confusing: It was a bad printing job; it was hard to read the print because it was so unclear and weak; normal print should have been used; etc.

3 2 4 3 2 4

Because there were many unfamiliar words: I couldn't read it because there were so many hard words that I didn't know; many words I had never heard of; etc.

2 1 3 3 - 1

Because one couldn't tell where the text continued: Sometimes I didn't know where to continue; it was not always easy to recognize the sequence; etc.

* 1 - - - 2

Other opinions: Because it was printed; etc.

1 * * * * - 1
17% 13% 20% 18% 10% 21%**

* Less than one half of one percent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer

Both the text and the pictures are liked by a majority of the children (text: 87%, pictures: 88%). High school students are somewhat less satisfied than students in other schools with the pictures in the booklet.

When the respondents are asked to voice their preference of either pictures or text; it turns out that in effect both are liked equally well; equal numbers of children name one or the other, except in middle school where the pictures were more popular than the text.

"Did you like the text, or didn't you particularly like the text?"

	Total	Boys	Girls	Elem. School	Middle School	High School
Liked the text	87%	87%	88%	91%	88%	81%
Didn't particularly like the text	11	11	11	8	11	17
No opinion	1	1	-	*	-	1
Question not answered	1	1	1	1	1	1
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Did you like the pictures?"

Yes	88%	93%	85%	96%	98%	65%
No	9	5	12	3	2	26
No opinion	2	1	2	-	-	6
Question not answered	1	1	1	1	-	3
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Which did you prefer: pictures or text? (We want you to tell us, which you liked better; please decide for one or the other)."

Pictures	44%	40%	48%	38%	71%	35%
Text	42	39	45	39	23	64
Both	13	20	6	22	5	-
Neither/nor	*	*	-	-	-	1
Question not answered	1	1	1	1	1	-
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

* Less than one half of one percent

Those who were in favor of the pictures gave the following comments to support their preference.

Most frequently cited explanation for this preference is that the pictures give a better idea of everything and a more rounded impression.

"And why did you prefer the pictures?"

	Total	Boys	Girls	Elem. School	Middle School	High School
<u>One could learn from them, get a better idea of everything: Reading the text alone doesn't give me enough of an idea; because I can imagine reality more easily with pictures; one could see what the people looked like; from the pictures one could frequently understand without reading the text; etc.</u>	21%	15%	27%	13%	50%	14%
<u>The pictures were well-done (i.e. entertaining, nicely drawn, natural): The pictures were nice; they were natural; they showed a lot of imagination; because they showed every detail; because they were good illustrations and very interesting too; etc.</u>	15	16	12	16	12	16
<u>I liked the pictures better than the text: text wasn't so good: I prefer the pictures because the text wasn't very interesting; the text was so short; the text consisted of fragments; etc.</u>	4	4	3	2	7	6
<u>Other opinions: Because of the nice architecture I could see; etc.</u>	2	2	2	2	1	2
<u>Question not answered:</u>	$\frac{3}{45\%}$ **	$\frac{3}{42\%}$ **	$\frac{5}{49\%}$ **	$\frac{6}{39\%}$ **	$\frac{1}{71\%}$	$\frac{2}{38\%}$ **

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer

The text on the other hand was preferred by some because, as they say, it yields more information and instructive details.

"And why did you prefer the text?"

	Total	Boys	Girls	Elem. School	Middle School	High School
--	-------	------	-------	--------------	---------------	-------------

There was much more in the text: There was much more information in the text; it was easier to comprehend the content of the stories; the text makes it easier to think about the booklet; etc.

11%	13%	9%	10%	7%	14%
-----	-----	----	-----	----	-----

The text was instructive, interesting, and explained the whole booklet: The text was very interesting; we got acquainted with the life of great Americans; the text gave the summary of all that these people did; it was very instructive; there were dates to learn; one could learn something from the text and not from the pictures; I could learn many new words; one has to imagine the meaning of pictures, but the text explains everything; etc.

9	4	13	7	12	10
---	---	----	---	----	----

The text was well-written, I liked the style: The text was short and concise; it was all very detailed and easy to understand; etc.

7	8	6	9	1	8
---	---	---	---	---	---

I didn't like the pictures: Some of the pictures were in poor taste; some of the pictures were unclear; whereas the text was simple and easy to understand; the pictures were not well-drawn, it was difficult to recognize the people; the pictures seemed strange to me; etc.

6	4	7	-	-	22
---	---	---	---	---	----

The text is more important; pictures wouldn't mean much alone (general): Because text is more important, it explains what pictures represent; from the text one can imagine the pictures, but if new books are to be printed, please, have both text and pictures; etc.

5	8	3	6	1	7
---	---	---	---	---	---

There were certain facts that I could learn from the text: One could see how the people live in America; I saw how the slaves were freed; the wealth and size of that country; the way scientists are interested in every human being and help the poor; etc.

3	2	6	4	3	4
---	---	---	---	---	---

Question not answered:

$\frac{2}{43\%}$ **	$\frac{1}{40\%}$ **	$\frac{2}{46\%}$ **	$\frac{3}{39\%}$ **	$\frac{-}{24\%}$ **	$\frac{1}{66\%}$
---------------------	---------------------	---------------------	---------------------	---------------------	------------------

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

MORE BOOKS OF THIS KIND DESIRED; TO DEAL WITH VARIETY OF SUBJECTS ...

Almost unanimously (96%) respondents indicated their wish to see more publications like "Eight Great Americans." In this general question most children say that they want to read about Germany; others are interested in America or in countries besides Germany and the United States, or in the field of history.

"If you would like to read more booklets that are printed the way this is with pictures and text, please name us a few subjects that you would like them to deal with?"

	Total	Boys	Girls	Elem. School	Middle School	High School
Would like to read more booklets of this kind, about... (see comments and frequency of mention in subsequent table)	96%	96%	95%	95%	99%	96%
Would not like to read more booklets of this kind.	$\frac{3}{1}$	$\frac{3}{1}$	$\frac{4}{1}$	$\frac{4}{1}$	$\frac{1}{-}$	$\frac{3}{1}$
Question not answered	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"... please name us a few subjects that you would like them to deal with."

	Total	Boys	Girls	Elem. School	Middle School	High School
<u>About Germany (great Germans, etc.):</u>						
German writers and poets; great Germans; the middle ages in Germany; ancient Germany, Silesia and Mevania; etc.	21%	16%	24%	16%	21%	29%
<u>About other countries: Switzerland; Bulgaria, Roumania, Hungary, Greece; Turkey, Persia, India, China and Africa; Asia and Australia; Tibet, Russia; Greenland; Mexico; Buenos Aires and Canada; Spain; etc.</u>	20	15	25	14	34	23
<u>About the history of the world and geography: The history of great men in the whole world; interesting facts and reports on important men; history and geography; etc.</u>	19	21	16	13	17	33
<u>About Industry, science, engineering; also nature: The production of iron ores; the technical development; engineering and electricity; chemical science; animal life; natural science; birds, reptiles, mammals, amphibious animals; etc.</u>	14	19	10	9	18	23
<u>About America (specific fields): I want to read about Texas; life in the American jungle and about Indians; the negroes; the part of the country where the negroes live; etc.</u>	13	16	8	19	8	4
<u>More about some of the people that were in this book:</u>	12	6	15	15	13	4
<u>About America in general: What conditions generally are in America; I would like a booklet all about America; etc.</u>	8	5	10	10	6	4
<u>About America history: What the history of America is; about the discovery of America and pioneer days; the history of the protestants in America; the war between the Northern and the Southern states; wars of freedom in America; the foundation of America; etc.</u>	7	10	5	9	3	6
<u>About children and schools in America: About the kids in the United States; about schools in America; the kind of life children lead in America; etc.</u>	2	-	3	3	-	-
<u>Other opinions: Exciting adventure tales; trips to the North pole; etc.</u>	4	1	8	1	16	2
<u>No opinions:</u>	*	1	-	*	-	-
<u>Question not answered:</u>	$\frac{2}{122}$	$\frac{3}{117}$	$\frac{1}{123}$	$\frac{3}{112}$	$\frac{1}{137}$	$\frac{1}{129}$

* Less than one half of one percent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

WISH TO READ ABOUT AMERICA AND GERMANY EQUALLY PRONOUNCED; SUBJECTS
OF INTEREST SIMILAR ...

Between eight and nine out of ten children want to read booklets about America, and the same proportion would like to read about Germany. The subjects the children would be most interested in are similar for both countries; i.e. history, inventions, technical science, nature, etc. About America some would like to hear adventure tales and the wild west seems to be just as popular with German adolescents as it is with American children of that age.

"Would you like to read more booklets of this kind about America, or wouldn't you like to read further booklets about America?"

	Total	Boys	Girls	Elem. School	Middle School	High School
Would like to read more book- lets about America	85%	88%	82%	87%	83%	83%
Would not like to read more booklets about America	15	12	17	12	17	17
Question not answered:	$\frac{0}{100\%}$	$\frac{0}{100\%}$	$\frac{1}{100\%}$	$\frac{1}{100\%}$	$\frac{0}{100\%}$	$\frac{0}{100\%}$

"What would you like to read about America?"

About America in general: Life in America;
what America looks like; the present con-
ditions in America; everything about Ame-
rica; country and people; etc.

20% 19% 21% 18% 19% 25%

Exciting adventure tales: Texas, cowboys;
wildwest stories; adventures in the jungle;
adventure stories, something exciting;
etc.

16 22 10 19 12 11

The history and development of America:
History of America; civil war in America;
discovery of America; Columbus; the devel-
opment of America; the structure of Ame-
rica; etc.

15 21 10 11 13 26

Inventors, and inventions; discoveries,
technical science: Perhaps about inventions
and discoveries; about famous inventors;
what was invented and created in America;
famous scholars and inventors; etc.

13 16 10 8 14 22

About nature, animals, farms: Biology and
botany; American countryside; about animals
in America; plants; ranch and farm life;
horses in Arizona; breeding of horses;
etc.

9 12 6 10 4 10

More about the great Americans in this
booklet:

8 4 11 8 11 4

(cont'd on next page)

	Total	Boys	Girls	Elem. School	Middle School	High School
--	-------	------	-------	--------------	---------------	-------------

More great Americans, statesmen, presidents: About the life of great American statesmen; other great Americans; presidents; the life of Henry Ford and people like him; etc.

	6%	5%	6%	4%	2%	12%
--	----	----	----	----	----	-----

About American culture, poets, musicians, architects: Cultural life in America; poets and musicians; how America educates herself from a cultural point of view; architects of famous buildings; etc.

	6	6	6	5	9	6
--	---	---	---	---	---	---

Other opinions: Possibilities of employment; South America; I am interested in how intelligent the Americans are; etc.

	8	8	9	7	9	12
--	---	---	---	---	---	----

No opinion:

	1	1	2	2	-	1
--	---	---	---	---	---	---

Question not answered:

	8	6	10	10	10	3
	110%**	120%**	101%**	102%**	103%**	132%**

"Would you like to read booklets of this kind about Germany, or wouldn't you like to read such booklets about Germany?"

Would like to read such booklets about Germany

	89%	88%	92%	90%	90%	90%
--	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

Would not like to read such booklets about Germany

	9	10	7	8	10	10
--	---	----	---	---	----	----

No opinion:

	1	1	1	*	1	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.
 ** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

What would you like to read about Germany?

	Total	Boys	Girls	Elem. School	Middle School	High School
<u>About the history of Germany: Germany's past; the thirty years' war; the world war; medieval Germany; the "Badische Revolution"; what conditions in all of Germany were like during the war; the third Reich; etc.</u>	24%	30%	19%	23%	18%	33%
<u>About famous Germans, Statesmen, emperors and kings, chancellors: German statesmen; about German chancellors; great Germans; I don't know the great men of Germany yet; emperors and kings; Charlemagne; etc.</u>	21	11	30	14	40	20
<u>About German countryside; cities, buildings, provincial geography; About the sea; the Alps and the Northern Sea; provincial geography; towns and ports; ancient Frankfurt; the North Sea islands; about Hesse; etc.</u>	14	16	14	14	16	15
<u>About German inventions and inventors, discoveries: I would be interested in reading about inventions made in Germany; about discoverers and scientists; about those who discovered medical drugs; etc.</u>	13	11	14	11	19	12
<u>About German poets, artists and their works: About great German poets; poets; famous musicians; German artists and musicians; Beethoven and his works; the art of saga-writing; etc.</u>	13	7	17	10	19	14
<u>About industry, engineering: Industry along the Ruhr, production of automobiles; iron and coal industry; technical science; etc.</u>	5	9	2	5	1	9
<u>About everything in Germany; Everything; all fields; I am a German and would like to read about everything German; etc.</u>	4	4	5	6	1	3
<u>About sports:</u>	3	6	1	2	2	7
<u>About farming:</u>	2	3	1	2	1	2
<u>Other opinions: Whether Hitler is still alive; about the colonies; about the chances of employment; etc.</u>	3	1	4	4	1	2
<u>No opinion:</u>	1	1	1	2	-	-
<u>Question not answered:</u>	6	4	7	7	4	3
	109%**	103%**	115%**	100%	122%**	120%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

50 PERCENT OF THE PARENTS READ THE BOOK AND LIKED IT ...

The children were then queried whether their parents had read the booklet and how they liked it.

About 50% of the parents read the booklet too, children inform us, and of those, most were quoted as liking it.

"Did your parents read the booklet?"

	Total	Boys	Girls	Elem. School	Middle School	High School
Yes	55%	54%	56%	54%	59%	53%
No	44	45	43	45	38	47
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>-</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The sum of the percentages in the table below corresponds to the percentage of parents who had read the booklet.

"Did your parents like the booklet, or didn't they particularly like it?"

Liked it	42%	41%	43%	44%	50%	32%
Didn't particularly like it	11	11	10	8	7	16
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>
	55%	54%	56%	54%	59%	53%

FACTUAL BACKGROUND INFORMATION

No. of Cases	465	100%
Boys	224	48%
Girls	239	52%
Elementary school	250	54%
Middle school	97	21%
High school	118	25%

Age:

10 years of age	1%
11 " " "	7
12 " " "	28
13 " " "	37
14 " " "	22
15 " " "	5
	<u>100%</u>

Breadwinner:

	Total	Boys	Girls	Elem. School	Middle School	High School
Father	82%	82%	82%	79%	73%	92%
Mother	27	23	30	28	43	10
Brother, sister	14	20	9	22	8	4
Uncle, aunt	7	9	6	8	8	6
Others	2	2	1	2	1	2
question not answered	2	2	2	2	-	2
	<u>134%**</u>	<u>138%**</u>	<u>130%**</u>	<u>141%**</u>	<u>138%**</u>	<u>116%**</u>

Profession of the breadwinner:

Professional	13%	12%	13%	4%	7%	35%
Business and managerial	20	16	24	11	27	34
Clerical	24	26	23	25	33	14
Skilled labor	21	23	20	30	18	7
Semi-skilled labor	5	6	10	11	8	1
Domestic service	3	2	3	4	2	1
Farmers and farm laborers	*	1	*	-	-	3
Housewives	*	1	-	*	-	1
Unemployed, none, retired, pensioners	3	1	4	3	5	1
question not answered	6	10	2	9	-	3
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer

List of the selected Frankfurt schools, where children between the ages of 10 and 15 were interviewed:

<u>Name of school</u>	<u>Type of school</u>
Theobald-Ziegler-Schule	Elementary school
Ackermann Schule	"
Brentano Schule	"
Robert-Blum-Schule	"
Guenthersburg-Schule	"
Weidenborn-Mittelschule	Middle school
Bismark-Mittelschule	"
Heinrich von Gagern-Gymnasium	High school
Schiller - Realgymnasium	"
Lessing - Gymnasium	"

DISTRIBUTION:

E & L

HUHR LINERS SPECIFY THEIR HOUSING WANTS

Classification cancelled
by authority of Leo P. Crespi
PUB/RAS
March 20, 1951

R E S T R I C T E D

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

R E S T R I C T E D

INTRODUCTION ...

This survey of Ruhr miners' housing preferences was conducted by Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, at the request of the Housing Section, Industry Division of Office of Economic Affairs, HICOG. Its purpose was to obtain information from currently ill-housed miners which would be useful in carrying out the Marshall Plan housing project now being planned for the Ruhr.

The interviews were made on March 1, 2 and 3, 1951, and respondents were given a brief explanation of the purpose of the study before they were asked for their preferences and suggestions.* Miners and their wives apparently welcomed this chance to express their views, and responded willingly and with interest in all but a negligible fraction of the cases. They showed very decided opinions on the issues presented to them.

HIGHLIGHTS ...

Of the findings contained in this report, the following would seem to shed the most light on the factor of miners' preferences in planning the Marshall Plan housing project.

- ... Two thirds of the respondents would prefer moving into a moderate sized dwelling in the fall, to waiting until spring for a larger one.
- ... Almost half of the mining families would pack a two room apartment (with kitchen and storage space in addition) at 30 DM rent, if given a choice of apartments varying in size from one to five rooms at correspondingly scaled rents.
- ... Keeping a lodger is generally viewed with disfavor, seven in ten vetoing the idea.
- ... Being close to the pit is not considered a sufficient inducement to give up extra housing space by six in ten of the families.
- ... Even if it meant higher rent, three fourths of the miners would prefer having a bathroom to having a storage room if such a choice were necessary.
- ... More than seven in ten of the respondents would prefer to have a kitchenette (Kochnische) in a new apartment to having a kitchen-living room (Wohnkueche).
- ... Stove heating (Ofenheizung) is preferred over central heating by eight in ten of the mining families.
- ... Eight in ten would prefer drying their laundry in space in the attic (Trockenboden) to using drying machines for this purpose in the basement.
- ... Even if somewhat more rent were charged for apartments with gardens, nine in ten of the mining families would willingly pay the extra amount to have the gardens.
- ... Three quarters of the mining families would not want to buy their apartments on the installment plan in new dwelling units.

* See Appendix A for a more detailed explanation of the sample and field work for the survey.

- a -

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

MORE EMPHASIS DESIRED ON SPEED THAN ON SIZE IN CONSTRUCTION PLANS ...

The desire to move out of present cramped quarters as soon as possible outweighs interest in increased living quarters. Two thirds of the respondents would prefer moving into a moderate sized dwelling in the fall, to waiting until spring for a larger one. Men are somewhat more willing to wait for more room than are their wives.

"Which would you prefer: to move into a new apartment this coming fall which provides just sufficient room for you and your family, or move into an apartment next spring which provides somewhat more room for you and your family?"

	Total	Men ¹	Women ¹
Fall	63%	59%	70%
Spring	35	38	29
No opinion	2	3	1
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Two and three room apartments are favored by most Ruhr miners. Almost half of the mining families would pick a two room apartment (with kitchen and storage space in addition) at 30 DM rent, if given a choice of one to five room apartments at correspondingly scaled rents. Another third would want three rooms at 35 DM.

"Suppose you could choose one of those five apartments, which one would you take?" (Respondent was shown a card containing the choices.)

Each apartment would contain a storage room.

	Total	Men	Women
1-room apartment and kitchen for 25 DM rent	11%	12%	9%
2-room apartment and kitchen for 30 DM rent	16	17	15
3-room apartment and kitchen for 35 DM rent	35	37	31
4-room apartment and kitchen for 40 DM rent	7	7	7
5-room apartment and kitchen for 45 DM rent	1	3	-
No opinion	*	*	-
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

¹ Figures presented for men and women and other breakdown figures throughout this report should be considered suggestive only, because of the small number of cases.

* Less than one half of one per cent.

RESTRICTED

Two room apartments are the predominant choice of all families except those with five or more members. But even among these larger family groups, three in ten prefer a two room apartment at a monthly rent of £. 30.

Monthly income and amount of rent now being paid seem to have only slight relation to the miners' choices. Four and five room apartments are chosen with any frequency at all only by those with the largest income.

"Suppose you could choose one of these five apartments, which one would you take?"

	<u>One room</u>	<u>Two rooms</u>	<u>Three rooms</u>	<u>Four or Five</u> <u>rooms</u>	
<u>Number in family:</u>					
2 persons	23%	56%	13%	3%	... 100%
3 persons	13	54	32	1	
4 persons	7	48	38	7	
5 or more persons	3	30	46	21	
<u>Monthly income:</u>					
Under 300 £	18%	49%	31%	2%	
300 - 399 £	9	48	36	7	
400 £ and over	4	37	37	22	
<u>Present monthly rent:</u>					
Under 15 £	14%	44%	34%	8%	
15 £ and over	5	50	35	10	

Almost half of those who would want one, two, or three rooms say that is all the room they need, when asked why they wouldn't pick larger apartments. But four in ten claim the projected rent would be too high on the larger apartments.

Those who chose one, two or three room apartments in the previous question were asked:

"Why would you not choose a larger apartment?"

	Total	Men	Women
Don't need more room	47%	51%	41%
Rent too high	38	35	41
Not enough furniture	18	15	22
Others ...	1	2	*
	104%**	103%**	104%**

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer, so that figures total more than those choosing one, two, or three room apartments.

R E S T R I C T E D

LODGERS GENERALLY UNWANTED ...

Keeping a lodger is generally viewed with disfavor, even if an extra room were provided for him. Seven in ten veto the idea. It would appear that even fewer wives than husbands are interested in the proposal, probably because the bulk of work and bother involved would fall to them.

"Would you be prepared to take a lodger into a new apartment, if you were to get an additional room for that purpose, or would you not want to take a lodger?"

	Total	Men	Women
Lodger	31%	35%	24%
No lodger	69	63	76
Qualified answer	*	1	-
No opinion	*	1	-
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Whether or not to keep a lodger was a choice that was unaffected by age of the respondent. Both age groups were equally unfavorable to the idea.

"Would you be prepared to take a lodger into a new apartment, if you were to get an additional room for that purpose, or would you not want to take a lodger?"

	<u>Under 30 years</u>	<u>Over 30 years</u>
Lodger	28%	33%
No lodger	70	67
Qualified answer	1	-
No opinion	1	-
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

PROXIMITY TO MINE NOT AS IMPORTANT AS EXTRA SPACE, NEARBY SHOPPING AREA ...

Nearness to the pit is not so important a factor as adequate housing space to six in ten of the families. Women more than men appear to feel that proximity to the mines outweighs greater space.

"Which would you prefer: a new apartment which provides just sufficient room for you and your family, situated only a half kilometer from the mine, or a new apartment which provides a little more room for you and your family, situated four kilometers away from the mine?"

	Total	Men	Women
One half km	42%	36%	50%
4 km	58	64	49
No answer	*	-	1
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

* Less than one half of one per cent.

RESTRICTED

Related to this result is the finding that two thirds of the families would prefer living near a shopping district to living close to the pit.

"If you had to choose one or the other, where would you rather live: close to the mine, or in an area where a shopping center would be nearby?"

	Total	Men	Women
Close to the mine	32%	28%	38%
Near shopping center	66	71	60
No opinion	2	1	2
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

MOST WANT A BATHROOM ...

Even if it meant higher rent, three fourths of the miners would prefer having a bathroom to having a storage room if such a choice were necessary. And most of those who want the bathroom would not accept a shower rather than a tub, even for less additional rent.

"Would you rather have a bath-room than a storage room, even if you had to pay a little more rent, or would you then prefer not to have a bath-room?"

	Total	Men	Women
Bath-room	76%	80%	71%
No bath-room	24	20	29
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Those who answered "bath-room" were asked:

"Would you rather have a shower than a bathtub, if the additional rent would thus be less, or not?"

	Total	Men	Women
Yes, shower	13%	14%	11%
No	63	66	59
No answer	-	-	1
	<u>76%</u>	<u>80%</u>	<u>71%</u>

KITCHENETTE RATHER THAN KITCHEN-LIVING ROOM ...

Although tradition would seem to indicate a preference for a combination living-room and kitchen (Wohnkueche) rather than a kitchenette (Kochnische) this is not borne out by the findings. More than seven in ten of the respondents would prefer to have a kitchenette in a new apartment to having a kitchen-living room.

"What would you rather have in a new apartment: a kitchen - living room (Wohnkueche) or a kitchenette (Kochnische) and in effect an additional room?"

	Total	Men	Women
Kitchen-living room	27%	29%	23%
Kitchenette	73	70	77
No opinion	*	1	-
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

* Less than one half of one per cent.

The expectation that older people would be more in favor of a kitchen-living room than would the younger group also was not fulfilled in the results, which show no age difference at all on this question.

"What would you rather have in a new apartment: a kitchen-living room (Wohnküche) or a kitchenette (Kochnische) and in effect an additional room?"

	<u>Under 30 years</u>	<u>30 years and over</u>
Kitchen-living room	27%	26%
Kitchenette	73	73
No opinion	-	1
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

CENTRAL HEATING SPURNED ...

Stove heating (Ofenheizung) is preferred over central heating by eight in ten of the mining families, when presented with the simple either/or choice.** Most of those who would choose central heating would be willing to pay slightly more rent to have it.

"Would you rather have central heating or stove heating in a new apartment?"

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
Central heating	19%	18%	21%
Stove heating	81	82	78
Qualified answer	*	-	1
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Those who answered "central heating" were asked:

"Would you be willing to pay 4 DM more monthly rent for central heating or would you rather do without central heating under these conditions?"

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
4 DM more rent	16%	15%	17%
Rather do without	3	3	4
	<u>19%</u>	<u>18%</u>	<u>21%</u>

DRYING MACHINES WOULD BE UNPOPULAR ...

As with house heating, the old tried and true method is widely preferred for drying clothes. Here too, eight in ten would prefer drying their laundry in space in the attic (Trockenboden) to using drying machines for this purpose in the basement.

"What would you rather have for laundry drying: drying space in the attic, or drying machines that would be set up in the cellar?"

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
Drying space in the attic	82%	80%	84%
Drying machines	17	18	15
No answer and no opinion	1	2	1
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** This choice is, however, complicated by the system of providing the miners with "Deputat Kohle" free of charge which they use to heat their homes, and sell the excess. The advent of central heating would perhaps halt this system.

RESTRICTED

GARDENS ARE A "LUST" ...

Even if apartments with gardens mean somewhat higher rent, nine in ten of the mining families would willingly pay the extra amount to have the gardens. And most of those who want a garden would want an animal pen too, with the largest number again willing to pay more rent to have it ready-built for them.

"Would you like to have a garden included with a new apartment, even if you had to pay a little more rent for it, or would you rather not have a garden?"

	Total	Men	Women
Garden	88%	88%	88%
No garden	<u>12</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>12</u>
	100%	100%	100%

Those who answered "garden included with a new apartment" were asked: "Would you like to build your own pen for domestic animals - would you be willing to pay a little more rent if the pen were already built - or would you not want a pen?"

	Total	Men	Women
Build own pen	29%	30%	27%
Pay more rent	50	49	52
No pen	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>
	88%	88%	88%

WOULDN'T BUY THEIR APARTMENT ...

Three quarters of the mining families would not want to buy their new apartments on the installments plan. Most of these give as their reason that they couldn't afford to pay higher rent entailed in buying them.

"Would you want to buy an apartment in a new large apartment house, paying for it in monthly installments in the form of higher rent, or not?"

	Total	Men	Women
Would want to buy	23%	29%	16%
Would not want to buy	74	70	79
Qualified answer	1	1	1
No opinion	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>4</u>
	100%	100%	100%

Those who answered "would not want to buy" were asked: "Why wouldn't you want to buy such an apartment?"

	Total	Men	Women
I can't afford it	48%	39%	61%
I don't intend to remain here very long; don't want to be tied	11	13	7
Others	<u>16</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>11</u>
	75%	72%	79%

* Per cents add to more than those not wanting to buy because some respondents gave more than one answer.

RESTRICTED

Here again age played no significant part in the decision:

"Would you want to buy an apartment in a new large apartment house, paying for it in monthly installments in the form of higher rent, or not?"

	<u>Under 30 years</u>	<u>30 years and over</u>
Would want to buy	26%	20%
Would not want to buy	71	77
Qualified answer	-	2
No opinion	3	1
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

BETTER THAN AVERAGE HOUSING WANTED, EVEN IF FEWER MINERS HOUSED ...

A preponderance of the miners queried feel that if they had the Marshall Plan money to allot, they would construct better, more substantial apartments than average, even if that meant that fewer miners could be housed, rather than use the money to accommodate more miners in average homes.

"A certain sum of money has been set aside for the construction of houses for miners. Suppose you had to decide how the money was to be spent:

Would you

- A. construct as many apartments as possible to house as many miners as possible, even if the individual apartments are not more substantial and better than the average new apartments for the working population;

Or would you

- B. construct the apartments so that they would be better and more substantial than the average new apartments for the working population, even if then not so many miners could be housed?"

	Total	Men	Women
A	43%	44%	41%
B	55	56	54
No opinion	2	-	5
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

SPLIT DECISIONS ON FLAT VS. GABLE ROOFS ...

Opinions are almost evenly divided on whether or not the available money should be spent for more apartments with the cheaper flat roofs (Flach-daecher) or for fewer apartments with the traditional gable roofs. The women are more willing to see the apartments built with flat roofs than are their husbands.

And how would you decide in the following case?

- A. The apartment houses should be built with flat roofs. Flat roofs are cheaper than gabled roofs, therefore more houses could be constructed and more miners could be housed.
- B. The apartment houses should be built as before with gabled roofs, although a gabled roof is more expensive and fewer miners could be housed.

	Total	Men	Women
A	52%	46%	59%
B	46	53	38
No opinion	2	1	3
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

RESTRICTED

PRESENT PROBLEMS ...

Respondents were very articulate about the disadvantages of their present dwellings. Most frequently mentioned was lack of space or inversely, too many people. Not having a bath, as well as shortage of storage or laundry space was also mentioned extensively. Lack of running water, no garden, or specific structural defects, are criticized as well by a large group.

"What are the main disadvantages of your present apartment?"

	Total	Men	Women
Not enough space (too many persons)	86%	83%	91%
No bath	41	43	37
No cellar, no storage space for drying laundry	40	38	43
No water in respondent's apartment	35	29	43
Structural defects (dampness, delapidation, etc.)	31	32	28
No garden, no animal pen	27	26	28
No toilet, toilet in court, etc.	21	18	26
Too far away from the mine	9	8	9
Respondents must live apart from family	7	12	-
No quiet	3	4	2
Others	25	23	27
No opinion	*	-	-
	325%***	316%***	334%***

PROPOSALS FOR THE FUTURE ...

About half of the respondents made specific suggestions concerning the housing project, when asked at the end of the interview for any additional comments.* Of the two largest groups of suggestions, one centered about the wish to see as many dwellings as possible built as fast as possible; the other concerned itself with specific suggestions on the construction of future apartments and their equipment. Another sizeable group pointed out the need for extra space for storage and laundry. Other points which received stress were the desire for small separate houses for a few families rather than large apartment buildings, the necessity of having gardens and the desirability of built-in plumbing, gas, and light fixtures.

* Because these suggestions were made at the close of the interview, they were probably influenced to some degree by the content of other previous questions.

RESTRICTED

"Do you have any other suggestions to make about the housing question?"

Breakdown of Suggestions:

Per cent of
suggestions *

Build as many apartments as possible and build them as quickly as possible: The Americans should build as many apartments for us as possible, and that should be soon, etc.

27%

Specific suggestions pertaining to construction of apartments and equipment: Large and airy windows; spacious rooms, dry and sunny; toilet in the apartment; bathroom; bath and toilet separate; rooms not too small and with high ceilings; the apartments for workers should be as good and nice as those for public servants; spacious corridors and broad stairways; they should avoid stone floors for reasons of health; the houses should be modeled on the style of the Messerschmidt houses; they should have built-in stoves; should have balconies; built-in closets; no partitions; separate entrances; etc.

25

Apartment should be provided with the necessary storage space, laundry, cellar, etc.: Laundry kitchen; cellar; storage room; courtyard; garage; drying space in the attic; separate cellars; shed should be large enough; etc.

16

Separate houses, not big apartment buildings should be built - separate apartments; etc.:

11

Apartment should have gardens, lawns, and playgrounds for the children; etc.

8

Gas, light, plumbing should be build in: Should have gas; electric light; plumbing in the apartment; etc,

6

Answers pertaining to the site of the houses: The apartments should be built in a healthy vicinity; we want to live where we don't have a view of the mine; the buildings should be built with enough space around them so they are not crowded together; the houses should be build in a place where we don't get the smoke from the pits; the houses should be built around squares; etc.

4

Other opinions: That we will own the new apartments later on; they should not build so many movies, theaters, and stores but rather houses for the workers; the occupation powers should leave, then we'll have enough housing; the apartments should really be built from ERP means and not with funds provided by the factory - otherwise it would lead to factory owned housing units - which I am personally opposed to; etc.

3
100%

* These percentages are based on the number of suggestions, not the number of respondents.

SELECTED FACTUAL BACKGROUND INFORMATION ...

Number of square meters per apartment:

Under 10	18%
10 - 14	30
15 - 19	13
20 - 29	20
30 and more	19
	<u>100%</u>

Amount of rent now paid:

Under 10 DM	6%
10 - 14 DM	23
15 - 19	34
20 - 29	17
30 DM and more	20
	<u>100%</u>

Number of kilometers to mine from home:

Less than 1 km	25%
1 - 4 km	61
5 - 7 km	10
8 km and more	4
	<u>100%</u>

Age:

15 - 19 years	2%
20 - 29 "	48
30 - 39 "	30
40 - 49 "	15
Over 50 "	5
	<u>100%</u>

Sex:

Men	57%
Women	43
	<u>100%</u>

Per cent of (wives) (husbands) who participated in interview with the main interviewee:

Husband participated	6%
Wife participated	35
Interviewed alone	59
	<u>100%</u>

Family net income per month (including all family member earnings):

Under 250 DM	11%
250 - 299 DM	21
300 - 349 DM	26
350 - 399 DM	20
400 - 449 DM	7
450 - 499 DM	6
500 DM and over	9
	<u>100%</u>

RESTRICTED

Per cent of men in sample living apart from their families (Alleinstehende) because of lack of space - 12%

Per cent of other families in sample in which some member(s) live apart because of lack of space - 9%

Size of family (including both those who presently live with the respondent, and those who don't because of lack of space):

2 members	14%
3 members	35
4 members	21
5 members	14
6 members	8
more than 6 members	8
	<u>100%</u>

RESTRICTED

APPENDIX A

THE SAMPLE AND INTERVIEWING ...

Limitations to extensive sampling were imposed by the deadline dates for beginning and ending the field interviewing. It was estimated that between 200 and 300 interviews could be accomplished in the available 3 days at a limited number of sites. Accordingly seven companies - picked by expert CCOG (Combined Coal Control Group) personnel - were decided on as representative of the total of some 30 considered affected by the building program. At these seven companies eight mine locations (Schachte) were to be studied. Since these differed somewhat as to number of workers an allotment of 25 interviews was made to each of the four smallest and 50 to each of the four largest. Thereby a total of 300 interviews was projected with the intent of accomplishing as many of these as possible but at least 200. Misses could be expected because of illness and absence from home. Husbands at work were replaced according to plan by their wives since the views of the latter were also desired for the study.

Candidates for interviewing were limited to family men working below ground and very poorly accommodated in their present quarters. This included men now living with their families as well as those living perforce apart in barracks. Each company maintains complete files of employees in need of improved housing, often graded by degree of need. Access to these lists was obtained through the efforts of the U.S. Element of CCOG and the Deutsche Kohlenbergbau-Leitung. At each location, then, a random selection of names was made from among the most needy cases, to obtain either 25 or 50 names (and addresses) as required. These selections were visited by the trained interviewers of Reactions Analysis Staff - brought to the Ruhr area for this purpose - and personal interviews conducted in the homes.

A total of 269 valid interviews was accomplished and these form the basis of the present report.

<u>Company and Mine</u>	<u>Location, City or Landkreis</u>	<u>No. of Below- Ground Workers*</u>	<u>Sample Allotment</u>
Walsum	Dinslaken	2796	50
Osterfeld	Oberhausen	4173	50
Konstantin d. Gr. 4/5	Herne	1897	25
Heinrich Robert	Unna	3559	50
Haus Aden	Unna	1451	25
Graf Schwerin	Castrop-Rauxel	1667	25
Augusta Viktoria 1/2	Recklinghausen	1624	25
Augusta Viktoria 3	Recklinghausen	2140	50
Total:		at 8 mines	300 Inter- views

* As of September 30, 1950.

INDIVIDUAL DISTRIBUTION

SURVEY STUDIES AMONG GERMAN OPINION LEADERS

I. German Buergermeisters Evaluate The Landsberg Decisions

Classification cancelled
by authority of Leo P. Crespi
PUB/RAS.

Report No. 67
Series No. 2
March 21, 1951

CONFIDENTIAL

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REAGIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

CONFIDENTIAL

GENERAL INTRODUCTION ...

The present report is an initial experimental contribution inspired by the judgment of the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, that an important gap exists in the informational coverage of attitudes and opinions in German society.

At the present time there is considerable coverage through political intelligence and other elements of HICOG liaison at Bonn, of the attitudes and views of the top German leaders. There is also considerable coverage through RAS survey studies of the rank and file of the German population. But information is markedly inadequate about the views and thinking among the intermediate echelons of German opinion leaders who play such an influential role in determining ultimate German policies in a country with such deeply established authoritarian traditions.

Some light has been shed in this area by regularly distinguishing in RAS survey studies between the attitude of the better educated, better informed, and more affluent groups, and their less educated and informed counterparts. In a broad general sense the opinions of the former groups is leadership opinion in contrast to the views of the less influential latter groupings. But notwithstanding, much more detailed information is desirable on the thinking of those who by virtue of their status and functions are heavily influential in German society.

Present Study ...

It was believed valuable as an initial exploratory study in the area of German political leadership to sample the opinions of German Buergermeisters. The issue chosen for investigation was the pressing current question of German reactions to the Landsberg decisions. In the interest of speed in the present instance a smaller sample than is ultimately planned to employ was utilized and was obtained in connection with the operation of a "flash" survey of public opinion on the Landsberg decisions in urban West Germany.

In line with distribution of the West German population in various size communities, 33 of the 110 case Buergermeister sample were drawn from cities over 50,000 in size; 30 from cities in the 5,000 to 49,999 size range; and the remaining 47 cases from towns under 5,000. Within the three community size strata the Buergermeisters were chosen so as to yield a good geographic dispersion throughout the various zones and Laender of Germany.

Almost all of the Buergermeisters in the towns selected for the sampling were both available and willing to be interviewed. In the few instances where the Buergermeisters were not available, their closest political substitute was interviewed instead. Interviewing was conducted by the trained German field operatives of the Reactions Analysis Staff.

It is to be recognized in the present study that in a survey inquiry of this sort the Buergermeisters, despite assurance of anonymity, are likely to give their official opinions - which may not conform in every respect to their private opinions. But in a sense these officials' opinions are precisely what the present study is seeking to ascertain - i.e. the views that a particular segment of German political leadership are in their official capacity promulgating among their constituents.

- 2 -

CONFIDENTIAL

C O N F I D E N T I A L

MAJOR FINDINGS IN BRIEF ...

General approval of the Landsberg decisions was voiced by 56 per cent of the German Buergermeisters sampled in the present study - definitely a larger proportion of favorable reactions than occurred among the urban West German public.* However, disagreement was also quite frequently expressed, with 39 per cent holding such a view.

Differences between the viewpoint of the German political leaders and the urban public were even more marked in reference specifically to the death sentences upheld in the Landsberg review. Whereas about three in ten of the urban public who were familiar with the Landsberg decisions approved of them, 59 per cent or almost twice as many of the Buergermeisters voiced such approval.

However, despite the somewhat more widespread agreement with the Landsberg decisions among German Buergermeisters, they apparently do not appreciably depart from the general urban public in their interpretations of American motivations in moderating the sentences. Perusal of their comments reveals that only a comparatively small minority give answers that can in any way be interpreted as indicating that the respondents feel the revisions emanate simply from the application of the Anglo-Saxon legal principles of clemency based upon impartial judicial review.

On the contrary, the prevailing interpretations are either that the basic injustice of Nuremberg is now being conceded, or that the revisions were prompted by a desire to win over German allegiance.

All in all, from the present study of German Buergermeisters, there seems to be no particular evidence of any widespread tendency among this important element of German political leadership to attempt to make political capital out of the Landsberg decisions to the disadvantage of the American occupation. On the contrary, their six out of ten professed approval of the death sentences suggests that they may function as somewhat of a bulwark for the American position if and when the sentences are carried out.

But whatever stimulus German Buergermeisters might offer for support in the Landsberg decisions, it seems clear that in the interpretation of these actions they are, by and large, propagating views varying from an alleged American retreat from Nuremberg to outright political expediency.

* See Report No. 63, "West German Reactions to the Landsberg Decisions," of Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, dated March 6, 1951.

- 3 -

C O N F I D E N T I A L

CONFIDENTIAL

ACCEPTANCE OF THE LANDSBERG DECISIONS

All of the Buergermeisters had heard of the American decision on the Landsberg cases, as compared with 80% awareness among the urban West German public.

As with the public, a fairly large proportion of the Buergermeisters voiced general disagreement with the decisions or had reservations concerning them. However, the indications are that the predominant view is one of approval.* And in any case it is clear that the Buergermeisters are more inclined than the public to approve the decisions.

"In general, do you agree with these decisions or not?"

	Buergermeister Sample	Urban West German Sample	
		% of those aware	% of total public
Agree	56%	39%	31%
Disagree	39	40	32
Withhold judgment	5	21	17
	100%	100%	80%

Comments of those few mayors who did not wish to express an opinion indicate that they actually tend rather to disapprove than to approve the decisions:

"I cannot take a stand because I do not know whether these people really committed a crime. If they did, I would agree to their punishment, if not, I would disagree."

"I cannot answer this question with a simple 'yes' or 'no!' I refrain from answering it, because I do not know the files of the persons concerned nor the jurisdiction."

"I did not care for it, but my feeling is that the ado made about the Landsberg case is partly boring, partly annoying because millions of worthier people suffered severely by the war and are not the center of interest to that extent."

"I partly agree, partly disagree; a) because in the mitigation of the sentences I see an attempt to achieve good understanding; b) because I doubt the legal basis of the judgments."

* The size of the Buergermeister sample (108 cases) precludes a more definite statement to this effect, since the difference between the 56% approval replies and the 44% combined disapproval and reserved replies is not conclusively beyond chance with the limited number of cases involved.

CONFIDENTIAL

REASONS FOR AGREEING WITH THE DECISIONS ...

The two leading reasons cited by those Buergemeisters who approve the decisions are that 1) they were based on legal review, and 2) crimes must be punished. Though these arguments are mentioned relatively more frequently by the mayors than by the public, the two groups generally tend to base their approval on much the same grounds, as may be seen in the following comparative table.

If "agree": "Could you please tell me why you agree?"

	Buergemeister	Population
The decisions are based on a legal review	18%	7%
Crimes have to be punished	15	4
Revision of verdicts was necessary because they were pronounced under the influence of hatred and revenge	7	5
Revision of verdicts was necessary because many of the convicted were innocent	6	4
The decisions are welcomed for humanitarian reasons	6	3
The convicted only did their duty	4	2
War crimes were committed by others	—	2
The war crime trials were not justified	1	1
Other opinions	2	3
No opinion / No answer	—	1
	59%*	32%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

COMMENTS OF THE BUERGERMEISTERS WHO AGREE WITH THE DECISIONS:

The decisions are based on legal review

"Because I know personally that they acted following serious considerations and were guided by the spirit of mercy."

"Because everything was examined in order to avoid injustice; perhaps the Americans were too magnanimous; the death sentences should be executed in those cases where these people behaved so abominably; no man should be punished for his sentiments, only for crimes; also one should not always take revenge but must be able to be merciful where no definite crimes are concerned."

"I am glad that Mr. McCloy and General Handy took the German resentment into consideration and tried to modify the sentences wherever possible; the death sentences are absolutely correct, although I am opposed to the death penalty."

"I am of the opinion that the American authorities, first of all Mr. McCloy, have examined the sentences minutely and that the present verdicts are entirely justified."

"Because the urgent appeals for revision were granted and the death sentences cancelled."

"I agree that not all of them should go unpunished; they would be free to harass humanity again."

(cont'd on next page)

Crimes have to be punished

- "If the people are guilty.- execute them!; they caused our misery."
- "Because the atrocities and crimes which are avenged by these sentences can only to a very limited extent be washed off the shield of honor by the executions."
- "Whoever sheds human blood, whose blood shall also be shed, thus the Bible states."
- "Those condemned to death fully deserve their punishment after all they have done; with the others it is politically wiser to place mercy before justice."
- "The crimes were very great and must be paid for."
- "Whoever committed a crime must be punished for it, but on the side of the victors there are also people who committed war crimes and were not convicted for them."
- "Crimes must be punished on principle; a man must bear full responsibility for his actions and account for them."

Revision of verdicts was necessary because they were pronounced under the influence of hatred and revenge

- "Because they deserve revision; the confessions were partly forced by means unworthy of a civilized nation."
- "It was necessary to put an end to the affair."
- "The verdicts were too harsh and partly wrong."
- "Because the Americans realize that one should not demand an eye for eye, etc."
- "Because after the long period elapsed (3 years) executions should no longer be carried out; these people suffered enough in the three years - that is worse than being hanged a fortnight after the verdict."
- "I am opposed to the death penalty because I respect life; the execution of the sentences today, I think, would be a psychological mistake after so many years; it would irritate the German public and give ammunition to the propaganda of opponents to the U.S.; this has nothing to do with any personal attitude toward the death penalty, but I see it in a general political way, uninfluenced by my personal attitude."

Revision of the verdicts was necessary because many of the convicted were innocent

- "Each case must be re-examined; for in any revolution usually a few innocent persons are condemned; guilt or innocence must be clearly established - and that as soon as possible so that this affair comes to rest after all."
- "I think it was necessary to clear up this matter finally."
- "One should be able to be merciful where mistakes and errors have been committed; the greatest criminals have been sentenced and executed."

The decisions are welcomed for humanitarian reasons

- "I felt it to be magnanimous especially to modify the sentences of the soldiers who had to act on their own risk."
- "As far as crimes are concerned, the decisions are right; concerning political matters, it corresponds entirely with the general feeling that mercy should be administered after some time; I believe it is a custom among nations."

(cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

"Because I saw in the decisions a proof of the good will to help."

"The decisions show high humane considerations."

"In contrast to the usual jurisdiction of the victors the Landsberg prisoners were given every opportunity; in cases of doubt it was decided in favor of the accused; the spirit of appeasement is not entirely absent in the new decisions."

The convicted only did their duty

"Men who followed their call of military duty must not be punished for it."

"Men were released who only produced arms on orders of the government, but were no criminals because of that."

The war crime trials were not justified

"The prisoners must be tried by lawful courts and according to German law; this is provided for in the recent regulations."

Other Opinions

"Soldiers and armament makers were mainly concerned and as militarism is now being revived, it is justified to have these people go free now."

REASONS FOR DISAPPROVAL ...

The mayors who disagree with the Landsberg judgments tend to support their views in much the same fashion as did the urban public, although the mayors express dissatisfaction with the mildness of the decisions somewhat more frequently.

"If "Do not agree": "Could you please tell me why you disagree?"

	Buergermeister	Population
They waited too long before inflicting punishment	13%	10%
The sentences are not severe enough	11	4
Investigation and legal proceedings were questionable, sentences as well	7	4
The sentences are too severe	4	4
War crimes are committed by other nations as well and go unpunished	2	4
It makes a very bad impression on the Germans	1	2
The small crooks are hanged and the big ones escape	-	1
Other opinions	5	4
No opinion / No answer	<u>-</u> 43%**	<u>*</u> 33%**

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

COMMENTS OF THOSE WHO DISAGREE WITH THE DECISIONS:

They waited too long before inflicting punishment

"Because I considered it inhuman to keep those people waiting for such a long time; that is worse than death."

"Five years after the end of the war what happened then should finally have been forgotten."

"That the men sentenced to death were held for such a long time and are still going to be executed, that does not conform to humanitarian principles."

"The condemned were kept waiting too long for the revision of the sentences; therefore all of them should have been acquitted."

"That is no justice; the people should have been hanged right away, if they were guilty, and not been subject to five years of cruelty; all of them should be acquitted."

The sentences are not severe enough

"These questionable people do not deserve pardon; they have damaged the prestige of the German people in history for ever."

"Too much mercy was shown toward these people; those men who misused their power to torture their fellow-men, should not be treated with velvet gloves."

"That all these people now get off with a 'black eye' only and yet have such incredible crimes to their credit."

"Because I myself was in a concentration camp and my relatives were killed in gas chambers. First of all they should care for the victims of the Nazis. First the wrong must be righted before these criminals are treated mildly. There should be no mercy for people who tortured and murdered thousands."

(cont'd on next page)

"The men condemned some time ago did not deserve the mitigation of the sentences, because they also treated their fellow Germans without mercy while they were in power."

"Because the Americans treated these criminals too mildly. I disagree with pardoning these criminals now. These people whose sentences are revised now deserve their punishment. We were hunted through the streets in former times when we did not cooperate."

Investigations and legal proceedings were questionable, sentences as well

"Five years after the end of the war one comes to the conclusion that some of the men now acquitted committed more crimes than those who were condemned earlier."

"There are innocent men at Landsberg even today. I myself am pleading for a citizen of my town, a lieutenant, who was sentenced to twenty years imprisonment; his American counsels themselves say he is innocent."

"Their original verdicts were based on evidence of witnesses who were not completely reliable, and on circumstantial evidence."

"I know too little about the facts; but it should be carefully examined whether the people really did commit crimes or whether they, e.g. had to obey orders as soldiers."

"That a German court was not permitted to see the files, especially those of the men sentenced to death."

"These decisions are not right; it requires courage to pronounce the right decision and the Americans did not seem to have had that in the Landsberg case."

"The cases of those who were condemned to death should be more closely examined."

The sentences are too severe

"German laws should be taken into consideration; there is no death penalty any more in Germany; this does not mean, however, that a criminal should go unpunished."

"Because the death penalty has been abolished in Germany."

"Because the death sentences against 7 of the prisoners were maintained; they are Germans and defended their country."

War crimes are committed by other nations as well and go unpunished

"The other countries that fought against us also have many war criminals who are not punished."

"The death sentences should have been executed in 1947; today resentment of the population would be too great; it is also impossible to imprison German generals for life, while elsewhere in the world generals are compelled to do the very same things the Germans were forced to do some years ago."

It makes a very bad impression on the Germans

"Because one must take a clear stand; if one decides one way or the other, one has got to have the courage to abide by one's decision."

Other Opinions

"Since the war has been over for so long, the punishments maintained can only be considered too harsh as compared to the mitigated sentences; also the little party members were too harshly dealt with in comparison to the pardoned."

"The German authorities were not consulted on these decisions - the verdicts would have been milder."

As with the urban public, a number of Buergermeisters who are in general agreement with the Landsberg decisions, reveal in response to further queries that they disagree with certain specific aspects. And these join with the public in citing the retentions of the death penalties as the main grounds for disagreement. It will be noted in the table below that proportionately as many Buergermeisters as citizens generally cite specific disagreements.

"Are there any decisions among them which you do not agree with?"
(Asked of those who answered "Agree" in initial question)

	Buergermeister Population	
Yes, which	19%	10%
No	27	13
No opinion	<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>
	56%	31%

Comments of mayors who do not agree with specific aspects of decisions:

"Generals, e.g. who only did their duty should be released."

"The death sentences should also be mitigated to life imprisonment; hatred should be buried, after all."

"The last death sentence also needs revision."

"The maintenance of the death sentences."

"The seven should have been pardoned also; if one is 100% convinced of their guilt - why were they not hanged in 1946?"

"With the verdicts of the German soldiers who, after all, were only sentenced because they were German soldiers."

"With the death sentences; I personally am for death penalty; but since the German Bund outlawed capital punishment, these verdicts should conform with the laws of the Bund."

"People who were beasts must be condemned to death; everyone must know how far he can go; Krupp should not have been released; the question of his possessions is a different thing; he shared in the responsibility that alien workers and prisoners of war were treated harshly; Krupp does not yet deserve his liberty; the masses will not welcome his release."

"That the executions are postponed again and again; thus the condemned are subjected to inhuman treatment."

CONFIDENTIAL

The mayors who, though they are in general disagreement with the decisions, find it possible to agree with specific aspects, tend more frequently than the public to voice approval of the death sentences. However, as many point to modification of the sentences as a basis for specific approval as mention the retention of the death sentences.

"Are there any decisions among them which you do agree with?"
(Asked of those who answered "Do not agree" in initial question)

	Buergermeister	Population
Yes, which	23%	16%
No	14	9
No opinion	<u>2</u>	<u>7</u>
	39%	32%

Comments of mayors who agree with specific aspects of decisions:

"The acquittals."

"The mitigation of the death verdicts into jail sentences, because the death penalty was abolished in Germany."

"The releases."

"With the releases, because the trial at Nuremberg was never really fair."

"With the acquittals and mitigations in those cases where no crimes have been committed."

"That those who were condemned because they committed crimes against humanity were pardoned."

"That many were pardoned."

"I agree with part of the decisions, i.e. with the replacement of the death verdicts by long-term jail sentences."

"The re-examinations of sentences by the supreme court for mitigation; particulars are not known to me."

"Those where it was established beyond doubt that the verdicts were illegal; I do not just remember which they were."

"Only in the cases where the death verdicts were maintained."

"I think the maintenance of the death verdicts is just."

"The death sentences, but it is impossible to execute them now after so many years have elapsed."

"The verdicts against the commandants of the annihilation camps."

"The death sentences."

"That the real criminals were not condemned."

THE KRUPP CASE ...

Nine in ten mayors can correctly state the decision in the case of Alfred Krupp, as compared with six in ten among the public. The mayors, like the public, very widely approve the outcome.

"Could you perhaps tell me what the decision was in the case of Alfred Krupp?" (Asked of those who had heard of the decisions made by the Americans about the prisoners at Landsberg)

	Buergermeister	Population
Yes, correct	90%	62%
Yes, incorrect	4	5
Yes, indeterminate	5	4
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>9</u>
	100%	80%

"Do you agree with this decision or not?" (Asked of those who answered "Yes" to previous question)

	Buergermeister	Population
Agree	71%	48%
Do not agree	16	8
No opinion	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>
	90%	62%

Buergermeisters who approve the liberation of Herr Krupp do so for much the same reasons as the public does. The three leading reasons of both groups are that Krupp should be freed because he did no more than industrialists in other countries did, merely put his specialized knowledge at the disposal of his country, and his original sentence was unjustified.

"Do you agree with this decision or not?"

If "Agree": "Why are you of this opinions?"

	Buergermeister	Population
Krupp did no more than war industrialists in other countries	21%	14%
Krupp only worked in his special field and put his knowledge at disposal without being a criminal	18	8
His punishment was unjust from the very beginning	8	8
He only did what the state (Hitler) demanded	6	6
He substituted for his father's place in the trial	6	3
He is needed for Germany's economic recovery (including rearmament if necessary)	5	2
He contributed to social welfare, was humanitarian and honest	4	3
His punishment has been sufficient	3	2
Other opinions	6	4
No opinion / No answer	<u>77%</u>	<u>52%</u>

* Some respondents gave more than one answer

Krupp did no more than war industrialists
in other countries

- "Because not only he but English and American firms as well worked in exactly the same way."
- "Because arms were produced throughout the world and Krupp who did no more than that cannot be the only one to be sentenced."
- "Not only here but everywhere arms are produced; that was not Krupp's fault."
- "It was quite a normal decision because there are no legal charges against this man; otherwise all war industrialists throughout the world would have to be punished."
- "Otherwise General Motors would also have to be imprisoned."
- "Because he is no war criminal; he did the same as Ford and Kaiser; he was known to be social-minded."
- "Otherwise Dr. Armstrong in England would also have to be sentenced; since that was not done, the verdict against Krupp is unfair."
- "Because Krupp is a very tiny little dwarf compared with the American, British, Russian, and French armament kings of the pre-war period."
- "The man produced arms and earned his money in this way; others did the same - only they did not lose the war."

Krupp only worked in his special field and put
his knowledge at disposal without being a criminal

- "Krupp was not guilty to such an extent that it would be justified to continue to keep him in jail."
- "Production of war material is no crime."
- "I do not see a crime in Krupp's having his plant produce war material; it was his business."
- "He cannot be made responsible for the actions of the whole Krupp concern."
- "He was too much of an industrialist to occupy himself with politics."
- "Because he was no longer the authoritarian owner of a plant as his grandfather was; and when the nation arms, it cannot make the businessman responsible for it."

His punishment was unjust from the beginning

- "Because he is entirely innocent; a verdict against Krupp can in no way have a legal foundation."
- "In my eyes this man had not committed a crime."
- "In the case of Krupp personal guilt is not the issue; it was a collective verdict against German heavy industry."
- "Because I cannot believe that Krupp committed a crime so great that he should be imprisoned for it for 20 years; according to our law, all penalties over 5 years are crimes, and under 5 years minor offenses."

(cont'd on next page)

He only did what the state (Hitler) demanded

"I know Krupp's development; Krupp simply could not escape the economic and political situation; he acted under pressure."

"He only did what he was ordered to do by his superiors; otherwise he would then have been liquidated."

"Krupp's family had the misfortune to be forced to cooperate during National Socialist era; as a German patriot he had to produce arms for his country; that they were used in an unjustified war was not his fault."

"He, too, could not escape the orders and demands of the Nazi regime."

He substituted for his father's place in the trial

"Because I am of the opinion that Krupp should not have been drawn into this trial; as he was summoned into court to substitute for his father."

"Because Alfred Krupp was not the real culprit; his father got ill; therefore he, Alfred Krupp, was sentenced."

"Where is such a thing in the world that the son must take his father's penalty; that is 'Sippenrache' (tribal revenge)."

"The fact that the son was imprisoned in place of his father cannot be regarded as sound justice; this should also have played a part in his release."

He is needed for Germany's economic recovery
(including re-armament if necessary)

"He was efficient and will continue to be so; we need such men in our dismembered country; he will use his abilities for peaceful purposes."

"That we may rebuild our industries with Krupp's aid and our workers get jobs and wages again."

"Because Krupp is a well-known personality in industrial circles and in regard to economy."

"He might be useful again."

"He did no wrong; we might use his abilities for the reconstruction of our peacetime industry; it need not necessarily be for armament."

He contributed to social welfare, was
humanitarian and honest

"Krupp's firm gave work and bread to many workers, especially in the city of Essen, and was very advanced in its social politics; officials and employees were enthusiastic about Krupp."

"He is beloved and highly esteemed and honored by his workers everywhere in the Rhineland and beyond its boundaries."

His punishment has been sufficient

"Because the punishment may be regarded as already served."

"I take it that the court found the sentence has already been served."

Other opinions

"The main point to my mind is not to offer the East propaganda-material against the West; therefore - today's acquittal after the long postponement; at the beginning he might have been punished."

"Because it corresponds with the laws."

"The question of individual war-guilt is very difficult to ascertain in the case of industrialists."

"One should have confidence in the court; its decision is right."

"I generally have much confidence in the American jurisdiction."

The few Buergermeisters who disapprove of the commutation of the Krupp sentence give reasons that follow the line of argument of that part of the public which disapproves.

01362

"Do you agree with this decision or not?"

If "Disagree": "Why are you of this opinion?"

	Buergermeister	Population
Because he is really guilty compared to others	5%	4%
The little man is hanged, the big shot goes free	3	"
Because Krupp will produce arms again; he may become a danger for Germany	2	1
Krupp and the industrialists were Hitler's allies	1	2
Other opinions	$\frac{5}{16\%}$	$\frac{1}{8\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

COMMENTS OF BUERGERMEISTERS WHO DISAPPROVE OF THE KRUPP DECISION:

Because he is really guilty compared to others

"Especially with regard to the financial side of the issue, because Krupp by means of wars and human blood enriched himself tremendously; he should pay interests corresponding to his enrichment; crimes, however, probably cannot be charged against him."

The little man is hanged, the big shot goes free

"I do not believe he is less guilty than little party members and collaborators who were punished so severely."

"Because in comparison to him the little party members were punished too severely."

"It seems as if politicians and businessmen are better treated than soldiers."

Because Krupp will produce arms again; he may become a danger for Germany

"This is a danger to Germany's future; a German court should investigate into his guilt; he should not be allowed to keep his money, else we shall get into another war."

"He should be told that he will be left alone; but he should be deprived of the influence which he is about to regain; he should be restricted to a narrow range of action, for Krupp as an industrialist is international and the role of a martyr does not become him."

Krupp and the industrialists were Hitler's allies

"Because Krupp was the chief banker of Hitler's war policy."

Other opinions

"Since the judgment was valid it should not be commuted; because party members are helped while not even the law for the rehabilitation of their victims has been passed."

"I think it is wrong to confiscate all his money because, thereby, martyrs are created."

THE DEATH SENTENCES ...

The Buergermeisters are not only better informed than is the public as a whole on particulars of the seven death sentences which were not commuted, but, more important, they tend much more frequently than the public to approve the decision. However, even among the Buergermeisters, about two in ten disapprove of the decision entirely or in part, and an equal number withhold judgment. The questions and replies follow.

"Could you perhaps name some of the prisoners at Landsberg whose death penalties were upheld?" (Asked of those who had heard about the decisions made by the Americans about the Landsberg prisoners)

	Buergermeister	Population
Yes, which (List)	43%	29%
No, don't know	57	51
	<u>100%</u>	<u>80%</u>

	Buergermeister	Population
List:		
Pohl	43%	13%
Ohlendorf	28	10
Schmidt	9	4
Others (Neumann, Brauno, Blobel, Schattmeyer, Osswald, Schulz)	14 <u>94%</u>	2 <u>29%</u>

* Some respondents gave more than one name.

"Are you of the opinion that those condemned to death deserve their penalty?"

	Buergermeister	Population
Yes, all of them	59%	25%
No, not all of them	8	9
No, none of them deserved it	13	12
No opinion	20 <u>100%</u>	34 <u>80%</u>

Almost all Buergermeisters can specify the crimes the seven condemned to death are guilty of. "Crimes against humanity" is the indictment specified with the greatest frequency, but many of the mayors go into greater detail and name the roster of crimes committed.

"Do you know by any chance which crimes the condemned were accused of?"

If "Yes, which?": "What kind of crimes?" *

Buergermeister

Crimes against humanity	32%
Cruelties and crimes in concentration camps	13
War crimes and other crimes (general)	10
Crimes against Jews and foreigners	4
Combination of all these	31
Others	-
No, don't know	<u>10</u> 100%

* Comparison with the urban public is not possible here since in the latter sample only respondents who disapproved the death penalties were asked the question.

Several Buergermeisters were careful to state that they had had no chance to look into the files of the proceedings and therefore could not give a judgment on the crimes charged against the seven men. As their comments below indicate, their hesitation obviously results from non-acceptance of the indictments, not from ignorance of what the indictments were.

"I cannot form a judgment because I am not familiar with the cases."

"I cannot tell because I do not know what crimes they really committed."

"That must be re-examined again."

"I cannot give a judgment on that, because I myself have had no opportunity to investigate the charges; we are supposed to be very careful."

"I do not quite know why these people were sentenced."

"No man can decide that."

"I cannot say anything because the cases are not known to me."

"I have too little insight and I know too little whether that is true which one reads."

"I cannot say anything here because I do not know the basis of these proceedings."

"I dare not judge that."

The mayors, who feel that none of the seven death penalties should have been retained, bring up a variety of reasons for their viewpoint - the condemned men were acting according to orders, the sentences were imposed without sufficient proof, capital punishment has been abolished, and similar crimes were committed by the Allies.

"Are you of the opinion that those condemned to death deserve their penalty?"

If "No, none of them": "Why are you of this opinion?"

	Buergermeister	Population
They acted according to their orders and merely did their duty	5%	3%
Sentences were imposed without sufficient proof and justification	4	1
Capital punishment has been abolished	3	1
Similar crimes committed by the Allies were not punished	2	5
They have suffered enough	1	1
Other	-	1
No opinion	-	*
	15%**	12%

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one reason.

COMMENTS OF THOSE WHO DISAGREE WITH ALL OF THE DEATH SENTENCES:

They acted according to their orders and merely did their duty

"These people only carried out orders; if they had not done that, they themselves would have been shot."

"The condemned also only carried out orders and, in war times, nothing but the word "obey" rules; furthermore, these men had the misfortune to be officers of an army which had been built and was led by a dictator."

"Because, according to my conviction, they simply had to do their duty to their country."

"Because all this happened during a war, under abnormal conditions; the Russians ought to be courtmartialled just the same."

Sentences were imposed without sufficient proof and justification

"The Nuremberg court was not impartial; the cases should be handled by a German court."

Capital punishment has been abolished

"Because capital punishment has been abolished in Western Germany."

"We have abolished capital punishment and the population would understand the sentences better if the prisoners had been sentenced to life imprisonment."

(cont'd on next page)

Similar crimes committed by the Allies were not punished

"Because crimes are daily being committed in the world without America's raising a big outcry against them."

They have suffered enough

"For five years they have lived facing death; this constant uncertainty has been punishment enough."

"During the last two years they have been tortured enough; that is more than any death penalty."

"Because these prisoners have by now been kept waiting for more than a year; then, they should have been executed right away, but no longer today; that contradicts our German feelings about justice; for one year they had death daily before their eyes with all consequent sufferings of soul and spirit."

A few of the mayors claim to disagree with some but not all of the death sentences. None of them mention specific names or cases, so it is difficult to determine just how their stand differs from that of the group who opposes the retention of any of the death sentences.

"Are you of the opinion that these condemned to death deserve their penalty?"

If "No, not all of them": "Why are you of this opinion?"

	Buergermeister	Population
Some of them have committed crimes	2%	2%
In some cases, guilt has not been established	1	3
Many acted under pressure	1	2
Sentences are too severe	1	*
Other opinions	2	1
No opinion	$\frac{1}{8\%}$	$\frac{1}{9\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

COMMENTS OF THOSE WHO DISAGREE WITH SOME OF THE DEATH SENTENCES:

Some of them have committed crimes

"The sentences are partly justified, partly they were made for political reasons."

"Not as far as the soldiers are concerned."

In some cases guilt has not been established

"The sentences are justified only in those cases where it proved beyond doubt the prisoners were guilty of war crimes and crimes against humanity."

Many acted under pressure

"Because they acted upon orders."

Sentences are too severe

"I am against capital punishment on principle."

"There certainly are some among them who would have deserved to be executed; but I am of the opinion that four years' expectation of death would justify an acquittal."

Other opinions

"Because I do not know the proceedings."

WHY SOME SENTENCES WERE MODIFIED ...

That the U.S. has come to realize the injustice of the trials is the leading reason adduced by the mayors as it was by the public for the American decision to moderate certain sentences. Second most prominent reason given by the mayors is that the move was designed to promote German-American understanding.

"And why, do you think, have the Americans moderated the sentences in many cases?"

	Buergermeister	Population
They realize injustice of trials	37%	23%
To promote the growing understanding between America and West Germany	26	10
To prove that they can think and act in a human fashion	15	5
They need the Germans and try to win them for their cause	13	18
They need the freed prisoners for their aims	5	7
Intervention of German groups and individuals	3	1
They recognize mutual guilt	2	2
The lesson of Korea	1	3
Other opinions	6	6
No opinion / No answer	2	9
	110%*	84%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

BUERGERMEISTERS' COMMENTS REGARDING AMERICAN MOTIVES:

They realize injustice of trials

"That in those days at Nuremberg things were too new and too fresh; hatred and ire subsided and now everything is looked upon more mildly."

"Because they did not quite agree among themselves; they felt uneasy about it - which is highly to their credit."

"Because of individual good conduct and in the course of time it became apparent that many cases were not so bad as they looked at the beginning; in the course of time the criminals emerged and thus the rest of the accused could be judged more mildly."

"They realized that these sentences were unjust."

"They realized that they pronounced sentences based on hatred."

"The Americans became conscious of their mistakes."

"As a re-examination of the sentences might prove profitable; it was certainly not benevolence; certain American circles realized that the conduct of the procedures was not absolutely correct."

"They realized that the original procedures and especially the evidence were a mean show."

"For the sake of justice; the American rather lets ten criminals go free than one innocent person condemned."

(cont'd on next page)

"First, because they realized that the sentences were unjust, secondly, because the methods of the procedures were in no way different from those of the 'S.D.'."

"From their natural fairness and the efforts they make to be absolutely just."

"Because much injustice was done, moreover, it was a gesture."

To promote the growing understanding between
America and West Germany

"They realize now that they must cooperate with the Germans more and better than before, and that they committed many blunders in this regard."

"For the sake of a friendly relationship with Germany; the relationship to Germany will be improved in this way."

"To foster understanding, friendship, and cooperation against the East."

"Because they realize that the German people, in a thousand years hence, would still ridicule their jurisdiction which means nothing but the revenge of the victor."

"By means of these revisions it was attempted to mitigate the aggressiveness of German public opinion against remilitarization; but I welcome the fact that they modified the soldiers' sentences."

"America starts from the assumption that if Germany is to be drawn into the Atlantic Pact, there must be a modification of the policy hitherto adopted."

"It is an act of appeasement, humanity, and a proof of good cooperation with Germany."

"Because they see now that the German people is better than American propaganda made it."

"The present political situation plays a part there."

"1945/46 conditions were quite different; today we are no longer America's enemies, therefore rehabilitation."

"First, America intends to contribute to the mutual understanding of people, second, she wants to prove that she is not full of revenge, but puts mercy before justice."

To prove that they can think and act in a humane fashion

"They want to impress us with their clemency."

"Only one account of their great clemency."

"Because they want to show us that they - unlike the Germans formerly - do not blow everything to pieces rightaway."

"In order to be a paragon of democracy; to show the difference between the former regime and today."

"Because they think humanely."

"From clemency, benevolence, and dutiful considerations."

"From their democratic point of view."

"For humanitarian reasons; I know that the leading Americans are very open to humanitarianism; partly also because they realized that the German is to be treated in a different way from what they considered to be the right way in 1945."

(cont'd on next page)

Report #67

March 21, 1951

They need the Germans and try to win them for their case

- "A nice gesture because of the remilitarization."
- "Because the East is probably very strong and the Americans perhaps need help against the East."
- "Political considerations; they want to win us for the defense of Europe."
- "To win the German people for later objectives of which we do not have the faintest idea yet."
- "They want to achieve better German cooperation in the general re-armament."
- "To revive and foster German militarism."

They need the freed prisoners for their aims

- "They need them for their own objectives."
- "The Americans realize that Germany and they themselves need able men."
- "Because the larger part of these prisoners may prove useful again."
- "They intend perhaps to use them again for their enormous political, economic, or military experience."
- "To use these men for their purposes in the remilitarization of Germany."

Intervention of German groups and individuals

- "The Church and other organizations fought the sentences and did something about them."
- "They have been influenced by the press campaign."
- "Because prominent people like bishops intervened; I do not care to give other reasons."

They recognize mutual guilt

- "They realize that these people only carried out orders, just as their soldiers and officers are supposed to do."
- "They see that the sentences were too harsh; they know that on their own side also war crimes are being committed."

The lesson of Korea

- "Five years have passed after the end of the war and the Americans are in the same conflict in Korea."

Other opinions

- "It is very largely connected with the fact that members of the Nazi party profit from the conflict between East and West; it must not go so far that criminals profit; e.g. physicians who experimented with human beings deserve any punishment."
- "Because they realize that many prisoners served their sentences by five years imprisonment and perpetual fear of death."
- "Because they have a different idea of justice from us Germans."

SURVEY STUDIES AMONG GERMAN OPINION LEADERS

II. A Note On ~~German~~ ^{German} Ministers Reactions
To a Four Power Conference

Classification cancelled
by authority of Leop. C. 1951
FUB/RAS.

Report No. 68
Series No. 2
March 22, 1951

CONFIDENTIAL

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION ...

In connection with a previously reported survey of the opinions of German Buergermeisters on the Landsberg decisions* two questions were included to give some brief picture of the general reactions of this potent political leadership group to the idea of a four power conference.

As described in the prior report a sample of 110 Buergermeisters were utilized in the survey, embodying a proportional allocation among various community size groups, and a good geographical dispersion throughout the various zones and Laender of West Germany.

SUMMARY ...

WHAT IS MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM FACING GERMANY TODAY? ...

To obtain some indications of how international issues stack up against domestic concerns in the minds of German Buergermeisters, the respondents were first asked what they considered to be the most important problem facing Germany today. The results show clearly that the mayors of German communities are not so preoccupied with Germany's pressing domestic problems that they do not appreciate the crucial importance of foreign affairs. Only a third brought up internal difficulties like unemployment, housing, the refugees and the like as Germany's most important problem. The bulk of the answers focused upon problems of German relationship with other nations.

FOUR POWER CONFERENCE - ADVANTAGEOUS OR DISADVANTAGEOUS FOR GERMANY? ...

A considerably larger proportion of Buergermeisters than of the West German urban public feel that a four power conference is likely to be of advantage for Germany. But the predominant opinion in both groups - though this can not be conclusively stated about the Buergermeisters in view of the limited number of cases - appears to range from indifferent to negative.

WHY ADVANTAGEOUS FOR GERMANY? ...

In citing possible advantages to Germany of a four power conference the pattern of Buergermeisters' replies does not differ markedly from those given by West German city dwellers. The idea that discussion might just possibly lead to agreements figures most distinctly in both groups.

WHY DISADVANTAGEOUS FOR GERMANY? ...

The Buergermeisters who see only disadvantage for Germany in a four power conference also tend to argue along lines similar to those of the urban West German population, i.e. mainly to the effect that Russian dishonesty or intransigence precludes any successful negotiations. Only a relatively small minority in either group, argue for disadvantages in terms reflecting adversely on the Western powers.

* See Report No. 67, Series No. 2, dated March 21, 1951, SURVEY STUDIES AMONG GERMAN OPINION LEADERS - I. German Buergermeisters Evaluate The Landsberg Decisions.

WHAT IS MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM FACING GERMANY TODAY? ...

To obtain some indications of how international issues stack up against domestic concerns in the minds of German Buergermeisters, the respondents were first asked what they considered to be the most important problem facing Germany today. The results show clearly that the mayors of German communities are not so preoccupied with Germany's pressing domestic problems that they do not appreciate the crucial importance of foreign affairs. Only a third brought up internal difficulties like unemployment, housing, the refugees and the like as Germany's most important problem. The bulk of the answers focused upon problems of German relationship with other nations.

"What do you think is the most important problem Germany faces today?"

	Buergermeisters
Danger of war; conflict between East and West; insecurity; peace;	33%
Unification of Germany;	22
Equality of Germany; peace treaty;	15
Remilitarization of Germany;	10
Domestic problems: (Unemployment; housing; refugees; economy; etc.)	35
Other opinions	5
	<u>120%</u>

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Because of the importance of the respondents sampled - Buergermeisters occupy a key position in the political life of German communities - it is perhaps of value to cite specific answers in some detail.

"What do you think is the most important problem Germany faces today?"

Danger of war; conflict between East and West;
insecurity; peace;

"The most urgent problem is to get a long peace, so that Germany gets an opportunity to cure her war wounds and to achieve reconstruction."

"Our own security must under any circumstances be guaranteed, so that life attains value and purpose again."

"The East-West problem in its economic, political, and military aspects. Germany stands between the bumpers. Unfortunately, the German is apt, out of his plight, to follow a 'Rattenfaenger' (Fied Piper)".

"To preserve peace for the German people, to act as a balancing factor between East and West."

"Bolshevism, the danger that it spreads. Further, that peace be maintained is another very essential problem."

"Strengthening the West in order to ban the danger from the East."

Unification of Germany:

"This is in my opinion the question of the division of Germany. It is absolutely necessary that the four powers agree how to settle the migration of peoples resulting from the Potsdam frontiers."

"The problem of reuniting Germany and in connection with it the end of the zonal frontiers."

(cont'd on next page)

- "The union of Western and Eastern Germany on a Western democratic basis, all of Germany then joining a united Europe."
- "The realization of Germany's unity under actual withdrawal of all occupational forces."
- "The re-union of Germany and, connected with that, the return of the Eastern territories."

Equality of Germany; peace treaty:

- "The acknowledgment and equal status of Germany in the international scene, from which everything else will result."
- "That the occupation powers leave Germany; how to get them out as soon as possible."
- "To arrive at cooperation with the Western powers on the basis of equality in every respect."
- "To get a peace treaty, not get into another war and to be able to look hopefully into the future."

Remilitarization of Germany:

- "The remilitarization of Western Germany and the reaction of Eastern Germany to that."
- "Maintenance of peace by military strength. The problem is how to achieve this strength."
- "To get into closer contact with the Western countries for a joint defense of Europe."

Domestic problems (Unemployment; housing; refugees; economy; etc.)

- "This is the relief of the enormous need for housing facilities - the workers' willing identification with his work is being sapped if he has to live in inadequate quarters - if you want to achieve anything, you will have to create an environment worthy of human beings."
- "To foster the building of homes, to carry out the "Lastenausgleich" (Equalization of War Burdens) in a fair manner, to fight rising prices effectively, and to have a free and yet regulated marketing economy."
- "The coal question. Our whole economy depends on it."
- "The rebuilding of homes and, to carry that into effect, the necessary credits."
- "The most urgent problem, I think, is the social rearrangement within the population. I understand this to mean that there should not be destruction, i.e. dismantling, on the one side in order to have the thus unemployed worker receive his allowance on the other."
- "Germany has been left so that she will never be able to stand on her own feet again - the administrative apparatus is too big, the costs of the occupation are too high and there are too many people in the federal area."
- "To give the mass of the people a higher standard of living."

Other Opinions

- "To name one or more problems facing Germany is impossible. On the whole, it is usually invisible forces which cause such problems and which are difficult to understand correctly in all their connections."
- "That we must draw the right lessons from political mistakes. We must also strive to become mature politically."

C O N F I D E N T I A L

FOUR POWER CONFERENCE - ADVANTAGEOUS OR DISADVANTAGEOUS FOR GERMANY? ...

A considerably larger proportion of Buergermeisters than of the West German urban public feel that a four power conference is likely to be of advantage for Germany. But the predominant opinion in both groups - though this can not be conclusively stated about the Buergermeisters in view of the limited number of cases - appears to range from indifferent to negative.

"Some time ago the Russians suggested to convene a four power conference on Germany. If this conference takes place, do you think it probable that the conference, in general, will be advantageous or disadvantageous for Germany?"

	Buergermeisters	West German urban population
Advantageous	43%	23%
Disadvantageous	21	14
Neither/Nor	33	36
No opinion	3	27
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

WHY ADVANTAGEOUS FOR GERMANY? ...

In citing possible advantages to Germany of a four power conference the pattern of Buergermeister replies does not differ markedly from those given by West German city dwellers. The idea that discussion might just possibly lead to agreements figures most distinctly in both groups.

If "Advantageous": "Why do you think this conference would be advantageous for Germany?"

	Buergermeisters	West German urban population
It could render a discussion of all problems possible and lead to an eventual agreement - one should risk it	16%	11%
It could lead to a union of West and East Germany	9	2
Germany stands to lose nothing at the conference, she can only win	7	2
War could be avoided and peace maintained	6	3
Because the Russian is against a rearmament of Germany	1	*
It could bring economic advantages	-	*
One should first wait for the results of the conference (general)	-	2
Other opinions	4	1
No opinion / No answer	<u>1</u> 44%*	<u>2</u> 23%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

The specific comments of the Buergermeisters in reference to the probable advantages to Germany in a four power conference are cited in some detail below:

"Why do you think this conference would be advantageous for Germany?"

It could render a discussion of all problems possible and lead to an eventual agreement - one should risk it:

"It would already be an advantage if the world was shown the willingness to hold a conference."

"Because it is possible that an agreement on Germany in essential points will be reached by these conferences."

"Because it is expected that the four partners will get in closer touch by means of a conference - which should also be an advantage for Germany."

"Because, then, we will know at last where we are and no fooling of either the individual or the masses will any longer be possible in the sense that there is any more hope put in the East. The Russians will have to put their cards on the table - that is always an advantage."

"We might get a better position in the West and the West would integrate more closely when everyone sees what the Russian wants. For you cannot expect any boon to come from the Russian."

"Any conference about this subject is an advantage if the vital interests of Germany are not forgotten."

"After the conference you will be surer whether Russia really wants world peace."

"To know under which conditions the Russians would be ready to create a unified Germany."

It could lead to a union of West and East Germany:

"An understanding could be brought about at last and the German East could be united with the rest of Germany so that there is peace at last."

"Because, then, probably Germany's unity would be re-established. This will first of all be an advantage for Eastern Germany."

"Because it may turn out an advantage since all four get together to arrive at a decision about the union of Germany."

"It is always valuable when opponents sit down around a conference table. I do not know whether the Russians will understand the language of a conference. They could agree on a better interpretation of the European and German situation. The Russians could be induced to keep out of the European scene. This would mean that the population of the Eastern zone would be freed from present restraints. I myself am a native of the East zone and know the desires of the people there. Perhaps, then, there is also the possibility of a union of Western and Eastern Germany on a democratic basis."

Germany stands to lose nothing at the conference, she can only win:

"Because the Americans will never agree to the disadvantage of Germany if agreement comes about at all."

"Because the Western powers, by way of a firm attitude towards Russia, could achieve that some of the Potsdam agreements be modified."

CONFIDENTIAL

War could be avoided and peace maintained:

"Each party will have to give in somewhat and the threat of war will be lessened."

"Because a conference might perhaps still prevent a war."

"Because Germany has the utmost concern in the maintenance of peace and nothing should be left untried to preserve it."

Because the Russian is against a rearmament of Germany:

"That it will postpone armed intervention in Europe."

Other Opinions:

"It depends on the adroitness of the non-Russian participants of the conference."

"I won't give up hope."

WHY DISADVANTAGEOUS FOR GERMANY? ...

The Buergermeister who see only disadvantage for Germany in a four power conference also tend to argue along lines similar to those of the urban West German population, i.e. mainly to the effect that Russian dishonesty or intransigence precludes any successful negotiations. Only a relatively small minority in either group, it should be noted, argue for disadvantages in terms adversely reflecting on the Western powers.

"Some time ago the Russians suggested to convene a four power conference on Germany. If this conference takes place, do you think it probable that the conference, in general, will be advantageous or disadvantageous for Germany?"

IF "Disadvantageous": "Why do you think this conference would be disadvantageous for Germany?"

	Buergermeisters	West German urban population
The Russian is not honest - Germany cannot expect anything from him	6%	4%
All of them look only for their own advantage - Germany has no advantages from any conference	6	3
There is no agreeing with the Russian, because he does not yield from his position	5	2
Russia wants to dominate Germany and the world (to make Germany bolshevistic)	4	2
The contrast 'East-West' is too great	-	1
Russia only wants to prevent Germany from allying with the West and the union of the West	-	*
Other Opinions	1	1
No opinion/No answer	-	1
	<u>22%*</u>	<u>14%</u>

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

"Why do you think this conference would be disadvantageous for Germany?"

The Russian is not honest - Germany cannot expect anything from him:

"I simply cannot imagine that decisions could be reached, together with the Russians which they would mean honestly and which would turn out to the good."

"Because the Russian is not an honest partner."

"I don't believe that we have to expect anything from the Russians."

All of them look only for their own advantage - Germany has no advantages from any conference

"The Russians only want to prevent us from getting an equal status."

"Where the Russians are partners, nothing positive will turn out."

"Because the Russians will again interrupt it."

"Because the Russians will always oppose."

"It will turn out like all other conferences with a 'No!' There is no discussing with the Russians."

There is no agreeing with the Russian, because he does not yield from his position

"Because they want to provide chances for Communism, to come to power."

"Because we do not participate in the conference and the Russians will achieve things detrimental to Germany, e.g. withdrawal of all troops from Germany. It would then have to be expected that the Communists will usurp power."

"Because an agreement would mean the realization of Russia's plans in Germany."

Russia wants to dominate Germany and the world
(to make Germany bolshevistic)

"If the Western powers make concessions, it will only be to the disadvantage of Germany and unity will be postponed for a long time. If the Western powers make no concessions, there will be no result."

"I suppose the Allied will agree and lose any interest in Germany. We will be left fish on dry land."

"If all four agree, Germany will be oppressed."

"Past experience of similar conferences has shown that afterwards the difficulties for us Germans increased."

"An agreement, I fear, will be at the expense of Germany. In case of disagreement Communist propaganda will become stronger and more effective."

Other Opinions:

"The people's representatives in the East are only puppets of Russia. Therefore we cannot trust the conference."

THE WEST GERMAN PEOPLE VIEW DEFENSE PARTICIPATION,
NEUTRALITY AND RELATED ISSUES

Introducing The New Full-Scale Sample Of West German Opinion

Classification cancelled
by authority of Leo P. Crespi
PUB/RAS.

Report No. 69
Series No. 2
March 29, 1951

C O N F I D E N T I A L

OFFICE OF THE U.S. BUREAU OF COMMERCE FOR ECONOMIC
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STATE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO NEW "INTERMEDIATE" SAMPLE OF WEST GERMANY ...

Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, has for the past several months been engaged in a program of "flash" surveys for rapid coverage of the swiftly changing picture of German reactions to participation in European defense and associated political issues.

Though this type of surveying has been valuable because of the rapidity with which it has been accomplished, it has been limited in that it provided only a coverage of urban opinions in towns of 50,000 and over. It has hence been thought desirable to devise another sampling which though not quite so rapid in execution would provide information on the attitudes of the entire West German population at all community size levels.

With these considerations in mind an all West German sample has now been designed and the first results therefrom are presented in the present report. The sample is based upon 800 cases - the number that can be conveniently obtained in one interviewing week. Hence it is being termed the intermediate sample to distinguish it from the 3,000 full-scale West German sample which requires three weeks interviewing time. The intermediate sample, just as the regular full-scale survey, is of a so-called stratified probability type and embraces a representation of all West Germans of 18 years and above. The three zones of occupation, and the Laender within each, are proportionally represented in the sample on the basis of late 1949 and 1950 population figures issued by various Laender statistical offices. These statistics, it might be remarked, check very closely with recently published preliminary results of the 1950 German census.

Within each Land of West Germany, cases were proportionally distributed among seven community size strata to yield the following overall distribution.

Community Size Strata	Total Per cent in Stratum in West Germany	Fixed Size of Sample	Resulting Cases in Size Stratum	Resultant Cases by Zones		
				British	US	French
250,000 and over	17.5%	800	140	105	35	0
100,000 - 249,999	9.0	800	72	48	20	4
25,000 - 99,999	12.0	800	96	54	29	13
10,000 - 24,999	9.3	800	74	46	19	9
5,000 - 9,999	9.1	800	73	37	28	8
2,000 - 4,999	13.6	800	109	47	46	16
Under 2,000	29.5	800	236	78	114	44
	100.0%		800	415	291	94

In line with the objective of making about 15 interviews per sampling point - a number that has proved optimum for the field organization - the number of separate West German communities included in the intermediate sample came to 51 distributed as follows:

Community Size Group	Communities by Zones			Total
	British	US	French	
250,000 and over	6	4	0	10
100,000 - 249,999	3	1	1	5
25,000 - 99,999	3	1	1	5
10,000 - 24,999	3	1	1	5
5,000 - 9,999	2	1	1	4
2,000 - 4,999	3	2	1	6
Under 2,000	5	7	4	16
Total	25	17	9	51

- 2 -

CONFIDENTIAL

The choice of communities for inclusion in the sample is based upon a random selection from RAS's complete card file of all communities in West Germany, sub-grouped by Laender, Regierungsbezirke (county), and city size. Within the smallest sub-group the card sequence is by increasing per cent Catholic - i.e. stratified by religion where such data are available. Where such data are not available the sequence is simply by increasing population of communities within the size stratum.

The last step in sample selection, that of drawing the names of the actual respondents, is done by strict random methods in each of the selected communities on the basis of the most complete population files available - in general either the Einwohnermeldeamt (police register) or Adressen (tax and voting file).

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

I. WEST GERMAN ATTITUDES ON DEFENSE PARTICIPATION ...

A. Support for German participation in West European defense preponderates over opposition to such a course. This finding based on the first complete sampling of West German opinion thus corroborates the general picture of the participation issue obtained in the past series of urban "flash" surveys.

... Supporting the previous "flash" survey results is also the finding that in West Germany as a whole, participation receives its strongest backing from the more educated and informed segments of the population.

... Newly added group breakdowns - made possible by the present larger, more representative sampling - reveals that laborers, especially the semi-skilled, tend to oppose participation in Western defense more frequently than any other section of the population.

B. A new line of inquiry, in which possible advantages to West Germany of defense participation were balanced against possible disadvantages, results in returns pro and con participation almost identical with those obtained in the Atlantic Pact question. This suggests that the latter question which has been the mainstay of trend analysis, approximates the net views of Germans on the issue - that is, their views in the light of both favorable and unfavorable conditions.

II. NEUTRALISM IN WEST GERMANY ...

A. In order to get as reliable a measure as possible of the extent of neutralism in West Germany, as many facets of the issue as could conveniently be touched on in one survey were put to the West German people for their total judgment on the issue in its various ramifications.

Four main findings emerge from this line of inquiry:

... Neutrality considered simply on the basis of "what is better for Germany" has a strong pull on West German thinking. As many West Germans advocate unification and neutrality as advocate integration with the West as "better for Germany."

... But the idea of a neutral, united Germany largely loses its appeal when considered as a unilateral Russian proposition. Then, two-thirds would refuse it in favor of a unilateral Western proposal for West German integration with the West on a basis of equality.

- b -

CONFIDENTIAL

- ... Even when the issue is couched in fairly favorable terms, that is if Russia were prepared to make an important concession - free elections - to obtain German neutrality, the predominant opinion is against Western acceptance of the proposal.
- ... However, if the Western powers would guarantee German neutrality, that is, would regard a breach of German neutrality as a casus belli, half of West German opinion would favor acceptance of the plan.

The conclusion is clear: attractive as the idea of neutrality is to many West Germans, unless it receives positive support from the Western powers, it would fail to gain any widespread acceptance from the West German public.

- ... Opinions within all segments of the West German public are fairly evenly divided on whether all-German neutrality is better for West Germany than integration with the West. As in the case of participation, laboring groups appear to be less receptive to a Western orientation. Laborers also more frequently than others advocate acceptance of a plan for free elections in a neutralized Germany. The better educated, upper economic levels tend to favor the West on all aspects of the neutrality issue.

III. A FOUR POWER CONFERENCE ...

A. Expectations that Germany would stand to benefit from a four power conference, if one were held, remains definitely the minority sentiment in West Germany. About a fifth believe one would be advantageous to Germany, as many see disadvantages, and a third expect neither gains or losses.

- ... The fraction which hopes for advantages to Germany from such a conference appears to base its view on a general optimistic belief that some good will result from the discussions.
- ... A general pessimism - based largely on suspicion of the Russians - keynotes the views of the fraction which foresees disadvantages to Germany from a foreign ministers' conference.

IV. GERMAN UNITY ...

A. A week prior to the resolution adopted by the West German Bundestag (parliament) setting forth conditions for the settlement of German unity, the idea of negotiating the issue with East Zone representatives appealed to half of the West German public. But a quarter advocated outright rejection by the Bonn government of the East Zone bids, and as many withheld judgment. Over half of West Berliners recommended rejection, though somewhat more than a third favored negotiation.

- ... The fact that half of the West German population favored talking over unity with the East Zone does not mean that they would now disapprove of the recent Bundestag resolution. On the contrary, their arguments in some respects could be considered to be an advance endorsement of the stand of the Bonn government. What they want, in effect, is to do something about unity, and that of course is precisely what the Bundestag resolution proposed to do, albeit with guarantees which might not appeal to the East Zone figureheads.
- ... Advocates of rejection of the East Zone unity offer would doubtless applaud the recent Bundestag resolution if given an opportunity. The firm conditions set forth in the resolution would, at any rate, appear to meet the main objections of this group that the East Zone is not to be trusted.

- c -

CONFIDENTIAL

I. WEST GERMAN ATTITUDES ON DEFENSE PARTICIPATION

FIRST RETURNS FROM COMPLETE WEST GERMAN SAMPLING ...

The first complete sampling of West German opinion on the defense participation issue corroborates the general picture that was found in the past series of urban "flash" surveys, namely that support for German participation in European defense preponderates over opposition to such a course.

"Several West European nations and America signed a defense pact - the so-called Atlantic Pact.

"Suppose West Germany would join the Atlantic Pact and be asked in connection with it to participate in a general army for the defense of Europe. Would you then be for or against such participation in a defense army?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
For participation	48%	48%	51%	37%	79%
Against participation	40	39	39	49	15
No opinion	12	13	10	14	6
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

These initial full-scale results on the participation issue do not materially depart from the previous "flash" survey findings listed below despite the fact that the latter are limited to a sampling of only those West German communities 50,000 or more in population.

Urban Sample:

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	Berlin
February <u>26-27</u>				
For participation	51%	52%	49%	75%
Against participation	36	35	37	19
No opinion	13	13	14	6
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

The slight apparent drop in the current full survey figures as compared with the prior "flash" results above, is not large enough in the light of the numbers of cases involved (800 and 640) to be attributed to other than chance variation. If the changes mark an incipient downward trend in German support for defense participation further evidence should be forthcoming in the next survey.

It should be noted in the opening table that French Zone results are separately tabulated for the first time since a total of 94 cases in this area is available in the current sample. Such a number is not generally large enough to be conclusive, but can often be informative. In the present survey, the French Zone results reliably indicate that support for German defense participation is less in that area than in either the US or British zones. It is further strongly suggested - though not statistically conclusive in view of the limited number of cases - that in the French Zone, support for German defense participation is outweighed by opposition to such a course.

Just as has been indicated in urban "flash" surveys over the past several months, complete sampling of the West German population reveals that support of defense participation is relatively at its highest point among the more educated and informed segments of the population - the men, the better schooled, and the more affluent. Also as previously indicated, age or religion do not seem to play a significant role in differentiating group attitudes. And party differences seem as before to follow a pattern in line with the known educational and income distributions among the various political groups indicated.

"Several West European nations and America signed a defense pact - the so-called Atlantic Pact.

"Suppose West Germany would join the Atlantic Pact and be asked in connection with it to participate in a general army for the defense of Europe. Would you then be for or against such participation in a defense army?"

	For participation	Against participation	No opinion	Number of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	55%	39%	6% ... 100%	351
Women	42	40	18	446
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	45%	41%	14%	655
Beyond elementary school	53	31	6	141
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Lower	43%	42%	15%	412
Middle and upper	53	37	10	385
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	47%	35%	18%	222
150 - 299 DM	47	44	9	364
300 DM and more	53	37	10	201
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	47%	42%	11%	339
40 years and over	49	38	13	458
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	51%	45%	4%	207
CDU/CSU	57	33	10	153
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	63	35	2	48
Other parties	62	33	5	78
None	36	51	13	148
Don't know	37	34	29	159
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	47%	39%	14%	384
Protestants	50	39	11	379

But the present larger and more representative sampling has made several further group breakdowns practicable which yield some important disclosures about current group divisions on the participation issue. The very significant indication emerges from the occupational breakdown that opposition to defense participation is greater among laborers than among any other occupational group, and among the semi-skilled is definitely the preponderating sentiment.

	For participation	Against participation	No opinion	Number of cases:
WEST GERMANY:				
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	63%	23%	14% ... 100%	48
Businessmen	56	36	8	81
White collar workers	54	37	9	92
Skilled laborers	41	49	10	139
Semi-skilled laborers	32	57	11	103
Farmers	48	39	13	100
None: pensioners, students retired, etc.	53	30	17	139
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, self	47%	49%	4%	123
Yes, member of family	41	49	10	146
Neither / nor	50	36	14	543
<u>City Size:</u>				
Under 1,000	51%	39%	10%	128
1,000 - 1,999	45	37	18	108
2,000 - 4,999	47	35	18	109
5,000 - 9,999	57	33	10	73
10,000 - 24,999	49	38	13	71
25,000 - 99,999	44	46	10	96
100,000 - 249,999	50	46	4	72
250,000 and over	45	43	12	140

Since laboring elements would have to figure prominently in any really sizable German contribution to European defense, the degree of opposition in this group gives considerable food for thought.

The discovery that opposition to German defense participation is relatively strong among German laboring groups removes any element of surprise from the finding that non-union members are appreciably less opposed as a group to defense participation than are union members or members of their families. Since laboring elements are heavily represented in union membership, they would obviously weigh unionist replies in their direction.

Not very much can be said, finally, about the city size comparison except to indicate that there is no simple trend. Thus the implication is that German attitudes on the participation issue are not related in any direct way to size of community, but are determined by cross-cutting variables.

PARTICIPATION ATTITUDES IN THE FACE OF POSSIBLE DISADVANTAGES AND ADVANTAGES ...

In a prior report* it was revealed that considerable numbers of professed supporters of German defense participation indicate a change of mind when asked whether they would persist in their support if it meant higher taxes, or rationing, or a draft. The thought has arisen, however, that thus focusing upon particular unfavorable consequences of participation was not an entirely even-handed approach, and may hence have tended to exaggerate the extent of "Ohne mich" sentiments that are present in German thinking on the defense issue. That some allowances in interpretation are called for is rather strongly suggested by the findings below:

"A participation of West Germany in a West European army will probably entail certain disadvantages, such as increased taxes, rationing, and perhaps establishment of the draft. Possibly it will also result in certain advantages, such as decrease of unemployment, better wage earning opportunities, and equality for West Germany.

"If you consider all the given possibilities in case of West Germany's participation in a West European army, would you then be for or against such participation?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
For participation	46%	47%	48%	36%	78%
Against participation	41	39	42	50	15
No opinion	13	14	10	14	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

It is apparent that when possible disadvantages of defense participation are balanced against possible advantages, and then the participation issue is posed, the picture of replies proves to be almost identical with that obtained on the Atlantic Pact question.

The suggestion is then that the Atlantic Pact question, which has been a mainstay of trend analysis, approximates German net views, i.e. judgments in the light of both favorable and unfavorable considerations.

* See Report No. 61, Series No. 2, dated February 22, 1951, DEFENSE PARTICIPATION SENTIMENTS AND THE EXTENT OF "OHNE MICH" - With Other Current Developments On Issues Related To German Defense Participation.

The similarity of the results on the basic Atlantic Pact question and the present one incorporating a balance of possible favorable and unfavorable consequences of participation becomes increasingly clear in the group breakdowns. Those on the present question differ but little, it will be noted below, from the preceding comparisons on the Atlantic Pact query. For this reason there is no need for a separate discussion of these returns.

	For participation	Against participation	No opinion	Number of cases:
WEST GERMANY:				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	53%	39%	8% ... 100%	351
Women	41	42	17	446
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	43%	43%	14%	655
Beyond elementary school	60	32	8	141
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Lower	42%	43%	15%	412
Middle and upper	50	39	11	385
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	45%	35%	20%	222
150 - 299 DM	46	45	9	364
300 DM and more	49	41	10	201
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	45%	45%	10%	339
40 years and over	47	38	15	458
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	48%	46%	6%	207
CDU/CSU	56	35	9	153
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	61	31	8	48
Other parties	64	31	5	78
None	32	53	15	148
Don't know	34	38	28	159
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	44%	42%	14%	384
Protestants	50	38	12	379
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	56%	27%	17%	48
Businessmen	49	41	10	81
White collar workers	50	36	14	92
Skilled laborers	40	49	11	139
Semi-skilled laborers	28	62	10	103
Farmers	49	39	12	100
None: pensioners, students	54	31	15	139
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, self	41%	52%	7%	123
Yes, member of family	36	51	13	146
Neither / nor	49	37	14	543
<u>City Size:</u>				
Under 1,000	49%	42%	9%	128
1,000 - 1,999	45	42	13	108
2,000 - 4,999	41	39	20	109
5,000 - 9,999	51	31	18	73
10,000 - 24,999	46	41	13	71
25,000 - 99,999	45	46	9	96
100,000 - 249,999	54	43	3	72
250,000 and over	42	43	15	140

II. NEUTRALISM IN WEST GERMANY

In order to get as reliable a measure as possible of the extent of neutralism in West Germany, as many facets of the issue as could conveniently be touched on in one survey were put to the West German people for their total judgment on the issue in its various ramifications.

Four main findings emerge from this line of inquiry:

1. Neutrality considered simply on the basis of "what is better for Germany" has a strong pull on West German thinking. As many West Germans advocate unification and neutrality as advocate integration with the West as "better for Germany."
2. But the idea of a neutral, united Germany largely loses its appeal when considered as a unilateral Russian proposition. Then two-thirds would refuse it in favor of a unilateral Western proposal for West German integration with the West on a basis of equality.
3. Even when the issue is couched in fairly favorable terms, that is if Russia were prepared to make an important concession - free elections - to obtain German neutrality, the predominant opinion is against Western acceptance of the proposal.
4. However, if the Western powers would guarantee German neutrality, that is, would regard a breach of German neutrality as a casus belli, half of West German opinion would favor acceptance of the plan.

The conclusion is clear: Attractive as the idea of neutrality is to West Germans, unless it receives positive support from the Western powers, it would fail to gain any widespread acceptance from the West German public.

The findings in detail are presented on the following pages.

NEUTRALITY CONSIDERED AS "WHAT IS BETTER FOR GERMANY" ...

Opinions split in West Germany as a whole on whether it would be better for West Germany to join with the West or to unite with East Germany and remain neutral. Only in Berlin is the direction of opinion clearly in favor of Western integration as "better for Germany," though the idea also finds greater favor in the US Zone than in the British and French zones.

"What would, in your opinion, be better for West Germany: to try to join the West politically and militarily as a free and equal nation, or to try to unite with East Germany and as a neutral nation keep out of a conflict between East and West?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
To try to join the West	40%	37%	45%	37%	74%
To try to unite with East Germany	42	43	39	44	22
No opinion	18	20	16	19	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

NEUTRALITY CONSIDERED AS A UNILATERAL RUSSIAN PROPOSAL ...

About two thirds of West German residents say the Federal Government should turn down a Russian proposed neutrality in favor of a Western bid to unite with the West on a basis of political and military equality. Almost nine in ten Berliners would favor acceptance of the Western alternative.

"Supposing West Germany were offered the following two alternatives:"

1. The Western powers: offer West Germany admission to the union of the Western nations as an independent, politically and militarily equal nation.
2. Russia: offers unification with East Germany and proposes that Germany as a neutral nation keeps out of a conflict between East and West.

"In case the Federal Government had the choice of only one of these two proposals, which alternative should they take in your opinion, considering everything you know about the Western powers and Russia?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Western powers	65%	64%	67%	63%	87%
Russia	16	16	14	22	9
No opinion	19	20	19	15	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

* Alternatives were presented on a card read by respondents.

- 7 -
CONFIDENTIAL

REASONS FOR ACCEPTING THE WEST PROPOSAL ...

Advocates of West German integration with the West tend in large part to stress dislike and distrust of Soviet Russia rather than any positive expression of common cause with the West. Their arguments are listed below in order of frequency of mention.

If would accept Western proposal: "For what reasons would you refuse the other alternative?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------	--------

Russia cannot be trusted: Because I don't believe in the Russian promises - the same thing can happen here as in Korea; the offer is not very trustworthy - I don't think they'd keep it; because sooner or later we'll be overrun by the Russians; I trust the Russians even less than the Western powers - the Russians won't keep their promises; because we have known Russian conditions long and thoroughly enough - we have to be distrustful of them; etc.

29%	31%	29%	21%	37%
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

Because I oppose Communism and the Russians due to personal experience: Because I am a refugee from the East and have no use for the Russians; I don't think siding with the Russians would be of any advantage to us, because we have heard too much about conditions in the "workers' paradise"; because I definitely do not want to have anything to do with the Russians, I prefer the Western powers ten times to them; because I oppose everything that comes from the East -- we have a much higher standard of culture; because I am for the Americans - I don't want to have anything to do with the East; because we don't want anything from Communism and the Russians won't feed us either; etc.

16	16	14	21	20
----	----	----	----	----

Because the Russians want to dominate all of Germany: Because they will never adhere to that offer - they only want to confiscate all of Germany; because we don't want to turn Russian, and that would be the result; the Russian proposal cannot be accepted because the same thing would happen to Germany as happened to the other Eastern countries and Czechoslovakia; because we would be under a dictatorship which would take our freedom away from us; etc.

8	8	9	7	7
---	---	---	---	---

Neutrality is impossible for Germany: Neutrality does not exist any more - there is nothing left to us but to side with the West; because we can never stay neutral, we are caught in the middle; no such thing as neutrality is possible; because there will be a conflict we cannot stay out of; etc.

6	4	8	5	15
---	---	---	---	----

(cont'd on next page)

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------	--------

Because Germany is politically, economically, and culturally linked with the West:
We can expect something from the Western powers - not from Russia - the West provides for us financially; because we can only side with the West - it's imperative in view of our culture; as a poor country we have to side with Western capitalism - the East doesn't have anything and only wants to exploit us; etc.

2%	1%	3%	2%	4%
----	----	----	----	----

Other opinions: Russia is only interested in preventing remilitarization with all means - sooner or later they will turn up with some deviltry; because Silesia will not be included; because it won't be of any use to us - in the end we'll be as bad off as Korea; because the second offer won't be of use in the long run - East and West will never agree; etc.

4	3	3	5	3
---	---	---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{3}{68\%}$ *	$\frac{3}{66\%}$ *	$\frac{3}{69\%}$ *	$\frac{2}{63\%}$	$\frac{3}{89\%}$ *
--------------------	--------------------	--------------------	------------------	--------------------

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

REASONS FOR ACCEPTING RUSSIAN PROPOSAL ...

Fear of war is the most frequently cited argument of the minority which would prefer the Bonn government's accepting a Russian proposal of neutrality if such were made.

If would accept Russian proposal: "For what reasons would you refuse the other alternative?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------	--------

In order to avoid remilitarization, war, and civil war: A war between brothers (East and West) should be avoided at all cost - that could be a result of the Western offer; it would be good if the "free nation" was realized - yet the military issue is disturbing to me; if we rely on military power again we'll have another war; I don't like the allusion to the military in the first offer - I don't want to have anything to do with it; to side with the West means war - therefore we should choose the lesser evil; because I am opposed to the military - it results in the disaster of the nations - the Russians don't want war; etc.

7%	7%	6%	6%	4%
----	----	----	----	----

Unification of Germany is the most important problem: Because the unification of Germany is the decisive factor for me; because we want to be re-united with our brothers in East Germany; etc.

3	4	3	3	3
---	---	---	---	---

If is preferable for Germany to stay neutral: If good will exists, it is definitely possible to stay neutral - Russia neither can nor wants to start a war - she is busy with her reconstruction - the best bet would be to achieve equality and to protect our borders; for the future I want Germany to remain neutral and be dependent on neither East or West; because it would be best for us to stay out of it altogether; etc.

2	2	3	3	1
---	---	---	---	---

Western offer means continuation of a divided Germany: Because then Germany will stay divided; etc.

1	1	-	1	1
---	---	---	---	---

The Russian offer would contribute to improvement of economic situation - trade with the East: So Germany will be able to live again, we get all our wheat from the East; we need trade with Russia for our economy; etc.

1	-	1	2	-
---	---	---	---	---

Other opinions: Because our nation is poor and we have no money for an army; otherwise we'll have to get our heads cut off for the sake of the Americans - and that after they've treated us as criminals; etc.

2	1	2	7	-
---	---	---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

1 17%	1 16%	- 15%	2 24%	- 9%
----------	----------	----------	----------	---------

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

NEUTRALITY BASED ON FREE ELECTIONS ...

Advocacy of a neutralized Germany increases when the issue is posed on a more favorable and also firmer basis, but even so fails to become the predominant view. About a third of the West German public believes, if Russia should agree at a four power conference to support really free elections for a united and independent Germany, that the Western powers should accept a plan providing for the withdrawal of the occupying powers and a disarmed Germany. But preponderant opinions (45% in West Germany, 60% in Berlin) are of the opinion that the West should turn down such a plan.

"Suppose the Russians were to support the following at such a four power conference:

"Russia would support really free elections for a united and independent Germany under the following conditions:

1. That Germany will not be rearmed
2. That all four occupation powers will leave Germany.

"Would you want the Western powers to accept or refuse this plan?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Accept	34%	35%	30%	44%	26%
Refuse	45	44	48	37	69
No opinion	21	21	22	19	5
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

NEUTRALITY GUARANTEED BY THE WEST ...

However, a good fraction of those who initially advocate Western rejection of the above plan, change their minds when the proposal is presented in even stronger terms.

"If the Western powers accepted this plan and thereby guaranteed the neutrality of West Germany, that is, they would consider a breach of this neutrality a reason for war, would you then under these conditions welcome the acceptance of this plan by the Western powers or not?" (Asked of those who said "Refuse" in previous question)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Welcome	14%	15%	13%	9%	19%
Not welcome	24	22	28	23	44
No opinion	7	7	7	5	6
	<u>45%</u>	<u>44%</u>	<u>48%</u>	<u>37%</u>	<u>69%</u>

Thus when the neutrality issue is put in most favorable terms, preceded by free all-German elections and accompanied by a guaranty from the West, almost half of the West Germans would favor it, but a quarter still remains opposed and about as many cannot make up their minds.

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Accept the plan or accept if West guarantees neutrality	48%	50%	43%	53%	45%
Refuse plan under all conditions	24	22	28	23	44
No opinion	28	28	29	24	11
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON THE NEUTRALITY ISSUE ...

Opinions within all segments of the West German public are fairly evenly divided on whether all-German neutrality or Western integration would be the better course for West Germany to follow. But as the table below indicates, the better educated, upper socio-economic level, and the professional and clerical groups are more inclined to prefer Western unity. This view is also more likely to be held by adherents of the Christian Democrat party than by followers of other political parties. Laboring groups, on the other hand, tend more frequently to advocate East-West unity. It will be recalled that these groups were also more inclined to oppose West German participation in West European defense.

Better for West Germany:

	To try to join the West	To try to unite with East Germany	No opinion	Number of cases:
WEST GERMANY:				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	44%	46%	10% ... 100%	351
Women	36	38	26	446
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	38%	42%	20%	655
Beyond elementary school	48	43	9	141
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Lower	35%	44%	21%	412
Middle and upper	45	39	16	385
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	36%	39%	25%	222
150 - 299 DM	42	42	16	364
300 DM and more	41	45	14	201
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	37%	48%	15%	339
40 years and over	41	38	21	458
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	36%	55%	9%	207
CDU/CSU	51	32	17	153
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	48	46	6	48
Other parties	42	48	10	78
None	37	39	24	148
Don't know	32	33	35	159
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	41%	36%	23%	384
Protestants	39	46	15	379
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professional	54%	27%	19%	48
Businessmen	41	39	20	81
White collar workers	52	38	10	92
Skilled laborers	30	52	18	139
Semi-skilled laborers	38	44	18	103
Farmers	44	32	24	100
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	35	45	20	139

ent sentiment in all groups is that the Federal government should
 Western alternative to join with the West on a basis of equality
 in a Russian alternative of unification and neutrality, if pre-
 sent the two choices. The lower income, lesser educated groups
 more than their opposites fail to express an opinion.

	Western alternative	Russian alternative	No opinion	Number of cases
ANY:				
	70%	20%	10% ... 100%	350
	61	13	26	445
School	64%	15%	21%	655
Primary school	70	20	10	141
Sex Status:				
Upper	61%	16%	23%	412
	58	17	15	383
Month:				
	60%	13%	27%	222
	58	16	16	364
More	56	19	15	201
Years	67%	19%	14%	339
and over	63	14	23	456
Income:				
	71%	19%	10%	207
	75	11	14	153
/BDV	66	26	8	47
es	69	21	10	78
	54	17	29	147
	54	11	35	159
	66%	12%	22%	384
	65	18	17	379
	73%	19%	8%	47
	65	15	20	81
Workers	74	14	12	92
Workers	68	17	15	139
and laborers	62	16	22	103
	62	13	25	100
Monitors, students, etc.	60	16	24	138

III. A FOUR POWER CONFERENCE

LITTLE GERMAN ENTHUSIASM OVER PROSPECTIVE CONFERENCE ...

Expectations that Germany would stand to benefit from a four power conference, if one were held, continues to remain definitely the minority sentiment in West Germany. About a fifth believe a conference would result in advantages for Germany, but almost as many, (16%), see disadvantages, and a third expect neither gains nor losses for Germany.

"Some time ago the Russians proposed a four power conference on Germany. If this conference should be held, do you think it likely that the conference in general would be of advantage or disadvantage for Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	U.S. Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Of advantage	21%	18%	23%	29%	28%
Of disadvantage	16	16	19	10	19
Neither / Nor	33	34	32	34	43
No opinion	<u>30</u> 100%	<u>32</u> 100%	<u>26</u> 100%	<u>27</u> 100%	<u>10</u> 100%

The fraction which hopes for advantages to Germany from a conference appears to base its view on a general optimistic belief that some good will result from the discussion.

"In which respect?" (Asked of those who thought a four power conference would be advantageous to Germany.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	U.S. Zone	French Zone	Berlin
<u>It would lead to discussion of all problems and to possible agreement:</u> There is a good chance to come to a peaceful and reasonable decision about existing differences and obstacles - they will agree at a conference - everything will be better - especially for us; matters should always be talked over - something positive might come of it - they could come to recognize our view-point; the mere fact that they will gather around a table and start to negotiate is something positive - even if nothing significant comes of it; it depends, of course, on the skill of the diplomats - advantages for both parties might be possible; etc.	8%	6%	10%	12%	9%
<u>War could be avoided:</u> If the four great powers agreed, war could be avoided; they would finally draw up a peace treaty with Germany - either with or without Russia; perhaps war could be avoided - the word "war" gives me a stomach ache; etc.	4	4	4	6	7
<u>It could lead to unification of East and West Germany:</u> We might become re-united; they might find a compromise in regard to the unification of Germany; the issue of Germany's re-unification might be considered; etc.	3	4	2	3	5
<u>Russian intentions would be clarified:</u> We will find out at the conference what the Russians really want; only in so far as a certain clarification of the situation about Germany will be the result - I don't expect any material advantages; the Russians will have to make themselves clear this time - that will be an advantage for us in any case; etc.	2	2	1	2	-
<u>The Russians might make concessions this time:</u> It might be possible that the Russians would give in a little if small concessions were made; if the Russians would give in a little we might get our Eastern territories back; if the three Western powers are on the alert it will be an advantage and this time it could easily be the case; etc.	2	1	3	1	5
<u>Concessions to Germany might result:</u> Because all of the participants will try to make some concessions to Germany in order to obtain her favor; because all of them need the Germans; etc.	1	1	1	-	2
<u>Other Opinions:</u> They might achieve certain improvements - perhaps we could trade again with the East; etc.	1	-	1	3	1
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	$\frac{1}{22\%}$	$\frac{1}{19\%}$	$\frac{1}{23\%}$	$\frac{2}{29\%}$	$\frac{1}{30\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

A general pessimism appears to keynote the views of the fraction which fears that disadvantages to Germany will result from a four power conference. This pessimism is based mainly on their suspiciousness of the Russians, but a few also suspect that the West could connive with the East against German interests.

"In which respect?" (Asked of those who thought conference would be disadvantageous to Germany.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	U.S. Zone	French Zone	Berlin
<u>Russia's intentions toward Germany are not good; If the Russians confer about Germany there is never any advantage in it for us; the Russians' demands are unacceptable to us - they only want to fish in troubled waters; the Russians might make concessions and will cheat the Germans anyway; I know the Russians - I also know that they only want to exploit Germany; the Russians will only seek their own advantages; etc.</u>	5%	5%	6%	6%	8%
<u>All of them pursue their own interests - and disregard Germany: I think it possible that there would be disadvantages for Germany in it, as long as they (the West) can expect to win some advantage over Russia; because Germany does not have anything to say and is not represented - the others will only see their own advantages; the Russians are unpredictable - the Americans as well, the French hate us, and therefore nothing good will come of it - that is a disadvantage for us Germans; they have gotten together often enough and nothing has ever come of it; etc.</u>	5	5	5	2	3
<u>No agreement is possible with the Russians (general), they won't deviate from their view-point; Russia is always ready with a veto and agreement can't be reached; agreement is improbable; because the Russians will make conditions to which the Western Allies cannot agree; etc.</u>	3	2	4	2	3
<u>The Russians want to rule Germany: The Russians use all means to get Germany under their rule; because the Russians might get to dominate all of Germany - they are stronger than the West; etc.</u>	2	2	4	-	2
<u>A conference will only be a Russian delaying tactic: The Russians only want to win time; it's only a tactical maneuver by the Russians - because they are not sufficiently prepared; the Russians only want to get a further delay - they intend no advantage for us; etc.</u>	1	1	1	-	1
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	$\frac{1}{17\%}$	$\frac{1}{16\%}$	$\frac{1}{21\%}$	$\frac{-}{10\%}$	$\frac{2}{19\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

IV. GERMAN UNITY

UNITY DISCUSSIONS FAVORED BY MANY ...

A week prior to the resolution adopted by the West German Bundestag (parliament) setting forth conditions for the settlement of German unity, the idea of negotiating the issue with East Zone representatives appealed to half of the West German public. But a quarter advocated outright rejection by the Bonn government of the East Zone bids, and as many withheld judgment. Over half of West Berliners recommended rejection, though somewhat more than a third favored negotiation.

"As you probably know, the East German government made proposals to appoint representatives for East and West Germany who are to negotiate about the unification of Germany.

"Would you think it preferable to negotiate with the East Zone government about these proposals or should the West German Bundestag reject these proposals without negotiating?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Negotiate	49%	46%	53%	47%	36%
Reject	27	27	27	29	55
No opinion	24	27	20	24	9
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

REASONS FOR ACCEPTING BIDS ...

... The fact that half of the West German population favored talking over unity with the East Zone does not mean that they would now disapprove of the recent Bundestag resolution. On the contrary, their arguments in some respects could be considered to be an advance endorsement of the stand of the Bonn government. What they want, in effect, is to do something about unity, and that of course is precisely what the Bundestag resolution proposed to do, albeit with guarantees which might not appeal to the East Zone figureheads.

Reasons advanced by those who favor accepting
the East Zone bid to negotiate on German unity:

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------	--------

Everything should be done to promote Germany's unification: Every opportunity at unification should be carefully considered - everything should be tried to come to a peaceful agreement; Germany belongs together in any case and any conference is good enough for this purpose; everything should be tried to re-unite Germany; because an agreement could be reached if Germans negotiate with Germans; because it concerns all of Germany - the East Zone belongs to us; etc.

15%	13%	17%	14%	12%
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

We have to negotiate, otherwise the situation will not improve at all: Otherwise conditions will remain as they are in Germany; negotiations at least leave hope for some kind of an agreement between the East and the West zones, and it is better than refusing right away; because our brothers are over there on the other side - we should not shut the door in their faces; as long as we refuse proposals for negotiations, no agreement can be reached; etc.

10	9	12	10	6
----	---	----	----	---

We could try at least, maybe something might come of it after all: An open discussion of the problems could not do any harm; perhaps a compromise could be reached by negotiations which would be acceptable to both sides; perhaps something good could come of it, if not, we can always refuse; etc.

10	10	10	9	7
----	----	----	---	---

We could see what they really want: So we have a chance to hear their opinions and their proposals; we should listen first to what the East Zone government really wants - we can refuse the proposals soon enough; we would get a glimpse of the true attitude of the East; etc.

9	10	7	10	8
---	----	---	----	---

To show our good will and thus deprive the East of a propaganda weapon: So that we show our good will at least; in order that the East Zone government cannot make it appear that West Germany opposes re-unification of Germany; we should always listen to what they have to say - otherwise they'll accuse us of not wanting to negotiate; etc.

3	2	4	4	2
---	---	---	---	---

Other opinions: Because our people were tried for small crimes and acting according to orders and today we are supposed to fight for the victors; if the East Zone is not recognized they won't pay any attention to us anymore; etc.

1	2	1	1	1
---	---	---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{1}{49\%}$	$\frac{-}{46\%}$	$\frac{2}{63\%}$	$\frac{-}{58\%}$	$\frac{1}{37\%}$
------------------	------------------	------------------	------------------	------------------

* Totals add to more than percent of those asked question because some respondents gave more than one answer.

REASONS FOR REJECTING BIDS ...

Advocates of rejection of the East Zone unity offer would doubtless applaud the recent Bundestag resolution if given an opportunity. The firm conditions set forth in the resolution would, at any rate, appear to meet the main objections of this group that the East Zone is not to be trusted.

Reasons advanced by those who favor rejecting the East Zone bid to negotiate on German unity:

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
<u>It is futile -- nothing would come of it:</u> The whole thing is futile, nothing would come of it; they could not agree, because the Russians are in back of it; under the given conditions it is impossible to negotiate; East and West won't agree anyway; etc.	7%	6%	6%	18%	13%
<u>The East Zone government cannot be trusted:</u> The people of the East Zone government are not honest - Russians are behind them; we cannot rid ourselves of our skepticism toward them; it would only be a trap - the East Zone government would not keep the agreements; they have a dirty deal up their sleeves; etc.	7	7	8	3	12
<u>The East Zone government only represents Russian interests:</u> Because Russian interests are behind it; the subjects for discussion are prescribed by Russia; it is useless to negotiate with the present East Zone government; it is impossible to negotiate with the East Zone government -- who are these people anyway? -- the advocates of Communism; the East Zone government was set up by the Russians and the Russians think only of their own advantage; because the representatives of the East Zone government are only trying to find ways and means to bring all of Germany under the rule of Communism; etc.	6	5	9	2	15
<u>The East Zone government is not a democratically elected government:</u> Because I consider the present East Zone government not elected by democratic principles; I consider the East Zone government not competent because it was elected through fraud (pressure on the population) - if they had free elections, different men would be heading the government; I don't think they are representatives of the people after they forced their system on the people in the East Zone (elections under pressure); etc.	3	4	3	2	11
<u>Other opinions:</u> It won't be of any use as long as they don't hold free elections; because the East Zone government demands an even number of representatives; because the East can only be negotiated with if our military strength equal theirs; because they gave up Silesia; etc.	4	4	2	3	6
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	$\frac{1}{28\%}$	$\frac{1}{27\%}$	$\frac{-}{28\%}$	$\frac{1}{29\%}$	$\frac{-}{57\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

The differences between groups on the question of negotiation with the East resolve themselves largely into the difference between having an opinion and not having one on the issue. This results in the finding that more men, more of the better educated and higher income groups take definite stands both for and against negotiations, while their opposites sit on the fence in large numbers.

"As you probably know, the East German government made proposals to appoint representatives for East and West Germany who are to negotiate about the unification of Germany.

Would you think it preferable to negotiate with the East Zone government about these proposals or should the West German Bundestag reject these proposals without negotiating?"

	Negotiate	Reject	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY:				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	54%	34%	12% ... 100%	351
Women	44	21	35	446
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	47%	25%	28%	655
Beyond elementary school	57	34	9	141
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Lower	48%	22%	30%	412
Middle and upper	48	33	19	385
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	40%	23%	37%	222
150 - 299 DM	50	29	21	364
300 DM and more	56	28	16	201
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	50%	27%	23%	339
40 years and over	47	27	26	458
<u>Party Preferences:</u>				
SPD	53%	27%	15%	207
CDU/CSU	44	35	21	153
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	54	38	8	48
Other parties	51	32	17	78
None	47	22	31	148
Don't know	38	19	43	159
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	42%	28%	30%	384
Protestants	54	26	20	379
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	54%	36%	10%	48
Businessmen	46	22	32	81
White collar workers	51	35	14	92
Skilled laborers	53	24	23	139
Semi-skilled laborers	50	23	27	103
Farmers	45	28	27	100
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	48	25	27	139

SOME FURTHER FINDINGS ON WEST GERMAN REACTIONS
TO THE LANDSBERG DECISIONS

Classification cancelled
by authority of Leo P. Crespi
PUB/RAS.

Report No. 70
Series No. 2
March 30, 1951

C O N F I D E N T I A L

OFFICE OF THE U. S. EMBASSY COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS SECTION

INTRODUCTION ...

This report on reactions to the Landsberg decisions is based on findings obtained from the new stratified, probability sample with full-scale coverage of West Germany, recently introduced by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs. As such, it supplements the results previously reported from the former urban quota sample of West Germany.*

The findings reported here were obtained in two surveys, the first conducted March 7-15, and the second, March 15-22, 1951. The sample, consisting of 800 cases in West Germany and 200 in West Berlin, represents a scientific cross-section of the populations in those places. As always in RAS surveys, interviewing was conducted by a trained German staff and the analysis of results was done in the Frankfurt headquarters of RAS.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS ...

- ... Awareness of the Landsberg decisions is less extensive among the West German population as a whole (64%) than it was among urban residents (80%).
- ... But there is a greater tendency for the general public to disagree with the decisions. Whereas the city sample divided evenly between agreement and disagreement, almost twice as many of the West German public disagree as approve of the decisions.
- ... Alleged delay in arriving at the judgments, the injustice of the original sentences and the complicit war guilt of others continue to be the reasons most frequently advanced for disagreement.
- ... Amelioration of sentences remains the predominant basis for agreement with the decisions, though the general public gives somewhat more recognition than city dwellers did to the factor of clemency based on legal review as well as to the justice of punishment for crimes committed.
- ... The public, for the most part, attributes the postponement of the execution of the death sentences pending the appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court to uncertainty, weakness, or ulterior purpose on the part of the U.S. This line of reasoning follows much the same pattern as that which previously characterized urban views on American motivation in the original Landsberg decisions.

* See "West German Reactions to the Landsberg Decisions", Report No. 63, Series No. 2, (Mar 6, 1951).

EXTENT OF AWARENESS OF THE LANDSBERG DECISIONS ...

Awareness of the recent Landsberg decisions is not as extensive among the West German population as a whole as it is among its urban segments. This is shown when results of a sampling of the German people living in hamlets, small towns, cities and metropolitan communities are compared with results obtained from sampling of only those who reside in cities of 50,000 population and over.

"Have you heard of the decisions recently made by the Americans about the prisoners at Landsberg?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
All West German Sample:					
Yes, have heard	64%	67%	63%	56%	61%
No, have not heard	<u>35</u> 100%	<u>33</u> 100%	<u>37</u> 100%	<u>44</u> 100%	<u>39</u> 100%
Urban West German Sample:*					
Yes, have heard	80%	77%	84%	-	56%
No, have not heard	<u>20</u> 100%	<u>23</u> 100%	<u>16</u> 100%	-	<u>44</u> 100%

ACCEPTANCE OF THE DECISIONS ...

But that section of the total West German public which knows of the decisions is even less inclined than the informed urban group to agree with the results of the American review.

"In general, do you agree with these decisions or not?"
(Asked of those who answered "Yes, have heard" to previous question)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
All West German Sample:					
Agree	18%	20%	17%	16%	33%
Do not agree	32	30	33	33	16
No opinion	<u>14</u> 64%	<u>17</u> 67%	<u>13</u> 63%	<u>7</u> 56%	<u>12</u> 61%
Urban West German Sample:					
Agree	31%	28%	35%	-	32%
Do not agree	32	32	34	-	12
No opinion	<u>17</u> 80%	<u>17</u> 77%	<u>15</u> 84%	-	<u>12</u> 56%

It will be noted in the above table that nearly twice as many West Germans disagree as agree with the decisions. In contrast, opinions of urban residents divide evenly between the two points of view. This contrast comes into sharper focus when percentages are calculated on a basis of the number who know of the decisions.

Of those who Know of Decisions:

	All West Germany	Urban West Germany
Agree	28%	39%
Do not agree	50	40
No opinion	<u>22</u> 100%	<u>21</u> 100%

* See "West German Reactions to the Landsberg Decisions," Report No. 63, Series No. 2 (Mar 6, '51) for discussion of urban reactions. The French Zone results are not shown separately in the urban sample because of the small number of cases.

REASONS FOR DISAGREEMENT ...

As with the previous urban sample, the alleged delay in arriving at the decisions in the Landsberg cases appears to be a popular argument for disagreement with them. On the whole, however, the rationale of the disapproving group in both samples, is a general rejection of the original verdicts rather than disagreement with the current judgments on the cases. Only a negligible number dissent because they feel the decisions were too generous.

"In general, do you agree with these decisions or not?" (Asked of those who answered "Yes, have heard" to previous question)

If "Disagree": "Could you please tell me why you disagree?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------	--------

They waited too long before inflicting punishment: It is terrible that the condemned have to wait for years and don't know when their time will come; the war's been over for six years, the Americans should have executed them right away, instead of six years after the end of the war; because the war ended long ago and it is impossible to hang these people after six years; I don't think it is right to keep these people in jail for so long - they have to die sooner or later - they should have been executed right away; because it is impossible to hang these people, after they were convicted five years ago - especially now, when they need us for their military forces; etc.

12%	12%	15%	5%	4%
-----	-----	-----	----	----

The investigation and legal proceedings were questionable, verdicts as well: All of them, should be reversed because all of them were unjustly convicted; because it seems to me as if personal revenge acts were the main motives behind the Nuremberg laws; I consider most of the verdicts unfair; I believe that the verdicts are doubtful - the necessary investigations were not carried through; etc.

5	4	5	8	3
---	---	---	---	---

Other nations committed war crimes as well and were not punished for it: Only the German war criminals were convicted, why not the others who were on the side of the Allies?; the same crimes were committed on Germany by the constant bombardments; the Americans are war criminals as well but who accuses them?; other nations should not have the decision about that - they have enough blood on their own hands; mass murder of women and children during bombardments; the death verdicts should have been revoked - in Korea the same things are being committed which those condemned to death are accused of; etc.

5	3	4	14	1
---	---	---	----	---

The Americans have no right to put Germans on trial: The Americans have no right to try Germans - they should leave that to German courts; the guilty ones should be tried by a German court; everybody who is guilty should be punished for it but only by German courts and not foreigners; because I want a neutral court to re-consider those seven death verdicts, as proposed by Bishop Wurm; etc.

3	4	1	3	1
---	---	---	---	---

(cont'd on next page)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
<u>The sentences are too severe: Because all of the verdicts are too severe; etc.</u>	2%	4%	1%	-	2%
<u>The sentences are not severe enough: If somebody is convicted of crimes he should take his punishment and not go free; because all of those people at Landsberg are guilty of so many murders that they deserve a just punishment; they are guilty of the whole disaster - how can they be set free? etc.</u>	2	1	2	1	5
<u>It makes a bad impression on the German people: It's like hitting us over the head to condemn these soldiers now - when we are expected to establish a new military; since they talk about rearmament, it is too late now to hang people still guilty from the last war; I don't think that these verdicts contribute to the general good understanding, as they shouldn't come up with death sentences six years after the war;</u>	1	-	1	3	-
<u>The small crooks are hanged and the big shots go free: The wrong people always get hanged; etc.</u>	1	1	1	1	-
<u>Other opinions: They shouldn't be hanged, because we have the law that nobody can be hanged anymore; I agree with the releases; I disagree with the upholding of the death penalties, because the death penalty does not exist anymore in Germany; etc.</u>	3	3	4	2	2
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	<u>34%</u> *	<u>33%</u> *	<u>34%</u> *	<u>38%</u> *	<u>18%</u> *

* Totals add to more than per cent of respondents who disagreed with the decisions because some respondents gave more than one answer.

REASONS FOR AGREEMENT ...

The tenor of many of the comments made by persons who agree with the Landsberg decisions suggests that this agreement stems from the belief that the Americans, on second thought, have seen the error of their former ways. Thus, as with the previous urban sample, the mitigation of the sentences is an important factor making for approval of the decisions. However, acceptance of the decisions as based on justice and legal review receives proportionately greater weight from West German respondents as a whole than it did from the urban group. Reasons listed in order of frequency of mention follow.

"In general, do you agree with these decisions or not?" (Asked of those who answered "Yes, have heard" to previous question)

If "Agree": "Could you please tell me why you agree?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------	--------

The original verdicts were too severe and not justified: I agree with the releases - they must be able to forgive and forget; because I think it is very fair to make these decisions, though all of the prisoners were convicted; because the verdicts were too severe; I have no special reason, only the feeling that the verdicts were not entirely justified; I can see from the new decisions that the Americans have realized that their previous verdicts were incorrect - they show more understanding for the situation of Germany; the mistake made by the Americans when they acknowledged the collective guilt of Germany is modified by that; etc.

5%	6%	5%	5%	8%
----	----	----	----	----

Crimes have to be punished: Many of them committed great crimes; because these men do indeed deserve punishment for their deeds; because they are real war-criminals; in the same manner the mass murders were committed, they should be punished too; criminals have to be punished, otherwise somebody else could get the same ideas and do likewise; etc.

4	4	4	7	5
---	---	---	---	---

The decisions are based on a legal review: Because they are just; because everything about it was fair and everybody got what he deserved; the decisions showed justice and conscientiousness; because all the verdicts were examined by neutral judges; the decisions are according to justice and law; etc.

3	2	5	-	4
---	---	---	---	---

Revision of verdicts was necessary because many of the convicted were innocent: In my opinion the people in Landsberg did not commit any crimes; they did not start the war - they were punished enough; because they are not war-criminals but industrialists who manufactured arms as was done in other countries too; etc.

2	3	1	1	4
---	---	---	---	---

(cont'd on next page)

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------	--------

The convicted only did their duty:

Because the condemned acted in the interest of Germany; because these men acted in good faith for their Fatherland; etc.

2%	2%	1%	-	5%
----	----	----	---	----

War-crimes were committed by others:

Because I think it is high time that they stop with punishments - crimes were committed on both sides; our people were branded war criminals and now we see, in newspapers and pictorials, that the allied troops act exactly as our soldiers and officers; actually all of them should have been released because in other countries people who committed similar crimes were not convicted for them; etc.

1	2	1	2	4
---	---	---	---	---

Other opinions: If they want to re-arm Germany these people cannot be treated as war criminals; because they made a difference between the regular army and the SS, that was justified; though we have lost the war they should leave us our laws; the laws for trying crimes against humanity were created after the war and did not exist before; etc.

1	1	1	1	4
---	---	---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{1}{19\%}$	$\frac{1}{21\%}$	$\frac{1}{19\%}$	$\frac{-}{16\%}$	$\frac{-}{34\%}$
------------------	------------------	------------------	------------------	------------------

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

GROUP BREAKDOWNS ON KNOWLEDGE AND APPROVAL OF DECISIONS ...

As it is to be expected ignorance about the Landsberg decisions bulks largest among the typically less informed segments of the West German population - the women, the less educated, and the less affluent. Among occupational levels it is interesting to note that for whatever reasons ignorance is particularly widespread among farmers with 54 per cent indicating that they had not heard of the Landsberg decisions.

The group trends below among those who have heard of the decisions indicate that both agreement and disagreement tend to be relatively more frequent in the opinion leading sectors of the population - the men, the better schooled, and the more affluent. Secondly it should be noted that in none of the population groups examined does agreement with the decisions outweigh disagreement.

"In general, do you agree with these decisions or not?"

	Agree	Do not Agree	No opinion	Have not heard	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY:					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	26%	42%	10%	22% ... 100%	350
Women	12	24	17	47	446
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	17%	29%	14%	40%	654
Beyond elementary school	25	46	13	16	141
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 149 DM	14%	18%	14%	54%	222
150 - 299 DM	20	34	14	32	363
300 DM and more	21	43	15	21	201
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	17%	26%	12%	45%	412
Lower middle to upper class	19	38	17	26	384
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	18%	31%	12%	39%	339
40 years and over	18	33	16	33	454
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	22%	34%	12%	32%	207
CDU/CSU	19	25	18	38	253
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	17	58	13	12	48
Other parties	20	35	10	35	77
None	14	34	13	39	148
Don't know	16	22	18	44	159
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	17%	29%	15%	39%	384
Protestants	21	32	14	33	379
<u>Occupation of Main Breadwinner:</u>					
Professionals	35%	35%	11%	19%	48
Businessmen	17	37	21	25	81
White collar workers	22	43	15	20	92
Skilled laborers	21	31	14	34	139
Semi-skilled laborers	15	35	14	36	139
Farmers	13	23	10	54	100
None (pensioners, students, retired, etc.)	17	29	14	40	139

REASONS FOR DELAYING DEATH SENTENCES ...

In a survey made following the announcement that the executions of the seven condemned men were to be postponed pending an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court, the West German people were asked what they thought were the reasons for the postponement. About four in ten were unable to give any reply, presumably largely because they had not heard of the postponement.

But those people who do venture to advance reasons for the American action tend, for the most part, to attribute it to uncertainty, weakness, or ulterior purpose. Only 6% of the West German public specifically mention the factor of judicial review. Another fraction (10%) fringes this concept, ("the Americans are not sure whether the verdicts were just"), but judging from their comments, most of this group probably expect the appeal to result in an admission of error. Their views thus do not differ too much from the predominant one that the postponement is further evidence of the American desire to win German sympathies, or resulted either from German pressure, or the requirements of the defense program.

In other words, as with the original Landsberg decisions, the postponement of the executions pending further review is ascribed largely to opportunism or the need to rectify past errors.

"What do you think were the reasons for that?"

WEST	British	US	French
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone

They want to win our sympathies - they need us in the present political situation:

They want to win us over to their side; the Americans know that they might need us; America does not want to spoil the present favorable attitude of the German people; for political reasons - in order to lessen the political differences between the Germans and the Allies; because they want to please the Germans, they need us; they count on more sympathy by the West German population; the Americans want us to be their friends; it should perhaps be a bait for the Germans; etc.

11%	11%	9%	13%
-----	-----	----	-----

Because the Germans protested against it and they feared demonstrations: Because of the demonstrations; the time was wrong for that - the newspapers were too much on the side of the defendants; I think the main reason for it is the protest by the German people; because the churches made so many appeals - protests by the population; because the German people in general are opposed to the executions - therefore the revisions of the verdicts; because McCloy was approached and his wife was threatened - their children would have been murdered; because they thought it would lead to German insurrection; etc.

11	13	10	8
----	----	----	---

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

The Americans are not sure whether the verdicts are just: Because they are not quite sure themselves, whether the prisoners were tried justly at the time; because the defendants could be blamed for comparatively little; new facts were brought to light which will prove the innocence of these people; because they probably thought about the "correctness" of the verdicts; because they probably made some mistakes in court; the Americans have come to the conclusion that the death verdicts were not justified; the verdicts which were given under the influence of the hatred of the post-war period needed some revisions; etc.

10%	10%	12%	9%
-----	-----	-----	----

They might need the defendants for the next war: Because they need these people for the next war; the Americans will use these people for their own purposes; I suppose they need these people because they are intelligent; they probably think that one or the other might be useful in the general staff; etc.

8	9	6	7
---	---	---	---

They have realized their mistakes - they and others do the same the defendants were accused of: Because they have realized that they made a mistake; the Americans have realized that no crimes were committed; because the Americans thought the whole matter over - each one of them only defended his Fatherland and each one of them committed the same sins; because they alone were not guilty of the war - the Americans have realized this; because then our present politicians should be hanged too, because they talk of war; because the Americans do the same and have to act the same way in Korea - therefore they want to modify the verdicts; etc.

7	5	8	6
---	---	---	---

The want to review the verdicts objectively: The verdicts are to be re-examined objectively so as not to be a miscarriage of justice; they want to examine the justness of the verdicts; new trials; etc.

6	7	5	9
---	---	---	---

In order to win public consent for remilitarization: Otherwise they won't get any German soldiers if they hang them now; because they are afraid to irritate the Germans on account of remilitarization; because of the negotiations about rearmament; they are afraid that otherwise the Germans won't participate in a European army; we are to participate in defense, therefore the Americans want to be humane toward us; the Americans are putting a bait out for us to swallow so we'll participate in the war; etc.

4	3	5	4
---	---	---	---

(cont'd on next page)

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

They realized that the verdicts were too severe: They realize the severity of the verdicts; etc.

1	1	1	1
---	---	---	---

Other opinions: The Americans don't know what they want; maybe they want to find out some more about them; the Americans only want to wait for the outcome of the Paris conference and what the Russians have to say; because of the responsibility - nobody wants to take the responsibility for the executions; it might possibly be a calculation but also possibly good will; etc.

8	7	8	11
---	---	---	----

No opinion / No answer:

38	37	39	35
104*	103*	103*	103*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

(Berlin figures are not shown because owing to technical difficulties they were not available in time for inclusion.)

01414

A NOTE ON THE COMMUNIST PROJECTED PLEBISCITE
ON WEST GERMAN DEFENSE PARTICIPATION

by authority of *Revised* *P. Crespi*
PUB/RAS. Special Report
April 2, 1951

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

C O N F I D E N T I A L

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

BACKGROUND ...

01415

There are present indications that the Communists are planning to throw into high gear their long projected campaign in West Germany for a plebiscite on the remilitarization issue. As has been repeatedly indicated in RAS studies* any such plebiscite could pose serious difficulties for the attainment of American policy objectives in this area.

Though approval of German defense participation has preponderated over disapproval during the past several months, it has become evident, first, that such approval obtains only when respondents are set to think realistically rather than emotionally, and hence in a mood to appreciate stern necessities. There has been no evidence of any appreciable enthusiasm for German defense participation, rather the indications have been that Germans' personal inclinations and emotions are against any military activities, largely as a consequence of a profound weariness with the sacrifices entailed by military preparations and war.

Secondly, it has become clear that many of the "yeses" to German defense participation are really "yes-buts," i.e. the respondent expresses approval but with certain mental reservations about the conditions of participation - particularly the idea of "equality."

Because of this general emotional disinclination toward defense participation and the preoccupation with prerequisite conditions (the latter is partly an effect of the former), West German response to the participation issue is very sensitive to the terms in which the question is put.

CURRENT INDICATIONS ...

As is demonstrated most clearly in current West German returns,** only relatively little unfavorable emotional loading is enough to raise to majority status the extent of apparent opposition to German defense participation.

"Supposing a plebiscite were held in the near future on the issue of whether West Germany should participate with a contingent of German soldiers in a West European defense army. Would you then vote for or against such a rearmament of West Germany?"

WEST GERMANY British Zone US Zone French Zone Berlin

(March 15-22, 1951)

For participation	33%	34%	34%	23%	69%
Against participation	59	58	58	65	30
No opinion	8	8	8	11	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* See Report No. 47, Series No. 2, November 18, 1950, entitled "Germans View the Remilitarization Issue - Further Findings and Some Limitations on Majority Approval" and Report No. 64, Series No. 2, March 14, 1951, entitled "German Attitudes on Eve of Paris Deputies Conference."

** The sampling referred to in these and the following figures is the newly established 800 case probability sample which embraces a complete coverage of the West German population.

CONFIDENTIAL

01416

These figures markedly depart from those obtained on a similar sample just one week previously on the basic Atlantic Pact question.

"Supposing West Germany would join the Atlantic Pact and be asked in connection with it to participate in a general army for the defense of Europe. Would you then be for or against such participation in a defense army?"

WEST
GERMANY British
Zone US
Zone French
Zone Berlin

(March 7-15, 1951)

For participation	48%	48%	51%	37%	79%
Against participation	40	39	39	49	15
No opinion	12	13	10	14	6
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

This comparison points up what a difference can be made in responses on the participation issue by injecting the terms "rearmament" and "contingent of German soldiers," both of which conjure up unpleasant associations in German minds. Perhaps even more importantly, it is to be noted, the plebiscite question speaks of a vote in the "near future," thus carrying a strong implication that the choice is to be based on present conditions rather than in terms of German receipt of any further concessions toward equality. The significant role such considerations play in the mind of many who voted "no" on the plebiscite question becomes clear in the returns below to a follow up to that query.

"Supposing West Germany would be able to join in the West European army with the status of complete equality, would you then be for or against it?" (Asked of those who said would vote against participation on plebiscite question)

WEST
GERMANY British
Zone US
Zone French
Zone Berlin

(March 15-22, 1951)

For participation	25%	23%	29%	21%	14%
Against participation	31	32	28	38	15
No opinion	3	3	1	7	1
	<u>59%</u>	<u>58%</u>	<u>58%</u>	<u>66%</u>	<u>30%</u>

It is apparent that if equal status is assured, almost half of the opposition registered on the plebiscite question shift their stand, leaving only approximately a third of the West German population opposed to defense participation under such conditions.

COMMUNIST STRATEGY ...

But to come more directly to the point of a Communist inspired plebiscite - what is important in this connection is not that two thirds of West Germans are for participation if they can participate on acceptable terms, but that a majority figure for opposition can be readily obtained if the question is adversely biased in even relatively minor ways.

The Communists are doing nothing by halves in this connection and have incorporated a query in their projected West German plebiscite that is biased in really the grand fashion. Their question reads as follows: "Are you against remilitarization and for a peace treaty in 1951?"

This remarkable creation leaves no stone unturned in its effort to achieve a maximum vote of opposition to German defense participation. It is possible that it is so patently biased with its combining of disparate issues that a good many respondents, particularly among the more educated and informed, would refuse to answer. In which case the Communists would have overreached themselves in the projected plebiscite just as there are indications that they overreached themselves in their too obviously rigged East Zone elections.*

But it is quite unlikely that there would be any really widespread West German rejection of the Communist inspired plebiscite on the basis of a loaded presentation of the issue. The bias in the question would probably escape most respondents. And moreover in view of the widespread approval among West Germans of the idea of a plebiscite on the participation issue,** many might answer in spite of qualms about the way in which the issue is presented.

COUNTERSTRATEGY ...

Whatever might be the self-defeating effects of biased questioning, certainly it may be said that exposure of the Communist initiation and backing of such a plebiscite would help materially to weaken West German interest and participation in the undertaking.** It is even possible that a campaign of exposure which focused on the Communist sponsorship and the biased presentation might be all that would be required to nullify the entire maneuver.

However the possibility must be kept in mind that in a general situation of charges and countercharges in respect to a Communist plebiscite, the West German population might react with a strong demand for a valid referendum on the defense participation issue. And it is such a referendum rather than a Communist plebiscite that could occasion real difficulties for American policy objectives. The returns from a Communist operated plebiscite could be dismissed, but not the results of a legitimate West German referendum. And these results, it must be emphasized, could very well be negative. A referendum on defense participation could hardly fail to generate a high degree of emotionalism and, as has already been indicated, when the Germans are thinking emotionally rather than realistically on the defense issue, they are widely inclined to focus only on the disadvantages of such a course.

So all facts considered, it would seem to be on the side of wisdom in countering the Communist plebiscite campaign to explore every possibility of preventing the campaign from getting into operation.

* See Special Report, dated March 9, 1951, entitled "Attitudes Behind the Iron Curtain. A Survey Approach to East German Thinking. I. General Mood and Resistance Sentiments."

** See Report No. 51, Series No. 2, dated December 1, 1950, entitled "Germans View the Remilitarisation Issue - Pre-Election Trend and Further Findings."

01418

WEST GERMAN REACTIONS TO THE SCHUMAN PLAN

Report No. 71
Series No. 2
April 5, 1951

Classification cancelled
by authority of Leo P. Crespi
PUB/RAS. CONFIDENTIAL

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

CONFIDENTIAL

INTRODUCTION ...

This report on West German reactions to the Schuman Plan is based on a survey made by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, during the period March 7-15, 1951. The survey therefore antedated the initialing of the plan in Paris on March 19, 1951. The sample used was of a stratified probability type of 800 cases drawn from West Germany and 200 from the three Western sectors of Berlin, comprising representative cross-sections of the populations of these areas. The interviews were conducted by the trained German interviewing staff. The analysis of the data was made and the report written in the Frankfurt headquarters of the Reactions Analysis Staff.

HIGHLIGHTS ...

- ... On the eve of the initialing of the Schuman Plan in Paris on March 19th, the term was familiar to a large portion (68%) of the West German public.
- ... But only a relatively small fraction (25%) could describe the plan with any degree of accuracy.
- ... Agreement with the Schuman Plan was the predominating attitude in West Germany. But the predominance was only of the order of 42%, with 25% in disagreement and 33% undecided.
- ... Arguments most frequently advanced for disagreeing with the project were that Germany would be giving more than she gets and that the French were seeking their own advantage to the disadvantage of Germany.
- ... That the Schuman Plan would promote the improvement of the European economy as well as that of Germany was the main reason given for approving it.
- ... An unfavorable interpretation of French motives in the plan was given by almost half the West German public who held that France hoped to use the plan for her own advantage at the expense of other participants. Only a quarter ascribed French motivation to a desire to promote general economic cooperation.
- ... Cross comparisons reveal that an unfavorable interpretation of French motives is closely related to opposition to the plan. However, a third of the plan's adherents support it in spite of an adverse view of French motivation.
- ... American policy regarding the Schuman Plan was not well known to the German people. Only a third (34%) knew that the U.S. favors it, almost a fifth (17%) believed the U.S. is opposed, and 7% held it has taken no stand on the matter. The remainder was undecided.
- ... Persons who agreed with the Schuman Plan were, however, more inclined than those who disagree with it, to say that the U.S. supports it. Preponderant opinions of the plan's opponents were either that the U.S. is against it or neutral. Though cause and effect are difficult to disentangle in such correlations, these findings suggest that increased awareness of American support of the Schuman Plan would possibly lead to wider acceptance of it rather than to greater antagonism.

- 2 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

... Opinions were mixed on the extent to which the Schuman Plan, once it were activated, would contribute to West European unity. It was seen as a "considerable step" by 37%, but 20% felt it would mean only slight progress and 13% no progress at all toward the unification of Europe. The remaining 30% were undecided.

... A test on nationalist-internationalist attitudes revealed that though supporters of the Schuman Plan were predominantly internationalists in outlook, a full 40% were nationalists by the test employed. Conversely, though opponents of the plan were predominantly nationalists in outlook, 40% were internationalists. The indication is, therefore, that considerations other than internationalist-nationalist orientation play a prominent role in governing reactions to the plan.

SOME IMPLICATIONS ...

... Clearly indicated in the present findings is that there is no firm majority support for the Schuman Plan that could be counted on to weather full-scale German campaigning against it. Disapproval is appreciable, and a large undecided group exists, some of whose members undoubtedly could be swung into line by the opposition and some of whom would serve much the same purpose by remaining apathetic.

... The widespread ignorance among the German people about any details of the plan appears to constitute a particular threat to public support of its ratification. Ignorance undoubtedly favors opposition rather than support since in the absence of any compelling reasons to approve the Schuman Plan, West Germans are left to react to it largely in terms of their traditional, stereotyped suspicion of anything emanating from France.

- b -

CONFIDENTIAL

INFORMATION ABOUT THE SCHUMAN PLAN ...

The term "Schuman Plan" appears to have a familiar ring to many West Germans' ears, seven in ten Germans claiming to have heard or read of it.

"Have you heard or read of the Schuman Plan?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Yes	68%	68%	69%	63%	72%
No	<u>32</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>28</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

But about all that most people do know of the plan is its name. Only about a quarter of the West German people describe the plan with any degree of accuracy.

"Can you tell me anything about the nature of this plan?"
(Asked of those who answered "Yes" to previous question)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Correct replies*	26%	29%	23%	22%	34%
Incorrect replies	12	13	11	13	12
Don't know	<u>30</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>26</u>
	68%	68%	69%	63%	72%

* Replies were considered "correct" when respondents described the plan in a fashion similar to that given in the question on the next page - i.e. as a plan to pool heavy industry in West Europe in which France, Germany and other countries of West Europe were to cooperate.

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

Group differences follow the pattern customarily found in questions measuring information, with the men, the better educated, and more affluent leading other population groups in their claim to awareness. On claimed awareness of the Schuman Plan these differences are, as will be noted in the following table, particularly marked. Noteworthy, here too, is the widespread awareness among trade union members.

"Have you heard or read of the Schuman Plan?"

	Yes	No	Number of Cases:
WEST GERMANY			
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	88%	12% ... 100%	385
Women	49	51	413
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	63%	37%	652
Beyond elementary school	89	11	144
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>			
Lower	54%	46%	392
Middle and upper	81	19	405
<u>Income (per month):</u>			
0 - 149 DM	52%	48%	222
150 - 299 DM	71	29	364
300 DM and more	80	20	204
<u>Age:</u>			
Under 40 years	70	30	343
40 years and over	66	34	464
<u>Party Preference:</u>			
SPD	78%	22%	208
CDU/CSU	71	29	139
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	78	22	51
Other parties	75	25	79
None	56	44	165
Don't know	57	43	348
<u>Religion:</u>			
Catholics	67%	33%	348
Protestants	67	33	420
<u>Occupation:</u>			
Professionals	85%	15%	34
Businessmen	77	23	92
White collar workers	87	13	110
Skilled laborers	71	29	133
Semi-skilled laborers	59	41	119
Farmers	66	34	93
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>			
Yes	89%	11%	138
No	66	34	553
<u>Origin:</u>			
Natives	67%	33%	640
Expellees and Refugees	71	29	168

Not all of the people in the generally well-informed groups can substantiate their claimed awareness of the Schuman Plan by describing any of its features, but they do a much better job of it than most other groups in the population. For example, almost three times as many men as women, and twice as many professional people as laborers or farmers can accurately describe the plan. But trade union members can describe the plan more frequently than other workers.

"Can you tell me anything about the nature of this plan?"
(Asked of those who answered "Yes" to original question)

	Correct replies	Incorrect replies	No opinion	Number of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	50%	19%	31% ... 100%	339
Women	18	17	65	202
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	35%	18%	47%	210
Beyond elementary school	49	16	35	129
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower	28%	19%	53%	211
Middle and upper	42	19	39	309
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	30%	16%	54%	115
150 - 299 DM	37	21	42	259
300 DM and more	47	15	38	163
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	35%	21%	44%	239
40 years and over	41	16	43	301
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	38%	19%	43%	162
CDU/CSU	29	17	54	98
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	50	15	35	40
Other parties	36	27	37	59
None	42	17	41	93
Don't know	42	14	44	85
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	38%	19%	43%	232
Protestants	38	18	44	283
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	62%	21%	14%	29
Businessmen	39	15	46	72
White collar workers	54	14	32	96
Skilled laborers	33	27	40	95
Semi-skilled laborers	27	23	50	70
Farmers	30	11	59	61
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes	48%	19%	33%	123
No	39	18	43	365
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	39%	17%	44%	428
Expellees and Refugees	36	31	43	113

EXTENT OF AGREEMENT WITH THE PLAN ...

Agreement with the plan in general is voiced by four in ten West Germans. But a quarter state flatly that they disagree with it on the whole. And a third have formed no opinion. Berliners, in line with their usual pattern of Western orientation, tend more frequently (66%) to agree with the plan.

"This plan by the French foreign minister Schuman proposes the pooling of the heavy industries of France, West Germany, and other West European nations with the aim of economic cooperation of West Europe.

"Do you on the whole, agree with this plan or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Yes, agree	42%	39%	46%	46%	66%
No, do not agree	25	27	23	21	22
No opinion	33	34	31	33	12
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As is evident from its wording, the above question was asked of all respondents whether or not they had indicated any previous knowledge of the Schuman Plan. The comparative table which follows reveals that those people who earlier in the interview had claimed to know of the plan and been able to describe its features correctly are more inclined than those who described it incorrectly or not at all to agree with it.

Schuman Plan:

	Agree	Disagree	No opinion
Have heard of Schuman Plan and:			
Correctly describe it	58%	29%	13% ... 100%
Incorrectly describe it	44	29	27
Could not describe it	45	29	26
Have not heard of Schuman Plan	27	17	56

Not unexpectedly, people who had just been told the general features of the plan were less prepared than those who already knew of it to come to a decision about it. However, as revealed above, those who did arrive at an opinion, on the spur of the moment, tend rather to agree than to disagree with the plan.

REASONS FOR DISAGREEMENT ...

The two arguments most frequently given for disagreeing with the Schuman Plan are that Germany will be giving more than she gets, and that the French will seek their own advantage to the disadvantage of Germany.

"Why are you of this opinion?" (Asked of those who said "No, do not agree" on previous question)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
<u>Germany will only lose, not gain by this plan:</u> Because the Germans will have disadvantages from it; everything will be at the expense of Germany; because we will only be exploited and get behind; they will get everything out of us; because we would not have enough coal for our own industries, etc.; because the others would only cheat us; because then the Germans will have to pay and pay and deliver all their coal; etc.	19%	12%	12%	13%	11%
<u>The French only seek their own advantage:</u> Because I don't trust the French; because the plan would only be to the advantage of the French; we are an enslaved people; France only sees the profit in it; France only wants to get our coal; I know the French and think that they will only try to gain an advantage; they will cheat us anyway, the French don't think well of us; France is still our enemy; etc.	7	7	7	6	6
<u>The pooling of heavy industries is a disadvantage - it is not in the interest of Europe:</u> If the bosses of heavy industry work together there will be nothing left for the worker; if we want to have our independence the pooling of heavy industry will be of disadvantage; because they only want to increase rearmament by that; I am convinced that West Europe's interests will not be observed; etc.	2	3	2	-	2
<u>Other opinions:</u> The Russians will be provoked by it; England will try, most of all, to exploit Germany; whether a satisfactory solution will be found for all nations concerned is doubtful - many cooks spoil the broth; etc.	3	4	2	3	3
<u>No opinion:</u>	$\frac{1}{25\%}$	$\frac{1}{27\%}$	$\frac{1}{23\%}$	$\frac{1}{21\%}$	$\frac{1}{22\%}$

REASONS FOR AGREEMENT ...

The general improvement of the economic situation as well as that of West Germany specifically, and the promotion of European cooperation are the two main arguments advanced by those who approve of the Schuman Plan.

"Why are you of this opinion?" (Asked of those who said "Yes, agree" on previous question)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
<u>The plan will improve economic situation - especially that of West Germany:</u> It will be of advantage for the economic recovery; because our living standard will improve; it could be of use for Germany and lead to mutual understanding and trade; because all nations will be economically better off; because it is of economic advantage for all nations concerned; because the pooling of our economy will lead to great economic wealth for West Europe; etc.	17%	16%	17%	18%	33%
<u>The plan recognizes interdependence:</u> Because one nation is dependent on the other which is much better for the safety of Europe; then we are forced to cooperate with other nations; it brings the people together; nations on such a small continent can only win if they cooperate; if all of them work together it will be good - Germany can't recover alone anyway; because it will lead to more unity among the Western nations; this would be a step toward the reunification of the United States of Europe; etc.	15	13	15	21	23
<u>The plan promotes peace - war and quarrels will be avoided:</u> It will strengthen peace efforts; then there won't be any war between Germany and France; the main purpose is the front against Communism; we can't live as enemies for ever - we need each other; the status of equality makes war impossible; as long as the nations are independent differences will always exist; etc.	7	7	7	5	9
<u>Other unions:</u> So we will be independent of America; etc.	1	-	2	1	1
<u>No opinion:</u>	$\frac{4}{44\%}$	$\frac{4}{40\%}$	$\frac{6}{47\%}$	$\frac{4}{49\%}$	$\frac{2}{68\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

In general, agreement with the Schuman Plan is voiced most frequently by the same groups in the population which most often also know of its details - the better educated, higher income and higher social status groups, and the men. For the most part, however, this does not mean that their opposites are more adverse to the plan; rather they tend more frequently to express no opinion in the matter. Sympathizers with the Social Democrat party are more likely than other political groups to disagree with the plan, and CDU and FDP affiliates more likely to agree with it. A large segment of the trade union membership is also in disagreement.

"This plan by the French foreign minister Schuman proposes the pooling of the heavy industries of France, West Germany, and other West European nations with the aim of economic cooperation of West Europe."

"Do you on the whole, agree with this plan or not?"

	Yes, agree	No, do not agree	No opinion	Number of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	49%	34%	17%	386
Women	36	17	47	414
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	38%	25%	37%	653
Beyond elementary school	60	25	15	144
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower	36%	25%	39%	393
Middle and upper	48	25	27	406
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 .. 149 DM	31%	24%	45%	222
150 .. 299 DM	43	26	31	364
300 DM and more	51	26	23	204
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 30 years	43%	30%	27%	341
40 years and over	41	21	38	455
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	42%	37%	21%	208
CDU/CSU	55	15	30	139
FDP/LRP/DVP/BDP	64	18	18	51
Other parties	48	32	20	79
None	33	27	40	165
Don't know	31	13	56	151
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	41%	23%	36%	350
Protestants	42	27	31	420
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	67%	16%	15%	34
Businessmen	49	24	27	94
White collar workers	48	23	29	110
Skilled laborers	48	29	23	133
Semi-skilled laborers	36	27	37	120
Farmers	31	24	45	93
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes,	49%	41	10	138
No	41	23	36	553
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	42%	24%	34%	641
Expellees and Refugees	44	27	29	158

FRENCH MOTIVES FOR SCHUMAN PLAN ...

In reference to French motivations in sponsoring the Schuman Plan, the preponderant view of both the West German and Berlin public is that the French hope to gain at the expense of other participants. Only a quarter - a third in Berlin - believe that the French support the plan in the hope of promoting general economic cooperation.

"What do you think France hopes to achieve by the Schuman Plan: does she mainly hope to get an advantage for herself at the expense of other nations, or do you think she wants to promote economic cooperation among all nations concerned?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Own advantage	48%	46%	52%	49%	51%
Economic cooperation	23	23	20	28	35
Qualified replies	4	4	6	-	4
No opinion	25	27	22	23	10
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The above findings demonstrate rather clearly that the Schuman Plan is fighting a considerable weight of traditional anti-French prejudice. The importance of such antagonism in engendering opposition is indicated by the breakdown below which reveals that 87 per cent of those who disagree with the Schuman Plan ascribe selfish motives to the French in advancing it.

French Motive is:

	Selfish gain	Economic cooperation	Qualified replies	Don't know	
Schuman Plan:					
Agree with	36%	42%	8%	14%	100%
Disagree with	87	6	1	6	
Don't know	34	9	2	55	

It is to be noted above, however, that an appreciable proportion of those who agree with the Schuman Plan do so in spite of an adverse view of French motivation - thus indicating that for a number of West Germans the arguments in favor of the Schuman Plan are compelling enough to outweigh negative attitudes toward the French.

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

Women, the less well educated, the lower income and social status groups are more likely than others to withhold opinions on this issue. Among the opinion leading elements - those with more education, larger incomes, and higher social status - the predominant view is that France seeks her own advantage through the Schuman Plan.

In Schuman Plan, France Seeks:

	Own advantage	Economic cooperation	Qualified answers	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	55%	28%	7%	10% ... 100%	386
Women	42	17	2	39	414
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	46%	22%	3%	29%	653
Beyond elementary school	57	25	8	10	144
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower	46%	20%	1%	33%	393
Middle and upper	50	25	7	18	406
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 149 DM	45%	16%	2%	37%	222
150 - 299 DM	48	24	5	23	364
300 DM and more	52	27	5	16	204
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	53%	22%	3%	22%	344
40 years and over	45	23	5	27	455
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	56%	28%	2%	14%	208
CDU/CSU	43	31	4	22	139
FDP/LRP/BDV/DVP	49	33	10	8	51
Other parties	61	23	5	11	79
None	44	16	5	35	165
Don't know	40	12	3	45	151
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	52%	20%	3%	25%	350
Protestants	45	24	5	26	420
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	44%	41%	3%	12%	34
Businessmen	50	22	7	21	94
White collar workers	49	26	9	16	110
Skilled laborers	52	24	8	29	133
Semi-skilled laborers	50	20	2	28	120
Farmers	50	19	2	29	93
<u>Trade Union Memberships:</u>					
Yes	58%	25%	5%	12%	138
No	47	22	4	27	553
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	48%	23%	4%	25%	641
Expellees and refugees	50	22	4	24	158

AMERICAN POLICY ON SCHUMAN PLAN ...

American policy regarding the Schuman Plan is certainly not well known to the German public. Only a third know that the U.S. favors it, and almost a fifth (17%) are of the opinion that we are opposed, while 7% believe we have taken no stand on the matter. And four in ten have no opinion. Only in Berlin does any considerable proportion (58%) know that the U.S. supports the Schuman Plan.

"Do you have the impression that America is in favor of the Schuman Plan, or is she opposed to it?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Favors	34%	31%	38%	36%	58%
Opposes	17	20	15	13	14
Neither	7	7	4	9	2
No opinion	42	42	43	42	26
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

There is considerable ignorance of the U.S. stand even among those persons who are enough informed about the Schuman Plan to be able to describe its details. Though half of them do know that America is backing it, a third are misinformed, and 16% have no opinion.

U.S. and the Schuman Plan:

	Favors	Opposes	Neither	No opinion
Have heard of Schuman Plan and:				
Correctly describe it	51%	23%	10%	16% ... 100%
Incorrectly describe it	44	22	10	24
Could not describe it	34	15	6	45

... Persons who agree with the Schuman Plan are, however, more inclined than those who disagree with it to say that the U.S. supports the plan. Preponderant opinions of the plan's opponents are either that the U.S. is against it or has taken no stand in the matter.

U.S. and the Schuman Plan:

	Favors	Opposes.	Neither	No opinion
Agree with plan.	52%	17%	7%	24% ... 100%
Disagree with it	29	33	11	27

Though it is difficult to disentangle cause and effect in such correlations, the above findings suggest that increased awareness among West Germans of American support of the Schuman Plan would possibly lead to wider acceptance rather than to greater antagonism to it.
of it

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

Within all population groups there is a great deal of misinformation and doubt regarding the stand of the U.S. on the Schuman Plan. However, men, the better educated, and the higher socio-economic levels tend more frequently than their opposites to say that the U.S. favors the plan. Also, refugees more often than "native" Germans are of this opinion, though why this should be so is not clear.

U.S. and the Schuman Plan:

	Favors	Opposes	Neither	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	45%	22%	9%	24% ... 100%	386
Women	24	13	4	59	
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	30%	16%	7%	47%	653
Beyond elementary school	50	22	6	22	144
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower	30%	14%	6%	50%	393
Middle and upper	38	20	8	34	406
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 149 DM	24%	12%	8%	56%	222
150 - 299 DM	40	17	5	38	364
300 DM and more	36	23	8	33	204
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	35%	19%	6%	40%	344
40 years and over	33	16	8	43	455
<u>Party Preferences:</u>					
SPD	42%	20%	8%	30%	208
CDU/CSU	42	14	7	37	139
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	39	24	8	29	51
Other parties	36	24	11	29	79
None	25	17	7	51	165
Don't know	24	10	2	64	151
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	38%	15%	5%	42%	350
Protestants	30	18	8	44	420
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	56%	12%	3%	29%	34
Businessmen	28	22	11	39	94
White collar workers	43	18	11	28	110
Skilled laborers	33	26	5	36	133
Semi-skilled laborers	38	13	3	46	120
Farmers	32	10	7	51	93
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes	38%	26%	9%	27%	138
No	33	15	7	45	553
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	23%	17%	8%	42%	641
Expellees and Refugees	39	19	5	39	158

THE PLAN AS A STEP TOWARD EUROPEAN UNITY ...

The West German public has mixed opinions on the extent to which the Schuman Plan will contribute to West European unity. It is seen as a "considerable step" toward this goal by 37%, but 20% feel it means only slight progress, and 13% no progress at all, toward the unification of Western Europe. And 30% have not made up their minds. Residents of the US Zone are more likely than those in the British Zone to believe the plan, once it is carried out, will be an important contribution to West European unity. Berliners are most inclined of all groups to hold this view.

"Would the carrying out of this plan, in your opinion, mean a considerable step toward the unification of West Europe, or are you of the opinion that it would mean little or no progress at all in this respect?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Considerable step	37%	31%	44%	38%	58%
Little step	20	22	17	16	21
No step	13	15	9	14	8
No opinion	30	32	30	31	13
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

As in the case of extent of agreement with the Schuman Plan, the people informed about it, more frequently than those who are incorrectly informed or know nothing about it, regard it as a real contribution to European unity. This is demonstrated in the comparative figures shown below.

Schuman Plan Will Mean:

	Considerable step	Little or no step	No opinion
Have heard of Schuman Plan and:			
Correctly describe it	54%	35%	11% ... 100%
Incorrectly describe it	38	46	16
Could not describe it	40	34	26

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

The more education a person has, the larger his income, and the higher his social status, the more likely he is to think that the Schuman Plan, once it gets beyond the blue-print stage, will do a great deal to advance West European unity. Examination of party preference groups again shows that sympathisers with SPD are less inclined than those with CDU or FIP to believe the plan to be an important step toward European unification.

"Would the carrying out of this plan, in your opinion, mean a considerable step toward the unification of West Europe, or are you of the opinion that it would mean little or no progress at all in this respect?"

	Considerable step	Little step	No step	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY					
Sex:					
Men	43%	25%	16%	16% ... 100%	386
Women	30	15	10	45	414
Education:					
Elementary school	31%	21%	13%	35%	653
Beyond elementary school	61	17	10	12	144
Socio-economic Status:					
Lower	29%	20%	12%	39%	393
Middle and upper	44	19	13	24	406
Income (per month):					
0 - 149 DM	26%	17%	14%	43%	222
150 - 299 DM	39	20	13	28	364
300 DM and more	45	23	10	22	204
Age:					
Under 40 years	38%	21%	15%	26%	344
40 years and over	35	19	11	35	455
Party Preference:					
SPD	39%	27%	17%	17%	208
CDU/CSU	46	16	9	29	139
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	68	12	10	10	51
Other parties	44	23	13	20	79
None	22	21	15	41	165
Don't know	27	14	7	52	151
Religion:					
Catholics	38%	17%	13%	32%	350
Protestants	35	22	12	31	420
Occupation:					
Professionals	53%	20	13%	15%	34
Businessmen	45	23	7	25	94
White collar workers	45	19	14	22	110
Skilled laborers	38	22	17	23	133
Semi-skilled laborers	32	18	12	38	120
Farmers	30	19	10	41	93
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes	39%	29%	17%	15%	253
No	36	19	12	33	553
Origin:					
Natives	36%	19%	13%	32%	641
Expellees and refugees	39	25	11	25	159

NATIONALIST - INTERNATIONALIST SENTIMENTS AND SCHUMAN PLAN ...

To provide some further insight into attitudes toward the Schuman Plan, a question designed to test the relative pull of internationalist as against nationalist concepts was asked. The results of the question are interesting in themselves, and will be investigated in further detail in future surveys. They are introduced here, however, for the light they might shed on attitudes toward the Schuman Plan.

"Herr Braun and Herr Schulze are discussing what Germany's policy should be when East and West Germany are reunited and the four occupation powers have left Germany. (CARD)

- "1. Herr Schulze says: 'I am of the opinion that Germany should try to form a common government together with the other West European nations. This would contribute not only to the common welfare of the Germans but to that of the other West European nations as well.'
- "2. Herr Braun says: 'I am of the opinion that Germany should rather remain by herself - as she did in the past, because the Germans know best what is good for them. Only then will the common welfare of all Germans be achieved.'

"Which of these two opinions comes closest to your own?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Herr Schulze	45%	46%	44%	42%	64%
Herr Braun	45	44	47	45	34
Qualified replies	1	-	1	3	1
No opinion	9	10	8	10	1
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

The even split of opinion on this test of nationalism - internationalism is a strong point in its favor as it is clear thereby that it offers a somewhat more rigorous test of internationalist orientation than simpler and more surface type of inquiries employed in the past which have made it a little too easy to choose the internationalist position.

When returns on the internationalism question are broken against attitudes toward the Schuman Plan, the indication emerges that support or opposition to the plan is in no sense simply a reflection of internationalist or nationalist attitudes.

Alternative selected:

	<u>Internationalist</u>	<u>Nationalist</u>	<u>Qualified replies and No opinion</u>
Schuman Plan:			
Agree	56%	40%	4% ... 100%
Disagree	40	58	2

Though supporters of the Schuman Plan are predominantly internationalists in outlook, a full forty per cent are nationalists by the test employed. Conversely, though opponents of the plan are predominantly nationalists in outlook, a full forty per cent are internationalists. The clear indication is, therefore, that considerations other than internationalist or nationalist orientations are playing a prominent role in governing reactions to the plan.

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

Bearing out the findings on group differences as to the various aspects of the Schuman Plan is the fact that the opinion leading elements - the men, the better educated, and the more affluent - tend more frequently than their counterpart groups to select the "internationalist" rather than the "nationalist" alternative.

	Internationalist	Nationalist	Qual. ans.	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	54%	41%	1%	4%..100%	386
Women	36	48	1	15	414
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	39%	49%	1%	11%	653
Beyond elementary school	68	27	8	1	144
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower	36%	52%	-	12%	393
Middle and upper	53	38	2	7	406
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 149 DM	28%	53%	1	18%	222
150 - 299 DM	49	44	1	6	364
300 DM and more	53	41	1	5	204
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	47%	46%	1%	6%	344
40 years and over	42	45	1	12	455
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	50%	49%	-	1%	208
CDU/CSU	48	44	1	7	139
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	67	27	2	4	51
Other parties	55	43	1	1	79
None	29	56	1	14	165
Don't know	39	37	1	23	151
<u>on:</u>					
Catholics	44%	45%	1%	10%	350
Protestants	43	46	1	10	420
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	65%	23%	9%	3%	3
Businessmen	46	44	1	9	94
White collar workers	59	37	1	3	110
Skilled laborers	44	47	1	8	133
Semi-skilled laborers	45	45	-	10	120
Farmers	33	54	2	11	93
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes	56%	44%	-	1%	138
No	42	46	1	11	553
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	42%	47%	1%	10%	641
Expellees and refugees	52	38	2	8	158

ATTITUDES BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN
A Survey Approach To East German Thinking

II. Current Views On Unity, Neutrality, And Related Issues

Special Report
April 10, 1951

#71-5

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION

The present report is the second in an experimental series initiated to help meet the needs of the psychological warfare program. The general project has been prompted by two major considerations: first by the fact that Berlin is one of the extremely few places remaining where there is an opportunity to come into contact with any appreciable groups of people from behind the iron curtain - and hence no effort should be spared to exploit all informational possibilities in such a situation. The second reason for the project is the belief of the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, that despite a considerable number of limitations and difficulties attendant upon the use of the survey instrument for East German intelligence, such techniques can contribute materially to the piecing together of a factual and objective picture of the state of mind of East Berliners and other residents of the Communist controlled areas of Germany.

The 400 case sample decided upon for the present study was gathered between the 13th and 16th of March, 1951, from among East Berlin and East Zone residents approached near railroad stations and shopping districts in West Berlin where they most frequently congregate. To insure a preponderant weight on East Zone rather than East Berlin opinion in the study, a quota was established of three of the former to one of the latter. Some rough sex and age quotas were also introduced in the present sampling on the basis of the best inferences that could be made about East German population proportions. As more information becomes available in this area, more precise specifications will be introduced into the quota sample. The obtained composition of the present sample is shown in appendix A.

Limitations of the present type of approach and the cautions should be utilized in interpretation are discussed in the initial report of the series. Interested readers are referred to that source. However, it is desirable at this point to expand somewhat on the problem of sponsorship.

One of the more difficult methodological problems in the new East Zone survey operation has been to decide whether it would be better to conduct the interviewing through an American sponsored organization, or have it performed under German auspices. Under American sponsorship conditions there is of course the obvious problem of a possible pro-American flattery bias. But under German sponsorship conditions, particularly in Berlin, there is a serious anti-American bias possibility in the returns because of the considerably greater suspicion under such circumstances that the interrogators may be working for the Russians.

Instead of more or less arbitrarily fixing upon one or the other type of sponsorship it was deemed best, in the initial East German surveys at least to utilize both. This procedure would have the advantage of balancing, in effect, bias possibilities in the overall returns if marked differences obtained under the two sponsorship conditions. To the extent that marked differences do not appear of course, the indication would be that the sponsorship factor is not posing any serious problem of validity.

In the current survey American and German sponsorship was balanced more systematically than in the initial study. A random half of the sample was approached under American sponsorship conditions, and the other half was interviewed under the auspices of a German organization. As may be clearly seen from the tabulated comparisons in appendix B, the sponsorship story on the present questions is substantially - no difference. None of the obtained variations was reliably beyond chance with the number of cases involved. And only one difference - nine per cent - was at all appreciable.

- A -

CONFIDENTIAL

In further surveys other methodological problems will be subjected, as time permits, to additional study and if possible to more refined treatment. Scheduled for early examination in this connection is the problem of non-response since, as might be expected, under the somewhat delicate conditions of East German surveying, a considerable number of respondents evince a disinclination to be interviewed.

SUMMARY

I. SHOULD ADENAUER HAVE ACCEPTED GROTEWOHL'S BID FOR UNITY NEGOTIATIONS?

- ... Awareness of the bid for unity negotiations made by the East German Prime Minister Grotewohl to Chancellor Adenauer seems to have spread to approximately the same three out of four proportion in East Berlin and in adjacent East Zone areas as in West Berlin and West Germany.
- ... But it is evident from further inquiry that the fairly considerable extent of awareness of the Grotewohl proposals is not matched by depth, as less than half among the East Germans sampled could offer any indication whatsoever of the nature of Adenauer's reply.
- ... Apparently, then, though most East Germans are familiar with the fact of the Grotewohl unity bid, it made no burning impression upon them. From the findings that will follow, the most probable explanation for this state of affairs is that the proposals were not interpreted by any large proportion of the East Zone public as a sincere and workable effort toward German unification.
- ... As far as indicated by the present sampling, the East German reaction to Adenauer's reply to Grotewohl is a widespread endorsement. Four out of five agreed with the Federal Chancellor's demand for free and secret elections as a prerequisite to any unity negotiations.
- ... A directly parallel question has not been put to a West German sample. The returns to a somewhat similar question suggest, however, that approval of the manner in which the West German government reacted to the Grotewohl proposals is considerably greater in East Germany than it is in West Germany. To the extent that such a conclusion can be validated it is of course a very provocative indication of possible unlooked-for support for American policy on German unification.
- ... The most general theme that emerges from leafing through the reasons advanced for approving Adenauer's stress on free elections as a prerequisite to unity discussions, is that the East German populace is more interested at this time in attaining freedom than in attaining any Russian negotiated unity. The implied argument seems to be that unity without freedom is valueless, and free elections are necessary for freedom.
- ... The small minority of East Germans who held that Adenauer should have accepted Grotewohl's bid for unity negotiations voice mainly a hope - often somewhat forlorn in tone - that negotiations might possible lead to the reunification of Germany, so should be tried.

- b -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

II. ARE THE WESTERN POWERS OPPOSED TO THE REUNIFICATION OF GERMANY?

- ... A second query bearing on German unity was included in the present survey to see if the repeated Western rejections of East Zone unity proposals and the Western policy of seeking to integrate West Germany with the Western world, had engendered any feelings of suspicion among East German residents that the West was not really desirous of German unity. The results indicate clearly that little such reaction has been occasioned. All but a small minority expressed the view that the Western powers are fundamentally in favor of the reunification of Germany.

III. SHOULD WEST GERMANY CHOOSE RUSSIAN SPONSORED UNIFICATION AND NEUTRALITY OVER INTEGRATION WITH THE WEST?

- ... East German attitudes toward a neutralist solution of the German problem add up to an impressive endorsement of Western policy. By more than a two to one majority the East Germans sampled support the view that West Germany should integrate with the West in preference to any Russian proposal for a unified neutral Germany.
- ... A comparison of East and West Zone figures on roughly comparable questions suggest that support for a neutral unified Germany is somewhat greater in the East Zone than in the West. Perhaps the only thing surprising about such a difference is that it is not greater if one considers that East Germans are making, it would seem, considerably greater sacrifices than West Germans in espousing the view that West Germany should integrate with the West.
- ... Group comparisons on the present issue reveal, first, that support for a neutralist course for West Germany does not achieve preponderant status in any of the groups examined. Secondly, the comparisons disclose that approval of West German integration with the West is at its maximum among the opinion leading elements of the population - the men, the better schooled, and the more affluent. A third indication, that must be considered as only an invitation to future study in view of the extremely limited number of cases, is that support for a neutral unified Germany apparently bulks larger among East Zone youth than among their elders.
- ... In supporting their espousal of Western integration of West Germany, East Zone residents either stress an economic, political, or moral superiority of the West; or focus negatively on the untrustworthiness and despotism of the Russians.
- ... The minority who hold that West Germany should unite with the East Zone in a neutral unified state argue mainly that by such means a war can be avoided.

IV. SHOULD WESTERN POWERS ACCEPT RUSSIAN PROPOSAL FOR FOUR POWER WITHDRAWAL?

- ... Probably the most significant finding in the present study is the two-to-one judgment by the East Zoners sampled that it would be unwise for the Western powers at this time to agree to any proposal for four power withdrawal from Germany.

- 6 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

- ... Such results can hardly be evaluated as less than impressive. For they indicate that despite all the oppressions and hardships associated with the Russian occupation that East Zoners have very widely alluded to in the present and prior study, the majority have sufficient perspective to see that the immediate gains of four power withdrawal may be quite overshadowed by the ultimate risks. If these findings can be generalized they would tend to suggest that the East Germans can be counted upon to endure a considerable measure of sacrifice in the interest of an enduring elimination of the Russian yoke.
- ... That a somewhat greater proportion of West Germans than East Germans feel that four power withdrawal would be unwise at this time is very probably attributable to the fact that the burden of occupation in West Germany is somewhat less, to say the least, than that borne by East Zone residents.
- ... That it would not be on the side of wisdom for the Western powers to accept any proposal for four power withdrawal is the preponderant viewpoint among all segments of the East Zone population. It is at its maximum, however, among the opinion leadership elements - the men, the better schooled, and the more affluent.
- ... East Zoners who see little wisdom in the Western powers' accepting any Russian proposal for four power withdrawal cite a variety of reasons for their stand, adding up basically to the thesis that such a course would ultimately redound to the benefit of the Russians and leave the Germans worse off than ever.
- ... The minority who favored withdrawal of all the occupying powers argue mainly that then Germany would be independent and free to solve its own problems.

V. WOULD THE EAST ZONE COMMUNIST REGIME REMAIN IN POWER IF THE OCCUPYING POWERS LEFT GERMANY?

- ... A question of some interest, introduced in connection with the issue of four power withdrawal, related to the likelihood of the East Zone Communist regime remaining in power under such circumstances. On the basis of returns from the present study the answer is strongly in the negative.
- ... The overpowering rejection of Communism by the East Zone population is the reason most frequently advanced by those who feel that the present Communist regime would fall if the Russians withdrew. Some of the comments suggest that things will go hard with the present Communist leaders once the people get an opportunity to act on their real sentiments.
- ... The minority who feel that the present East Zone Communist government would survive a Russian withdrawal argue that they are too firmly entrenched and more force than will be presumably available would be necessary to drive them out. Only a comparatively few, however, claim that the people's police will be the means of keeping the regime in power. So few allusions to such an apparently obvious consideration could suggest that the East Zoners do not generally consider the people's police as a group that would back up the Communist regime once the Russians withdrew.

- 4 -

CONFIDENTIAL

VI. IS A FOUR POWER CONFERENCE LIKELY TO BE ADVANTAGEOUS
FOR GERMANY?

- ... A final question was included in the present survey to see if East Germans had the same rather lukewarm reaction to the possible German advantages of a four power conference as has characterized West Germans over the past many weeks. The indication is that a greater proportion of East Germans look for possible advantages in such a conference, though definitely less than a majority are characterized by such optimism.
- ... Reasons offered for seeing possible German advantage in a four power conference are very similar to arguments advanced by West Germans - that negotiations offer some hope at least of leading to agreement.
- ... The minority who anticipate only German disadvantage in a possible four power conference argue mainly in terms of Russian untrustworthiness and intransigence. Only a negligible number claim that the probable result of such a conference would be to sell Germany down the river.

ACCEPTED GROTEWOHL'S BID FOR UNITY NEGOTIATIONS?

PROPOSAL ...

for unity negotiations made by the East German Prime Minister Chancellor Adenauer seems to have spread to approximately one out of four proportion in East Berlin and in adjacent West Berlin and West Germany.

or read of the letter which Grotewohl sent to Adenauer some time ago?"

TOTAL EAST	EAST BERLIN	EAST ZONE	Brandenburg**	Other Laender
------------	-------------	-----------	---------------	---------------

80%	78%	77%	81%	81%
20	22	23	19	19
100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

on further inquiry that the fairly considerable extent of Grotewohl proposals is not matched by depth, as less than 50% of Germans sampled could offer any indication whatsoever of Adenauer's reply.

Not heard or read of Grotewohl's letter were informed as to whether proposed to negotiate about the reunification of Germany, and which all were asked: whether Adenauer refused the Grotewohl proposal, whether on what conditions, or whether he agreed?"

TOTAL EAST	EAST BERLIN	EAST ZONE	Brandenburg	Other Laender
------------	-------------	-----------	-------------	---------------

25%	21%	27%	27%	26%
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

17	16	17	14	21
4	4	3	3	5

1	2	1	1	1
54	57	53	55	49
101%	100%	101%	100%	102%

ough most East Germans are familiar with the fact of the bid, it made no burning impression upon them. From all follow, the most probable explanation for this is that the proposals were not interpreted by any large section of the East Zone public as a sincere and workable effort at reunification.

Germany is denoted in this and subsequent tables it is based on a 540 case sample of urban West Germans living in West Berlin and more in population. West Berlin findings are in based upon a 200 case sampling. A slightly different question appeared in the West German survey which ran

and or heard of the letter recently sent by the East German Minister Otto Grotewohl to Federal Chancellor Adenauer?

tables Brandenburg exclusive of East Berlin.

gave more than one answer.

- 1 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

REACTIONS TO ADENAUER'S REPLY ...

As far as indicated by the present sampling, the East German reaction to Adenauer's reply to Grotewohl is a widespread endorsement. Four out of five agreed with the Federal Chancellor's demand for free and secret elections as a prerequisite to any unity negotiations.

All except those who indicated an awareness of the free election conditions were told prior to putting the question below: "Adenauer demanded free and secret elections as a prerequisite for the negotiations about the reunification of Germany."

"Do you agree with this answer of Adenauer's to Grotewohl, or do you think one should have negotiated about this proposal?"

	TOTAL EAST	EAST BERLIN	EAST ZONE	Brandenburg	Other Laender
Agree	79%	76%	80%	78%	83%
Should have negotiated	14	13	14	16	11
No opinion	7	11	6	6	6
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

A directly parallel question has not been put to a West German sample. The returns to a somewhat similar question below suggest, however, that approval of the manner in which the West German government reacted to the Grotewohl proposals is considerably greater in East Germany than it is in West Germany. To the extent that such a conclusion can be validated it is of course a very provocative indication of possibly unlooked-for support for American policy on German unification.

"As you probably know, the East German Prime Minister Grotewohl proposed to Federal Chancellor Adenauer to appoint an equal number of representatives for East and West Germany to negotiate about the unification of Germany. The West German Federal government refused this proposal.

Do you approve of the refusal of the Grotewohl proposal by the West German Federal government or are you of the opinion that one should have negotiated about this proposal?"

	Urban West Germany February 27-28	West Berlin February 27-28
Approve of refusal	43%	73%
Should have negotiated	40	20
No opinion	17	7
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN REACTION ...

Group comparisons in East German reactions to Adenauer's rejoinder to Grotewohl's unity bid reveals that approval - everywhere a majority - tends to bulk relatively larger among the better educated as compared to the less schooled, and the more affluent as compared to respondents with lower incomes. The apparent indication of somewhat higher support for negotiations among respondents of professional and executive occupation cannot be taken too seriously in view of the very limited number of cases in this category.

"Do you agree with the answer of Adenauer's to Grotewohl, or do you think one should have negotiated about this proposal?"

	Agree	Should have negotiated	No opinion	No. of cases:
TOTAL EAST				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	82%	17%	1% ... 100%	158
Women	77	12	11	238
<u>Education:</u>				
8 years or less	76%	15%	9%	317
9 years and more	89	10	1	79
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Under 150 DM	74%	13%	13%	110
150 - 299 DM	80	14	6	183
300 DM and more	83	17	-	93
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals and Executives	76%	22%	2%	42
White-collar workers	87	10	3	62
Manual workers	81	13	6	99
Housewives	76	14	10	136
Unemployed, pensioners	75	16	9	55
<u>Age:</u>				
15 - 24 years	72%	19%	9%	32
25 - 49 years	79	13	8	231
50 years and over	81	14	5	133

CONFIDENTIAL

REASONS FOR AGREEMENT WITH ADENAUER'S REJOINER TO GROTEWOHL...

The most general theme that emerges from leafing through the reasons advanced for approving Adenauer's stress on free elections as a prerequisite to unity discussions, is that the East German populace is more interested at this time in attaining freedom than in attaining any Russian negotiated unity. The implied argument seems to be that unity without freedom is valueless, and free elections are necessary for freedom.

"Do you agree with the answer of Adenauer's to Grotewohl, or do you think one should have negotiated about this proposal?"
If "Agree": "Why are you of this opinion?"

	TOTAL EAST	EAST BERLIN	EAST ZONE.
<u>Free elections are necessary to express the true opinion of the people:</u> So we can elect our own representatives; we want free elections so the SED will have to disappear; if we want to be united we should have free elections as well; free elections are necessary; so the true opinion of the people is seen; the people should vote on it; without free elections no freedom; etc.	36%	39%	35%
<u>The East Zone population could regain their freedom:</u> Because the population would achieve freedom; because we are in favor of an independent and free Germany; because we are oppressed over here; because we experience day-in and day-out what it means to live in bondage; because we will get our freedom; so the Eastern dictatorship will stop; because we are not satisfied with our system of government; because as free human beings we cannot recognize the Eastern system; etc.	13	8	14
<u>The East Zone government represents Russia, interests - they cannot be trusted:</u> Because it is impossible to negotiate with these people - they are Russians; Pieck and Grotewohl are Russians, not Germans; we know what's up in the East Zone government - that is not an honest proposal; the Grotewohl proposal is just a play for time prompted by the Russians; the Russians remain back-stage as they always do - Grotewohl did it for them; because I am a German, not a Russian; etc.	6	8	5
<u>The East Zone government was not elected by democratic principles:</u> It is impossible for Adenauer to negotiate with Grotewohl - he was placed in his position by the Communists; because I detest this government, they were not elected; because our government does not have the right to negotiate, they were not elected by us; without an election Grotewohl does not have the right to negotiate; because only ten per cent in the East Zone are Communists; etc.	5	4	6

(cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

	TOTAL EAST	EAST BERLIN	EAST ZONE
<u>Negotiations with the East Zone are useless - the only way is an uncompromising attitude by the West; Nothing would come of negotiations - I am definitely opposed to the East Zone government; because everything is useless considering the attitude of the East; because nothing would come of it, the East Zone representatives would only stir up trouble; negotiating wouldn't be of any use - the East Zone representatives are nuts; a pact with the East Zone government would lead to nothing; the West should not give in, that is the only method to get anywhere; because these criminals should really be given the works; etc.</u>	5%	2%	6%
<u>The proposal is sound and justified - it is in accordance with the opinion of the East Zone population; Because Adenauer is right; I can't say anything definitely, I just consider Adenauer's demand right; Adenauer has the backing of the East Zone population - we would have refused too under the conditions - he is right; because Adenauer does not want to sell the German people; etc.</u>	3	3	3
<u>Adenauer's proposal would mean a simple and democratic solution to the problem; Because he thinks democratically; Adenauer's proposal is the democratic solution and that is the most simple one; etc.</u>	2	2	2
<u>In order to have a better future: Because we want our future to be better; so we will be better off; etc.</u>	2	1	2
<u>Other opinions: The best proof is that we do our shopping in the West sector; because Grotewohl's conditions were not acceptable; Grotewohl is a rascal, and an honest gentleman cannot negotiate with him; because it is impossible to negotiate after the East recognized the Oder-Neisse line; etc.</u>	4	6	4
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	$\frac{3}{79\%}$	$\frac{4}{77\%*}$	$\frac{3}{80\%*}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

REASONS FOR FEELING ADENAUER SHOULD HAVE NEGOTIATED WITH GROTEWOHL ...

The small minority of East Germans who held that Adenauer should have accepted Grotewohl's bid for unity negotiations voice mainly a hope - often somewhat forlorn in tone - that negotiations might possibly lead to the reunification of Germany, so should be tried.

"Do you agree with the answer of Adenauer's to Grotewohl, or do you think one should have negotiated about this proposal?"
If "Should have negotiated": "Why are you of this opinion?"

	TOTAL EAST	EAST BERLIN	EAST ZONE
<u>Negotiations could lead to an agreement - it should be tried:</u> Perhaps they would have reached an agreement; so we will reach some kind of an agreement and can live as well as the people in West Germany; perhaps they could have agreed on free and secret elections; because every opportunity to negotiate should be taken; in order to agree on a date for further negotiations; etc.	7%	4%	8%
<u>In order to unite Germany:</u> Because then we would be united with the West; because then people will see that everybody is prepared to reunite Germany; so it will be some progress on the way to reunification; because we are Germans and we all want a united Germany; without negotiations we will never achieve unification; etc.	3	3	3
<u>In order to avoid war and preserve peace:</u> Because then we would have peace; because peace could be preserved by that; they have to start sooner or later, and if they'd cease to be stubborn war will be avoided; so the danger of war will be eliminated; etc.	1	2	1
<u>In order to show the East Zone population that they are not forgotten:</u> Because otherwise we get the feeling that the West has written us off; that looks like cowardice - Adenauer is afraid; etc.	1	1	1
<u>Other opinions:</u> We still have hopes that things will get better, so we will be left in peace; etc.	1	1	1
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	$\frac{1}{14\%}$	$\frac{2}{13\%}$	$\frac{-}{14\%}$

CONFIDENTIAL

II. ARE THE WESTERN POWERS OPPOSED TO THE REUNIFICATION OF GERMANY?

A second query bearing on German unity was included in the present survey to see if the repeated Western rejections of East Zone unity proposals and the Western policy of seeking to integrate West Germany with the Western world, had engendered any feelings of suspicion among East German residents that the West was not really desirous of German unity. The results indicate clearly that little such reaction has been occasioned. All but a small minority expressed the view that the Western powers are fundamentally in favor of the reunification of Germany.

"Do you have the impression that the Western powers are fundamentally in favor of or opposed to a reunification of Germany?"

	Urban West Germany Jan 18-19	West Berlin Jan 18-19	TOTAL EAST	EAST BERLIN	EAST ZONE	Brendenburg	Other Laender
In favor	71%	88%	86%	82%	87%	86%	89%
Opposed	8	5	6	7	6	5	7
No opinion	21	7	8	11	7	9	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

If the questions put to the two samplings can be assumed to be comparable,* the interesting suggestion emerges from the above figures that East Germans may be more widely convinced of Western interest in unity than are urban residents of West Germany.

* The question was put somewhat differently in the West German survey and ran as follows:

"If the Western powers would offer West Germany the opportunity to join with the West European nations, do you think that would mean that the West is fundamentally opposed to a united Germany or not?"

Group differences among East Germans are negligible on the present question with the indication that among all population elements the point of view overwhelmingly preponderates that the Western powers are fundamentally in favor of German unification.

"Do you have the impression that the Western powers are fundamentally in favor of or opposed to a reunification of Germany?"

TOTAL EAST		In favor of	Opposed to	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	88%	8%	4%...100%	158	
Women	84	6	10	238	
<u>Education:</u>					
8 years or less	86%	7%	7%	317	
9 years and more	86	5	9	79	
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Under 150 DM	85%	6%	9%	110	
150 - 299 DM	87	6	7	183	
300 DM and more	83	8	9	93	
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professional and Executives	91%	7%	2%	42	
White-collar workers	87	7	6	62	
Manual workers	85	7	8	99	
Housewives	84	4	12	136	
Unemployed, pensioners	87	9	4	55	
<u>Age:</u>					
15.- 24 years	75%	9%	16%	32	
25 - 49 "	86	7	7	231	
50 years and over	88	5	7	133	

CONFIDENTIAL

The miniscule proportion who claim that the Western powers are fundamentally opposed to Germany unity cite the following reasons for their stand.

"Do you have the impression that the Western powers are fundamentally in favor of or opposed to a reunification of Germany?"
If "Opposed": "Why are you of this opinion?"

	TOTAL EAST	EAST BERLIN	EAST ZONE
<u>They only seek their own advantage; They only want to gain; they don't want the best for us; they want to take advantage of us; they hated us to be a world power and don't see why they should let us make progress now; etc.</u>	2%	2%	2%
<u>The split of Germany is of advantage for the Americans; (they want war); In case of a war Western Germany will be of advantage for the Americans; because they aim at war against Russia; etc.</u>	1	2	1
<u>They have not done anything to demonstrate their good will; They drag out this situation; they don't even try; we would have been united long ago; etc.</u>	1	1	1
<u>Because the Russians have occupied the East Zone; Because the Americans can't drive the Russians out of the East Zone, they will stay for good; they are afraid that Communism might spread; etc.</u>	1	-	1
<u>Other opinions: The constant political instigation; the reunification will never take place, the wiser head gives in, in this case the West is the wiser one, so he is the guilty part; because the Americans are opposed to all proposals; etc.</u>	1	1	1
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	$\frac{*}{6\%}$	$\frac{1}{7\%}$	$\frac{*}{6\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

CONFIDENTIAL

C O N F I D E N T I A L

III. SHOULD WEST GERMANY CHOOSE RUSSIAN SPONSORED UNIFICATION AND NEUTRALITY OVER INTEGRATION WITH THE WEST?

East German attitudes toward a neutralist solution of the German problem add up to an impressive endorsement of Western policy. By more than a two to one majority the East Germans sampled support the view that West Germany should integrate with the West in preference to any Russian proposal for a unified neutral Germany.

"Supposing West Germany had to choose between a proposal by the Western powers to join with the West politically and militarily and a proposal by Russia offering unification with East Germany and neutrality. Which proposal should West Germany choose?"

	Urban West Germany* March 5-13	West Berlin March 5-13	TOTAL EAST	EAST BERLIN	EAST ZONE	Brandenburg	Other Laender
Western proposal	65%	87%	59%	57%	60%	60%	59%
Russian proposal	16	9	24	26	23	17	30
Qualified replies	-	-	2	2	2	3	2
No opinion	19	4	15	15	15	20	9
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

If the questions asked can be assumed to be roughly comparable,** the comparison of East and West Zone figures above suggest that support for a neutral unified Germany is somewhat greater in the East Zone than in the West. Perhaps the only thing surprising about such a difference is that it is not greater if one considers that East Germans are making, it would seem, considerably greater sacrifices than West Germans in espousing the view that West Germany should integrate with the West.

* These results are from an 800 case probability sampling of the entire West German population.

** In the interest of greater convenience with the on-the-street East German interviews the question put to them was condensed somewhat from the West German version which ran as follows:

"Supposing West Germany were offered the following two alternatives:

1. The Western powers: offer West Germany admission to the union of the Western nations as an independent, politically and militarily equal nation;
2. Russia: offers unification with East Germany and proposes that Germany as a neutral nation keeps out of a conflict between East and West.

In case the Federal government had the choice of only one of these two proposals, which alternative should they take in your opinion, considering everything you know about the Western powers as well as Russia?"

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

Group comparisons on the present issue reveal, first, that support for a neutralist course for West Germany does not achieve preponderant status in any of the groups examined. Secondly, the comparisons disclose that approval of West German integration with the West is at its maximum among the opinion leading elements of the population - the men, the better schooled, and the more affluent. A third indication, that must be considered as only an invitation to future study in view of the extremely limited number of cases, is that support for a neutral unified Germany apparently bulks larger among East Zone youth than among their elders.

"Supposing West Germany had to choose between a proposal by the Western powers to join with the West politically and militarily and a proposal by Russia offering unification with East Germany and neutrality. Which proposal should West Germany choose?"

	Western proposal	Russian proposal	Qualified replies	No opinion	No. of cases:
TOTAL EAST					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	68%	25%	3%	4%...100%	158
Women	53	23	2	22	238
<u>Education:</u>					
8 years or less	55%	26%	2%	17%	317
9 years and more	73	14	4	9	79
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Under 150 DM	55%	22%	2%	21%	110
150 - 399 DM	57	25	2	16	183
300 DM and more	66	26	3	5	93
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals and Executives	69%	22%	7%	2%	42
White-collar workers	69	18	3	10	62
Manual workers	61	29	1	9	99
Housewives	48	25	1	36	136
Unemployed, pensioners	66	16	2	16	55
<u>Age:</u>					
15 - 24 years	53%	38%	-	9	52
25 - 49 years	61	22	4	13	331
50 years and over	56	23	2	19	133

CONFIDENTIAL

REASONS FOR ADVOCATING WESTERN INTEGRATION FOR WEST GERMANY ...

In supporting their espousal of Western integration of West Germany, East Zone residents either stress an economic, political, or moral superiority of the West; or focus negatively on the untrustworthiness and despotism of the Russians.

"Supposing West Germany had to choose between a proposal by the Western powers to join with the West politically and militarily and a proposal by Russia offering unification with East Germany and neutrality. Which proposal should West Germany choose?"
If "Western proposal": "Why are you of this opinion?"

	TOTAL EAST	EAST BERLIN	EAST ZONE
<u>Union with the West would be better for Germany:</u> Because the West means well for Germany; because the West does something for Germany - the Russians do nothing but exploit us; the Russians take everything away from us - the West, at least, gives us something; because only the West can help us; because it would mean a greater advantage to us - the West is economically stronger; the West has money and goods - the East can't offer us anything; because only with the West do we have a chance to get back on our feet; it would be much better at the moment; because it is the right way for us; it guarantees a better living standard than the other proposal; etc.	15%	10%	17%
<u>Russian offer is not to be trusted:</u> Because what the Russian offers does not guarantee anything; because we cannot rely on Eastern policies; because the Russian offer is nothing but an attempt to cheat us; because Eastern offers are not reliable; if Germany joins with Russia we'll all be lost; because the "Ivan" means our death; because the Russians would do evil; we know the so-called "Russian neutrality," first the bait and then the whip; otherwise we'll be sold; everything from the Russians is propaganda - nothing's behind it; etc.	14	21	12
<u>Russian offer means Communist dictatorship:</u> The Russian offer means eternal bondage; in order not to have another dictatorship in Germany; otherwise Communism would rule the world; because the East means a threat; because it would create a sound front against Communism; etc.	8	5	9
<u>Freedom and justice come first with the West:</u> Because we have more freedom under Western rule; that would be a sound proposition - real democracy; so we'll live in peace; this offer means freedom; because only in the West we'll have justice; because we have been living under a dictatorship for five years; etc.	6	6	6
<u>We are culturally linked to the West:</u> Because civilisation comes from the West; because as Germans we belong to the Western world; because the Western powers have healthier view-points; because we feel we belong to Western culture; etc.	5	4	6

(cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

TOTAL EAST	EAST BERLIN	EAST ZONE
---------------	----------------	--------------

In order to counter the danger of war and have protection against the East: Because the West has to counter war; because otherwise the Russians can go ahead with their war preparations; we need the protection of the West European army which is being planned now; etc.

34	54	24
----	----	----

Neutrality is impossible: To stay neutral won't be possible; we have to join with somebody; such neutrality is impossible - Germany has been the battle-ground of the last wars; neutrality would be suicide - we want to get rid of all this pressure; etc.

3	2	3
---	---	---

In order to liberate the East Zone from the Russians: The West has to be strong so they can liberate us; we want to be liberated from the Russians; a strong German army is necessary in order to throw the Russians out; because the Russians must be thrown out of the Zone; etc.

3	1	3
---	---	---

Other opinions: Because it would give us the opportunity to participate; because otherwise we would give in if we'd join Russia; because it would mean a recognition of the Oder-Neisse line if we accepted the Russian offer; the Americans hold the money-bag; etc.

2	2	2
---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{2}{61\%}$	$\frac{1}{57\%}$	$\frac{3}{63\%}$
------------------	------------------	------------------

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

REASONS FOR ESPOUSING A NEUTRAL UNIFIED GERMANY ...

The minority who hold that West Germany should unite with the East Zone in a neutral unified state argue mainly that by such means a war can be avoided.

"Supposing West Germany had to choose between a proposal by the Western powers to join with the West politically and militarily and a proposal by Russia offering unification with East Germany and neutrality. Which proposal should West Germany choose?"
If "Russian proposal": "Why are you of this opinion?"

	TOTAL EAST	EAST BERLIN	EAST ZONE
<u>To avoid war - we have had enough:</u> To avoid another war; every single one has had enough of the last war and doesn't want to experience another one; because we don't want another war; we have suffered enough, we don't want another war; we don't want to get mixed up in another war; etc.	9%	12%	9%
<u>In order to unite Germany:</u> To become united again; it might result in a unification of Germany; so that we can travel within Germany as we please; we are one people and the borders have to be removed; to reestablish the original situation in Germany; etc.	6	6	6
<u>It will be best to remain neutral:</u> It is best to remain neutral; only neutrality like in Switzerland can save us; the others aren't interested in Germany, we'd better stay alone; if we would remain neutral that would mean another step towards peace; etc.	3	2	4
<u>In order to become independent and be left in peace:</u> We want to be left alone, we don't hate the U.S. or Russia, but we want to make a go alone; because we have more freedom then; the Germans should be left alone and not have to depend upon others; because we want peace; etc.	3	2	3
<u>We don't want an army:</u> Because we have enough of militarism; that is the best for us, we are fed up with militarism; etc.	1	1	1
<u>Other opinions:</u> Because the East fights for peace; otherwise we shall be alone; etc.	2	2	1
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	$\frac{*}{24\%}$	$\frac{1}{26\%}$	$\frac{*}{24\%}^{**}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

IV. SHOULD WESTERN POWERS ACCEPT RUSSIAN PROPOSAL FOR FOUR POWER WITHDRAWAL?

Probably the most significant finding in the present study is the two to one judgment by the East Zoners sampled that it would be unwise for the Western powers at this time to agree to any proposal for four power withdrawal from Germany.

"The Russians have repeatedly suggested that all four occupying powers should leave Germany. Would you consider it to be wise or unwise if the Western powers would now agree to this proposal?"

	Urban West Germany Dec 19-20	West Berlin Dec 19-20	TOTAL EAST	EAST BERLIN	EAST ZONE	Brandenburg	Other Laender
Wise	16%	7%	31%	31%	31%	32%	30%
Unwise	73	88	62	59	63	62	63
No opinion	11	5	7	10	6	6	7
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Such results can hardly be evaluated as less than impressive. For they indicate that despite all the oppressions and hardships associated with the Russian occupation that East Zoners have very widely alluded to in the present and prior study, the majority have sufficient perspective to see that the immediate gains of four power withdrawal may be quite overshadowed by the ultimate risks. If these findings can be generalized they would tend to suggest that the East Germans can be counted upon to endure a considerable measure of sacrifice in the interest of an enduring elimination of the Russian yoke.

That a somewhat greater proportion of West Germans than East Germans feel that four power withdrawal would be unwise at this time is very probably attributable to the fact that the burden of occupation in West Germany is somewhat less, to say the least, than that borne by East Zone residents.

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

That it would not be on the side of wisdom for the Western powers to accept any proposal for four power withdrawal is the preponderant viewpoint among all segments of the East Zone population. It is at its maximum, however, among the opinion leadership elements - the men, the better schooled, and the more affluent.

"The Russians have repeatedly suggested that all four occupying powers should leave Germany. Would you consider it to be wise or unwise if the Western powers would now agree to this proposal?"

	Wise	Unwise	No opinion	No. of cases:
TOTAL EAST				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	26%	70%	4% ... 100%	158
Women	35	56	9	238
<u>Education:</u>				
8 years or less	35%	57%	8%	317
9 years and more	15	79	6	79
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Under 150 DM	34%	54%	12%	110
150 - 299 DM	35	58	7	183
300 DM and more	21	75	4	93
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals and Executives	31%	67%	2%	42
White-collar workers	23	68	9	62
Manual workers	31	62	7	99
Housewives	35	60	5	136
Unemployed, pensioners	31	56	13	55
<u>Age:</u>				
15 - 24 years	31%	63%	6%	32
25 - 49 years	33	59	8	231
50 years and over	29	65	6	133

WHY FOUR POWER WITHDRAWAL UNWISE? ...

East Zoners who see little wisdom in the Western powers' accepting any Russian proposal for four power withdrawal cite a variety of reasons for their stand, adding up basically to the thesis that such a course would ultimately redound to the benefit of the Russians and leave the Germans worse off than ever.

"The Russians have repeatedly suggested that all four occupying powers should leave Germany. Would you consider it to be wise or unwise if the Western powers would now agree to this proposal?"
If "Unwise": "Why are you of this opinion?"

TOTAL EAST	EAST BERLIN	EAST ZONE
---------------	----------------	--------------

The Russians will come back - they can't be trusted: Because that is just Russian propaganda; because the Russians can't be trusted, they just want to drive the Americans out and march in themselves; because the Russians don't keep agreements; the Russians will just move out to come back very quickly; because the Russians wouldn't go back far enough; the Russians would only go as far as Kuestrin and then really let us have it; the Russians will be happy about it for they will just withdraw behind the frontier and be back very quickly; if the Western powers go the Russians will march in again; etc.

19%	19%	19%
-----	-----	-----

Close Russian proximity is a threat: Because Russia is too close to Germany; they are right at the border; the Russians don't go back far enough; Russia begins at the Oder and America is far away; the Russians will go back as far as Frankfurt/Oder or Goerlitz and the Western powers will go across the ocean; etc.

13	12	13
----	----	----

Civil war and chaos in Germany: There would be murder and bloodshed here; civil war would break out right away; there would be total confusion; it will be just like in Korea; the East police would cause disturbances just like in Korea; the Russians would go back as far as the Oder and then the Volkspolizei would attack; etc.

12	14	12
----	----	----

Russia will take over all of Germany: Because then Bolshevism will take hold of Germany; it will be easier for the Russians to start a war; the Russians are just waiting to march into the Ruhrgebiet; the Russians would use their power very soon; Russia wants to rule the whole of Germany; then the Russians will attack Germany; the Russians would at once take over an unoccupied Germany; then we would suffer the same as the East; because this is just a trap meant for the Western powers to fall into; etc.

9	8	10
---	---	----

(cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

TOTAL	EAST	EAST
EAST	BERLIN	ZONE

Germany depends upon the protection and the help of the Western powers; We feel protected by the Western powers; Germany can't support herself alone; because then we would be left without any protection; we can't yet be left without the control of the Western powers, there would be disturbances; too early, there would be disagreements between the political parties; etc.

3%	2%	3%
----	----	----

Communist government and increase of Russian influence; Then the Communists would come to power; even after the withdrawal the Soviets would press on the East German government; the East Zone is interspersed with SED-agents; because Communism has already become too strong; etc.

2	1	2
---	---	---

We must have a peace treaty first: Because we don't have peace yet; as long as there are no fixed frontiers and as long as we don't have peace; etc.

1	1	1
---	---	---

Other opinions: Because there are constant disagreements between the West German and East German government; there should be free elections first; the Russians would get what they aim at through their veto; we would be lost; the situation is too critical; because we won't have free elections then; etc.

4	1	5
---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

*	1	*
63%**	59%	65%**

* Less than one half of one per cent.

**Some respondents gave more than one answer.

WHY FOUR POWER WITHDRAWAL WISE? ...

The minority who favored withdrawal of all the occupying powers argue mainly that then Germany would be independent and free to solve its own problems.

"The Russians have repeatedly suggested that all four occupying powers should leave Germany. Would you consider it to be wise or unwise if the Western powers would now agree to this proposal?"
If "Wise": "Why are you of this opinion?"

	TOTAL EAST	EAST BERLIN	EAST ZONE
<u>Independence and free development for Germany:</u> Then we can act independently; then we shall be free people again; then Germany would be better off; because we have been occupied long enough now, what do they want here?; because we shall have to clear up our situation ourselves; etc.	18%	20	17%
<u>Free development of our economy:</u> So that we will have a peace production again; because then our economy would be independent; because then our economy would be reactivated; then at last we will be able to support ourselves; etc.	5	4	5
<u>Unification of Germany:</u> Then perhaps we would have a united Germany again; Germany would be united more easily; a reunification of Germany would be of advantage for everybody; etc.	5	4	5
<u>It would cause the Russians to withdraw:</u> We would at last be rid of the Russians; because the main thing is that the Russians get out; because that also would mean the end of the SED; the Russians live on us and that would be finished then; etc.	2	2	1
<u>Maintenance of peace:</u> To maintain peace; because then we could join the West more easily; would be better for all of us and those constant disagreements about us would be ended; etc.	1	-	2
<u>Other opinions:</u>	*	-	*
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	$\frac{1}{324}^{**}$	$\frac{1}{319}$	$\frac{1}{324}^{**}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

V. WOULD THE EAST ZONE COMMUNIST REGIME REMAIN IN POWER
IF THE OCCUPYING POWERS LEFT GERMANY?

A question of some interest, introduced in connection with the issue of four power withdrawal, related to the likelihood of the East Zone Communist regime remaining in power under such circumstances. On the basis of returns from the present study the answer is strongly in the negative.

"Supposing the four occupation powers would leave Germany. Do you think that the East German Communists would remain in power or not?"

	TOTAL EAST	EAST BERLIN	EAST ZONE	Brandenburg	Other Laender
Would remain in power	19%	14%	20%	24%	15%
No	68	71	68	64	73
Qualified replies	2	2	2	1	4
No opinion	11	13	10	11	8
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The majority public judgment here may add up to wishful thinking or under-estimation of Communist strategy, but in any case it is revealing of the East Zone temper in reference to their present regime.

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

Group differences are relatively minor in the present instance. Among all groups the strongly preponderant opinion is that Russian withdrawal would mark the demise of the present East Zone government. However, among respondents with larger incomes, and to a lesser extent among those of greater education there is evidence of a slightly greater tendency to feel that the present government would persist despite any four power withdrawal.

"Supposing the four occupation powers would leave Germany. Do you think that then the East German Communists would remain in power or not?"

	Would remain in power	No	Qualified replies	No opinion	No. of cases:
TOTAL EAST					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	20%	70%	4%	6%...100%	158
Women	18	67	1	14	238
<u>Education:</u>					
8 years or less	17%	69%	2%	12%	317
9 years and more	24	66	4	6	79
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Under 150 DM	15%	68%	2%	15%	110
150 - 299 DM	16	73	1	10	183
300 DM and more	27	61	5	7	93
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals and Executives	19%	64%	7%	10%	42
White-collar workers	21	76	-	3	62
Manual workers	14	77	3	6	99
Housewives	17	65	*	18	136
Unemployed, pensioners	25	60	4	11	55
<u>Age:</u>					
15 - 24 years	25%	66%	-	9%	33
25 - 49 years	17	72	3	8	231
50 years and over	19	64	2	15	153

* Less than one half of one per cent.

CONFIDENTIAL

REASONS WHY EAST ZONE GOVERNMENT WOULD FALL ...

The overpowering rejection of Communism by the East Zone population is the reason most frequently advanced by those who feel that the present Communist regime would fall if the Russians withdrew. Some of the comments suggest that things will go hard with the present Communist leaders once the people get an opportunity to act on their real sentiments.

"Supposing the four occupying powers would leave Germany. Do you think that then the East German Communists would remain in power or not?"

If "No": "Why do you think so?"

TOTAL EAST	EAST BERLIN	EAST ZONE
---------------	----------------	--------------

Because the population rejects Communism: Because 80 per cent of the public opinion is against them; because the people won't back them up; because the people in the Eastern Zone know the meaning of freedom; because Communism would go to pieces; because Communism wouldn't last; we didn't vote for them; etc.

32%	36%	31%
-----	-----	-----

Because the population would go into action: There are only 5 per cent for them and those we are going to kill; because we are going to let them have it; there will be civil war, we are going to drive them out with sticks; the East Zone population is too embittered; etc.

14	13	14
----	----	----

Because then the Russians are gone: They can't keep up their positions if the Russians leave; because Russia wouldn't back them up anymore; they would leave together with the Russians, otherwise we would hang them; without the protection of the Russians they don't feel safe here; etc.

7	9	6
---	---	---

Because many of the Communists are not convinced: Many Communists just go along because they have to and later they'll change their mind; they are only in favor of it today as long as they are well off, if things change they will also change; there are not many anyway and many Communists would be glad if they knew how to get out; etc.

6	5	6
---	---	---

Because there would be free elections: Because then we would have real elections; in the first elections 95 per cent of the population would vote anti-communistic; free elections would demonstrate their defeat; that would mean the end for them since there would be free elections; etc.

5	4	5
---	---	---

Because Western Germany is stronger: Because Western Germany is stronger and wouldn't agree to that; because the Western influence would make its way; etc.

2	-	3
---	---	---

Other opinions: Because they have done too much wrong; because the condition would be that all four of them would leave Germany; etc.

3	5	3
---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{1}{70\%}$	$\frac{-}{72\%}$	$\frac{1}{69\%}$
------------------	------------------	------------------

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

REASONS WHY EAST ZONE GOVERNMENT WOULD REMAIN IN POWER ...

The minority who feel that the present East Zone Communist government would survive a Russian withdrawal argue that they are too firmly entrenched and more force than will be presumably available would be necessary to drive them out. Only a comparatively few, however, claim that the people's police will be the means of keeping the regime in power. So few allusions to such an apparently obvious consideration could suggest that the East Zoners do not generally consider the people's police as a group that would back up the Communist regime once the Russians withdrew.

"Supposing the four occupation powers would leave Germany. Do you think that the East German Communists would remain in power or not?"
If "Would remain in power": "Why do you think so?"

	TOTAL EAST	EAST BERLIN	EAST ZONE
<u>They are too strong and the system is too well-founded:</u> The system is too well-founded and they are going to succeed; they are all well-trained; they are too strong; Communism is very deeply rooted; etc.	6%	5%	7%
<u>They will only give up under force:</u> Because we shall have to use force to get them out; they will only give up their positions if they are forced to it; they would get tough and do their utmost to keep up their positions; they would continue to use force; etc.	5	2	5
<u>Because of the people's police:</u> Because the people's police is still there; they have the upper hand; because they can keep their positions with the help of the people's police; they'll use the people's police against us; they are backed up by the people's police with all their arms; etc.	3	3	3
<u>Because the Russians will see to that:</u> The Russians are not going to give in; because we can't get rid of them, as soon as something of that sort happens the Russians will march in again; there are only 5 per cent and they are supported by the Russian bayonets; etc.	3	1	4
<u>Other opinions:</u> They want to gain world power; I should think so because they got the largest number of votes; etc.	2	3	2
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	$\frac{1}{20}\%$ **	$\frac{1}{14}\%$	$\frac{1}{21}\%$ **

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some people gave more than one answer.

VI. IS A FOUR POWER CONFERENCE LIKELY TO BE ADVANTAGEOUS FOR GERMANY?

A final question was included in the present survey to see if East Germans had the same rather lukewarm reaction to the possible German advantages of a four power conference as has characterized West Germans over the past many weeks. The indication is that a greater proportion of East Germans look for possible advantages in such a conference, though definitely less than a majority are characterized by such optimism.

"If a conference on Germany were held by the four great powers, do you think it likely that this conference would in general be of advantage or of disadvantage to Germany?"

	Urban West Germany	West Berlin	TOTAL EAST	EAST BERLIN	EAST ZONE	Brandenburg	Other Lander
Advantage	21%	28%	38%	40%	38%	40%	35%
Disadvantage	16	19	10	14	9	9	9
Neither/Nor	33	43	39	33	41	40	42
No opinion	30	10	13	13	12	11	14
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

Group differences are relatively minor in this connection with judgments of possible advantage vising rather equally with the unenthusiastic neither-advantage-nor-disadvantage position among all population elements. There is a slight indication of relatively greater optimism among respondents of professional and executive occupations- though the number of cases are too few for conclusiveness.

"If a conference on Germany were held by the four great powers, do you think it likely that this conference would in general be of advantage or of disadvantage to Germany?"

	Advantage	Disadvantage	Neither/Nor	No opinion	No. of cases:
TOTAL EAST					
Sex:					
Men	39%	13%	41%	7%...100%	158
Women	37	9	38	16	238
Education:					
8 years or less	37%	9%	40%	14%	317
9 years and more	44	15	36	5	79
Income (per month):					
Under 150 DM	40%	9%	38%	13%	110
150 - 299 DM	36	10	38	16	183
300 DM and more	41	14	41	4	93
Occupation:					
Professionals and Executive	52%	12%	29%	7%	42
White-collar workers	39	13	42	6	62
Manual workers	36	12	42	10	99
Housewives	36	7	39	18	136
Unemployed, pensioners	36	11	38	15	55
Age:					
15 - 24 years	28%	12%	30%	25%	32
25 - 49 years	37	10	40	13	231
50 years and over	42	11	38	9	133

WHY CONFERENCE IS LIKELY TO BE ADVANTAGEOUS FOR GERMANY ...

Reasons offered for seeing possible German advantage in a four power conference are very similar to arguments advanced by West Germans - that negotiations offer some hope at least of leading to agreement.

"If a conference on Germany were held by the four great powers, do you think it likely that this conference would in general be of advantage or of disadvantage to Germany?"

If "Of Advantage": "Why?"

TOTAL EAST	EAST BERLIN	EAST ZONE
---------------	----------------	--------------

It could lead to agreement and unification: They could reach an agreement on free elections; it would bring clarification of the different view-points; the disagreement would be eliminated; it could be that the four powers would come to reason; because then they would agree on Germany; in case of agreement we would have an advantage too; etc.

9%	12%	9%
----	-----	----

The Western powers will take the right attitude and bring the Russians to a compromise: Because the Western powers know our wishes and would represent our interests toward the Russians; if all three of the Western powers agree the Russians have to give in; because then the Russians will finally be forced to put all their cards on the table; because the East will feel the power of the West; because the Russians won't be able to do anything against the Western powers - they are in agreement and would over-rule the Russians; because the Americans will insist on free elections for all of Germany; the Americans will tell the Russians to leave us alone; I have confidence in the Americans, they will do something for us; etc.

8	8	8
---	---	---

It could bring peace: So we will get peace and security; it will lead to a peace treaty - they have to grant us one sooner or later; it could preserve peace for Germany; would bring individual freedom - perhaps peace; Germany would get a peace treaty perhaps; perhaps they could agree and war would be avoided; etc.

7	5	7
---	---	---

Germany could be reunited: If Germany were reunited everything would be better for us; I suppose that they will agree to a united Germany under Western rule; everybody wants the unification of Germany - the Russians will have to change their stiff attitude; I hope that everything will be as it was before Germany was divided; etc.

7	3	9
---	---	---

Because the occupation powers would leave: Because all of them would leave then; the occupation powers would leave; etc.

1	4	-
---	---	---

Because the present situation would change and everything be clarified: I think that something positive will come of it; conditions can't remain as they are - they could come to a positive agreement; because the situation has to be clarified; etc.

1	-	1
---	---	---

Other opinions: Because I think that we in the East will be better off; because we will win time; because all three of them, even the French and the British want peace - except the Americans, they are in favor of remilitarization; etc.

3	6	2
---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

3	4	3
39%	42%	35%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

WHY CONFERENCE IS LIKELY TO BE DISADVANTAGEOUS FOR GERMANY ...

The minority who anticipate only German disadvantage in a possible four power conference argue mainly in terms of Russian untrustworthiness and intransigence. Only a negligible number claim that the probable result of such a conference would be to sell Germany down the river.

"If a conference on Germany were held by the four great powers, do you think it likely that this conference would in general be of advantage or of disadvantage to Germany?"

If "Of disadvantage": "Why?"

	TOTAL EAST	EAST BERLIN	EAST ZONE
<u>The Russians will not give in: The Russians always create difficulties; the Russians aren't going to give in and they never admit anything; etc.</u>	3%	4%	2%
<u>The Russians can't be trusted: The Russians are not trustworthy; because the Russians are going to cheat the Western powers and the Germans in this conference; I fear that the Russians will make promises and not keep them later; they won't come to an agreement and the Russians will use the conference to cover up their intentions; etc.</u>	2	2	2
<u>They won't come to an agreement: They won't come to an agreement, nothing good will come out of it; they can't agree; they can't come to an agreement and that means war; etc.</u>	2	-	3
<u>They only want to sell Germany out: They want to sell Germany out and that is of no advantage for us; they'll sell us out behind our backs; etc.</u>	1	3	-
<u>The Russians want to lull the Western powers into security in order to prepare for war: The Russians only want to lull the Western powers into security and then attack Western Germany; the Russians want to gain time in order to be able to prepare for war; etc.</u>	1	2	1
<u>Other opinions: Only Russian propaganda speeches can be expected, and that harms the cooperation of the nations and also Germany; etc.</u>	1	1	2
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	$\frac{1}{11\%}$	$\frac{2}{14\%}$	$\frac{-}{10\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

APPENDIX A

Composition of East German Sample

	No. of cases: <u>In Sample</u>	% in Obtained Sample <u>East Berlin and East Zone</u>
<u>Origin:</u>		
East Berlin	99	24%
East Zone	297	75
Brandenburg	166	42%
Thuringen	14	3
Saxon-Anhalt	22	6
Saxony	77	19
Mecklenburg	15	4
Pommern	3	1
Not ascertained	4	1
	400	100%
<u>Sex:</u>		
Men	158	40%
Women	238	60
	396	100%
<u>Education:</u>		
8 years or less	317	80%
9 years and more	79	20
	396	100%
<u>Income(per month):*</u>		
Under 150 DM	110	28%
150 - 299 DM	183	46
300 DM and more	93	24
No answer	10	2
	396	100%
<u>Occupation:</u>		
Professionals and Executives	42	11%
White-collar workers	62	16
Manual workers	74	19
Housewives	136	34
Unemployed, pensioners	55	14
Farmers	26	6
No answer	1	-
	396	100%
<u>Age:</u>		
15 - 24 years	32	8%
25 - 49 years	231	58
50 years and over	133	34
	396	100%

* Reactions to the interviewing in the initial study suggested that inquiry about respondents' income level would be practicable, hence this valuable index is incorporated in the present study. The DM's referred to here are of course Eastern Deutsche Marks.

APPENDIX B

Comparison of Returns on German versus American Sponsorship Conditions

"Have you heard or read of the letter which Grotewohl sent to Adenauer some time ago?"

	Yes	No	No. of cases:
German sponsorship	78%	22% ... 100%	201
American sponsorship	82	18	195

Those who had not heard or read of Grotewohl's letter were informed: "Grotewohl proposed to negotiate about the reunification of Germany."

"Do you know whether Adenauer refused the Grotewohl proposal, whether he made certain conditions or whether he agreed?"

	Refused	Condition of free elections	Other conditions	Agreed	Don't know	No. of cases:
German sponsorship	24%	15%	8%	1%	54%...100%	201
American sponsorship	26	17	2	1	54	

All except those who indicated an awareness of the free election conditions were told the following prior to putting the question below:

"Adenauer demanded free and secret elections as a prerequisite for the negotiations about the reunification of Germany?"

"Do you agree with this answer of Adenauer's to Grotewohl, or do you think one should have negotiated about this proposal?"

	Agree	Should have negotiated	No opinion	No. of cases:
German sponsorship	79%	13%	8% ... 100%	201
American sponsorship	79	15	6	195

"Do you have the impression that the Western powers are fundamentally in favor of or opposed to a reunification of Germany?"

	In favor of	Opposed to	No opinion	No. of cases:
German sponsorship	84%	6%	10% ... 100%	201
American sponsorship	88	6	6	195

"Supposing West Germany had to choose between a proposal by the Western powers to join with the West politically and militarily and a proposal by Russia offering unification with East Germany and neutrality. Which proposal should West Germany choose?"

	Western proposal	Russian proposal	Qualified replies	No opinion	No. of cases:
German sponsorship	54%	28%	3%	15% ... 100%	201
American sponsorship	63	19	2	16	195

CONFIDENTIAL

"The Russians have repeatedly suggested that all four occupying powers should leave Germany. Would you consider it to be wise or unwise if the Western powers would now agree to this proposal?"

	Wise	Unwise	No opinion	Number of cases:
German sponsorship	34%	59%	7%... 100%	201
American sponsorship	28	64	8	195

"Supposing the four occupation powers would leave Germany. Do you think that then the East German Communists would remain in power or not?"

	Would remain in power	No	Qualified replies	No opinion	No. of cases:
German sponsorship	17%	70%	2%	11%... 100%	201
American sponsorship	20	58	2	10	195

"If a conference on Germany were held by the four great powers, do you think it likely that this conference would be in general of advantage or of disadvantage to Germany?"

	Advantage	Dis-advantage	Neither/ Nor	No opinion	No. of cases:
German sponsorship	38%	10%	38%	14% ... 100%	201
American sponsorship	37	11	41	11	195

CONFIDENTIAL

WEST GERMAN REACTIONS TO INCREASED OCCUPATION COSTS

Classification cancelled
by authority of Leo P. Grossi
PUB/RAS.

Doc. No. 72
Series No. 2
April 12, 1961

C O N F I D E N T I A L

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION ...

This report on West German reactions to occupation costs, made by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, coincided with the announcement of the proposed increase in occupation costs for the coming fiscal year. The survey was done between March 15 and March 23, 1951, and utilized a stratified, probability sample, consisting of 800 cases drawn from West Germany and representing a scientific cross-section of the populations in these areas. Interviewing was conducted by a trained German staff. The analysis was made and the report written in the Frankfurt headquarters of RAS.

SOME GENERALIZATIONS ...

Few Germans see any connection between occupation costs and payments for West German defense. On the contrary, it is frequently asserted that the funds go for the maintenance of unnecessarily large and extravagant occupation forces and their dependents.

And even when asked to assume that the largest share of occupation costs is to go for defense purposes, less than a majority (48%) approve of paying more in the coming fiscal year, and three in ten (29%) are flatly opposed.

Moreover, as many West German reject as accept the proposition that they should pay proportionately as great a share of their income for defense by the occupation forces as citizens of other countries pay for their defense.

Seven in ten West Germans expect increased occupation costs in the next fiscal year. But from the pattern of attitudes disclosed above, it must be assumed that resignation rather than understanding underlies these expectations.

So the implication is evident that if occupation costs are to be made at all palatable to the German people, further efforts would seem to be necessitated to persuade them that (1), occupation funds are in fact being primarily utilized for German security and defense, and (2), it is right and proper for Germans to help defray the costs of the defense which they themselves have requested.

- 2 -

CONFIDENTIAL

MOST ESTIMATES OF COSTS ARE LOW ...

Whatever opinions the West German people hold regarding occupation costs, they are not based to any important extent on accurate information about the sums involved. Indeed most of the people who are willing to hazard a guess on the subject, grossly underestimate the amount paid by the Federal Republic during the last fiscal year.* Thus, 26% name figures ranging from the low thousands to the millions, and 13% mention amounts varying from one to 4 billions. Only 16% approach accuracy, estimating occupation costs to be between four and 7.5 billion D-marks. A very few (3%) give greatly exaggerated estimates. And the largest proportion either do not wish to make an estimate (38%) or give indefinite replies (4%).

"Would you please try to estimate the amount of D-marks West Germany spent on occupation costs during the past year?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	BERLIN
<u>Very low estimates (1,000 DM - 999 million DM): 2,000 DM; 5,000 DM; 1 million; 10 millions; etc.</u>	27%	23%	31%	34%	27%
<u>1 - 3.9 billion DM</u>	13	13	11	17	13
<u>4 - 7.5 billion DM</u>	16	15	17	13	23
<u>7.6 - 9.9 billion DM</u>	3	3	3	3	7
<u>Very high estimates (10 billion DM and up): 30 - 35 billion DM; 670 billion DM; etc.</u>	3	4	3	2	2
<u>Indefinite answers: Costs too high; it runs into millions, it runs into billions; etc.</u>	4	5	3	-	5
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	<u>34</u> 100%	<u>37</u> 100%	<u>32</u> 100%	<u>31</u> 100%	<u>23</u> 100%

The fact that so many people underestimate occupation costs should not be taken to mean that they feel the costs are negligible. Conceptions of numerical values differ markedly as has been demonstrated in several experimental studies. Therefore, in the estimation of occupation costs, one man's millions may very well be another man's billions. It should also be pointed out that it is quite likely that those persons who guessed the amount to be in the thousands were either confused or mistaken about the connotation "occupation costs" and had something else in mind, though what, is not readily apparent.

* During the last fiscal year, West Germany paid 5.5 billion DM. The sum for the new fiscal year has been increased to 6.6 billion DM.

AN INCREASE WOULD SURPRISE FEW

The announcement of an increase in occupation costs for the coming year, which coincided with the survey, apparently occasioned little surprise among West Germans. Seven in ten, when queried on the point, say the costs will be greater during the coming year.

"Do you think the occupation costs will be higher or lower in the next year than they were during the past year?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	BERLIN
Higher	69%	69%	74%	63%	66%
Lower	11	10	12	9	20
Same	8	9	6	8	10
No opinion	12	12	8	20	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

FEW SAY OCCUPATION COSTS GO FOR DEFENSE ...

The fact that current occupation costs are in effect largely synonymous with defense costs is not recognized by most West Germans. Only three in ten believe that occupation costs during the past year were mainly used for the security of West Germany, while five in ten deny this. However, twice as many Berliners as West Germans think that occupation costs are spent for defense.

"Are you of the opinion that the occupation costs during the past year were mainly used for the security of West Germany or aren't you of this opinion?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	BERLIN
Yes	29%	24%	38%	25%	61%
No	48	52	43	45	33
Qualified answers	1	2	1	-	-
No opinion	22	22	18	30	6
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

All segments of the population generally anticipate a rise in occupation costs. But the customarily better informed groups are more likely than their counterparts to hold this view.

"Do you think the occupation costs will be higher or lower in the next year than they were during the past year?"

	Higher	Lower	Same	No opinion	Number of cases
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	79%	11%	6%	4% ... 100%	386
Women	61	10	10	19	414
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	68%	11%	7%	14%	653
Beyond elementary school	77	10	10	3	144
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower	65%	11%	8%	16%	393
Middle and upper	74	10	8	8	406
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 149 DM	61%	9%	9%	21%	222
150 - 299 DM	75	10	7	8	364
300 DM and more	70	13	9	8	204
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	73%	11%	6%	10%	344
40 years and over	57	10	9	14	455
<u>Party Preferences:</u>					
SPD	76%	14%	5%	5%	208
CDU/CSU	67	12	12	9	139
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDP	72	16	4	6	51
Other parties	91	10	6	3	79
None	67	6	9	18	165
Don't know	61	7	8	24	151
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	70%	9%	8%	13%	350
Protestants	69	12	7	11	420
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	70%	6%	18%	6%	34
Businessmen	71	13	9	7	94
White collar workers	77	10	8	5	110
Skilled laborers	77	9	6	8	133
Semi-skilled laborers	68	10	8	14	120
Farmers	63	12	8	17	93
<u>Trade-Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, self	82%	9%	5%	4%	138
Yes, family member	76	8	5	11	115
Neither/nor	65	12	9	14	553
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	70%	10%	8%	12%	641
Expellees, refugees	71	13	7	9	158

... The predominating view of all segments of the population is that occupation costs during the past year were not mainly used for defense purposes. It is noteworthy also that the greater the tendency to have opinions on the issue, the greater is the likelihood to deny that the Germans in paying occupation charges are paying for their defense. The fact that the opinion leading elements in the population are the groups which most frequently fall into this category, underscores the importance of this finding.

"Are you of the opinion that the occupation costs during the past year were mainly used for the security of West Germany or aren't you of this opinion?"

	Yes	No	Qualified answers	No opinion	Number of cases:
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	27%	59%	2%	12%	386
Women	30	38	1	31	414
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	30%	44%	1%	25%	653
Beyond elementary school	24	65	2	9	144
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower	30	43	1	26	393
Middle and upper	27	53	2	18	406
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 149 DM	31%	36%	1%	32%	222
150 - 299 DM	29	52	1	18	364
300 DM and more	28	54	1	17	204
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	27%	53%	1%	19%	344
40 years and over	31	45	1	23	455
<u>Party Preferences:</u>					
SPD	30%	55%	2%	13%	208
CDU/CSU	44	39	1	16	139
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	29	55	2	14	51
Other parties	32	59	-	9	79
None	21	50	1	28	165
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	29%	45%	2%	24%	350
Protestants	30	49	1	20	420
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	30%	60%	-	10%	34
Businessmen	30	49	1	20	94
White collar workers	21	62	4	13	110
Skilled laborers	35	50	1	14	133
Semi-skilled laborers	22	50	1	27	120
Farmers	40	31	-	29	93
<u>Trade-Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, self	24%	66%	1%	9%	138
Yes, family member	29	44	2	25	115
Neither/nor	30	45	1	24	553
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	27%	49%	1%	23%	641
Expellees refugees	37	44	1	18	158

COSTS GO FOR EXTRAVAGANT MAINTENANCE OF OCCUPATION FORCES ...

Occupation costs go for maintenance of an unnecessarily large and expensive occupation force and their dependents, according to the largest proportion of those who feel that the costs are not used primarily for defense. The view that Germany's defense is not served through the physical maintenance of Allied forces and their dependents in Germany is implicit in these figures. A notable fact is that one in every seven Germans goes even further in his appraisal, with his claim that the luxurious living, the comfort, and entertainment of the occupation forces have first call on occupation resources.

About one in twenty admits that defense of some sort is served; not Germany's, but Europe's or America's while others list Allied administrative expenses as the main use to which occupation costs are put.

"What do you think the occupation costs were primarily used for?"
(Asked of those who said "No" to the previous question)

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	BERLIN
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------	--------

For the maintenance (housing, food, salaries, etc.) of the occupation forces and their dependents: For the food, clothing, and housing of the members of the occupation forces; for the consumption of the soldiers who needn't be here in such numbers; for the maintenance of the occupation forces -- though we pay far more than actually necessary; for the work and the living standard of the occupation forces; 75% for the personal usage of the occupation forces, etc.

23%	27%	19%	17%	19%
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

In order to provide the occupation forces and their dependents with luxury, entertainment, and comfort: For the easy life of the occupation forces -- they'll take off anyway in case of serious trouble and we won't have protection; so the Americans can live better over here; in order that the Americans, the English, and the French can live well over here we have to pay for all of it; so they can live here, and they are certainly well off; the requirements of the occupation troops are very high, we can see that from their employees; for luxurious buildings and bars for the Americans; etc.

14	12	16	17	7
----	----	----	----	---

For their own (military) purposes (rearmament of the Western powers and increase of their military potential): For armament in America; for armament and war; for armament in America and for American militarism; mainly for the maintenance of the allied forces in Europe; etc.

5	4	4	9	4
---	---	---	---	---

(cont'd on next page)

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	BERLIN
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------	--------

For the costs of Allied administration:
Administrative expenditures; for unim-
portant administrative offices such as
the Military government and other instances;
the occupation forces pay their employees
and servants with the occupation costs;
particularly for the over-organized admini-
strative apparatus of the occupation
forces; etc.

4	6	3	1	5
---	---	---	---	---

In order to get economic advantages at our
expense: All for America - they bought things
over here and sent them back; to build up
the countries of the occupation forces and
finance their industries; they live at our
expense because they are the victors; they
are just here in order to exploit Germany;
etc.

2	2	1	1	*
---	---	---	---	---

For their own protection: To protect their
hide; for the protection of the Americans;
etc.

1	2	1	1	1
---	---	---	---	---

For the war in Korea: For the Korean war;
mainly for the war in Korea; etc.

1	-	1	1	-
---	---	---	---	---

Other opinions: The occupation costs were
embezzled by American as well as German
authorities; the Americans will leave us to
the Russians anyway one of these days; so
we will be a military state again; we will
be the buffer zone between East and West
anyway; in order to finance private enter-
prises and interests; for security within
the country; etc.

3	3	2	4	3
---	---	---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{3}{56\%}$ **	$\frac{4}{60\%}$ **	$\frac{3}{50\%}$ **	$\frac{2}{53\%}$ **	$\frac{*}{39\%}$ **
---------------------	---------------------	---------------------	---------------------	---------------------

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

COST INCREASE FOR DEFENSE WARRANTED ...

The increase in occupation costs is warranted, is the opinion of half of the West German people, provided that the largest share is spent for the defense of West Germany. But almost a third are opposed to paying more, even under such a provision. French Zone residents, it will be noted below, express opposition more frequently than other West Germans. Almost three quarters of the Berlin population find this increase justified by such an allocation of the occupation costs.

"Would you consider an increase of the occupation costs justified if the largest part of the occupation costs were used for the defense of West Germany, or would you consider an increase of the occupation costs not justified under these circumstances?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	BERLIN
Justified	52%	52%	58%	36%	73%
Not justified	32	30	28	45	22
No opinion	16	18	14	19	5
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

GERMANY IS TOO POOR TO PAY MORE

Germany can't afford to pay more, say a third of those who would oppose an occupation cost increase, even though the largest portion would go for Germany's defense. A fairly large group makes neutrality sentiments of various types grounds for considering an increase unjustified. Doubt that the costs would be used primarily for defense, motivates the negative replies of another group. Additional views include the fear that defense preparations would increase the danger of war, a desire to have a German army, not an occupation force, used for German defense, and the view that the money is needed to solve other problems.

"Why, in your opinion, would it not be justified?"
(Asked of those who said "Not justified" in previous question)

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	BERLIN
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------	--------

Occupation costs are high enough -

Germany cannot afford more; Because the expense for the few soldiers over here is much too high; they get enough already, we pay enough taxes and can't pay any more - we are a poor country; that will result in higher taxes and a further tax increase is impossible for families because of the increase in prices; we can't ever recover from the last war; this would be pressure without end - something can be done for defense without increasing taxes; we already pay more than all the other countries; because we are the poorest country; etc.

12%	11%	11%	15%	13%
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

Neutralist and defeatist sentiments - this is the occupation powers' quarrel, not ours - defense useless and disadvantageous anyway

Because it is best for us if we are not involved in anything but stay neutral - then we won't need any defense; because defense is not necessary; as a defeated country we are not concerned with defense; we are Germans and are not interested in an occupation - they forced their protection on us; because those measures are futile since the Western powers have made so many mistakes since 1945-in their policy toward Russia - that can't be corrected; because Germany wouldn't be able to defend herself anyway at the moment in case of an attack from the East; if the Russians come and we do not defend ourselves we'll be better off - otherwise we only lose money, land, and people; etc.

6	4	7	8	4
---	---	---	---	---

The occupation costs are not used for that purpose anyway. Because they are not used for the purpose they are provided for anyway; an increase in the occupation costs would never be used for the protection of Germany; the Western powers only want to protect themselves and use the money for their own purposes; they will hardly use this money for our defense; the Amis, English, and French are not concerned with what happens to Germany - they'll leave us and we'll be stuck; because it would only be of advantage to the Americans; etc.

4	4	3	10	1
---	---	---	----	---

(cont'd on next page)

WEST	British	US	French	BERLIN
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone	

The danger of war would increase: There will be a war; they should stop with their preparations for a new war and drop the occupation costs - leave the German people alone; I am opposed to war in any form, therefore I don't need any defense; of course, if war is desired, defense matters are always discussed; etc.

3%	3%	3%	4%	*
----	----	----	----	---

Germany can defend herself with her own army: Because we can defend ourselves alone - we don't need any outside help by a foreign power; if we have to, we can always establish our own army with the money - we have enough unemployed; we will take the responsibility for our defense and will pay for it alone; etc.

2	3	2	2	3
---	---	---	---	---

The money is needed in Germany to help solve some of her own problems (refugees, housing, etc.): Because we have so many obligations that we have enough important problems to concentrate on, like the housing shortage, etc.; they should see to it that the people get out of the bunkers; we are poor enough as it is and the scars of the last war are not healed yet - we have to be taken care of first; now with the need so pressing, the money should be used for housing and support of the refugees; etc.

2	1	2	3	2
---	---	---	---	---

Other opinions: The money for the maintenance of the occupation powers should be saved and used for defense purposes; because not all of Germany gets advantage from it; they should make a peace treaty first; etc.

2	3	1	3	-
---	---	---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{1}{32\%}$	$\frac{2}{31\%**}$	$\frac{1}{30\%**}$	$\frac{1}{46\%**}$	$\frac{-}{23\%**}$
------------------	--------------------	--------------------	--------------------	--------------------

* Less than half of one per cent

** Totals add to more than those saying "Not justified" because some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

More men than women consider occupation cost increases for defense purposes unjustified. On the other hand, it is the upper socio-economic and educational groups who tend more than the lower groups toward calling such increases justified. As usual, the "no opinion" reply is much more frequently resorted to by the less informed groups, including those in the lower income brackets and women. In addition, SPD followers are more likely than members of the other major parties to consider an increase unjustified.

"Would you consider an increase of the occupation costs justified if the larger part of it were used for the defense of West Germany, or would you consider an increase of the occupation costs not justified under these circumstances?"

Justified Not justified No opinion Number of cases:

WEST GERMANY

<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	55%	38%	7% ... 100%	385
Women	50	26	24	414
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	50%	31%	19%	653
Beyond elementary school	65	31	4	144
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower	47%	30%	23%	393
Middle and upper	57	33	10	406
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	49%	28%	23%	222
150 - 299 DM	52	31	17	364
300 DM and more	57	34	9	204
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	52%	35%	13%	344
40 years and over	52	29	19	455
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	53%	39%	8%	208
CDU/CSU	54	22	14	139
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	70	26	4	51
Other parties	66	32	2	79
None	45	33	22	165
Don't know	38	28	34	151
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	52%	30%	18%	350
Protestants	53	31	16	420
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	61%	30%	9%	34
Businessmen	53	36	11	94
White collar workers	62	30	8	110
Skilled laborers	52	36	12	133
Semi-skilled laborers	43	32	25	120
Farmers	56	24	22	93
<u>Trade-Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, self	56%	38%	6%	138
Yes, family member	45	37	18	115
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	50%	33%	17%	641
Expellees, refugees	60	26	14	158

DIVISION ON GERMANY'S SHARE OF DEFENSE CONTRIBUTIONS ...

Opinions divide on whether Germans should contribute the same proportion of their income for defense, through the occupation forces, as citizens of other countries pay for security, or whether Germans should contribute a smaller proportion. Although advocates of giving the same share somewhat outweigh those who favor a smaller contribution (except in the small French Zone and Berlin where the frequency of these views is reversed), neither view receives a significant plurality of votes. In addition, a negligible few volunteer the view that Germans should contribute correspondingly more to such defense than others, while a somewhat larger group volunteer opposition to any contribution at all.

"Suppose the occupation costs were used for maintaining the security of Germany. Are you of the opinion that the German citizen should contribute the same proportion of his income for the protection of Germany by the occupation forces, as the citizens of other West European nations for the protection of their countries, or do you think the German should contribute a smaller proportion of his income?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	BERLIN
Larger proportion	1%	-	1%	2%	1%
Same proportion	41	44	41	33	43
Smaller proportion	35	33	35	41	49
Nothing	6	5	7	7	3
No opinion	17	18	16	17	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

WAR LOSSES NECESSITATE SMALLER PAYMENTS BY GERMANS ...

A few respondents who feel that Germans should pay a smaller share, rationalize this view by saying that reconstruction comes first, or that the Western powers, rather than Germany, would profit from its defense. However, the overwhelming preponderance of respondents justifies its stand by saying that Germany as a defeated country, war-torn and poor, could not afford to pay what the others do. She had already made her sacrifices and been looted and dismantled, is the burden of many of these replies.

"Why should the German pay a smaller part of his income?"
(Asked of those who answered "A smaller part" to the previous question)

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	BERLIN
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------	--------

Germany is too poor because of the war and its consequences: Germany was hit hardest by the war that she lost; because we are such a poor, exploited country; the Germans have sacrificed enough and have not even received any recognition for it; we lost the war and have paid enough through dismantling and reparations; enough has been taken from us since 1945; we are a defeated nation and can't raise as large sums in taxes as other countries do; because the German earns barely enough to stay alive; etc.

30%	27%	34%	38%	43%
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

Reconstruction is more important: Because we have to reconstruct first; in the first place our bombed cities must be reconstructed; etc.

2	2	1	2	1
---	---	---	---	---

Because it would not be in our interest, but in the interest of the Western powers: The East-West struggle is none of our business; I don't think much of that protection through the Western powers - it is senseless to station a few divisions here, when something happens they will all run; because the others are much more interested in having another war and earning some more money, we don't enjoy being soldiers anymore; etc.

2	2	2	1	4
---	---	---	---	---

Other opinions: We don't have equal rights in any sense of the word, hence we shouldn't have to pay as much as the others; because we would then have to pay for foreign soldiers who spend more money than our own would; etc.

2	3	-	3	3
---	---	---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

1 37%	1 35%	- 37%	- 44%	- 51%
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

* Totals add to more than those who answered "A smaller part" to the previous question; because some respondents gave more than one answer.

The same vain of thought is pursued by most of those who would have the German pay nothing for his defense by the occupation forces. Most of this group think that Germany's war-engendered poverty makes payment of any sort impossible.

Why should the German pay nothing at all? (asked of those who answered "Nothing at all" to the previous question)

WEST GERMANY British Zone US Zone French Zone BERLIN

Because Germany is poorer than any other nation - through war, destruction, refugee misery. The Germans have become too poor, on account of the lost war, to be thinking of participation in a war; the Germans can't pay anything, they are so poor with all those who lost their homes in the bombing, the refugees; because we have barely enough to survive; we are more than poor and soon will not have anything to eat either; where should poor, looted Germany get the money from; etc.

4% 3% 4% 6% 1%

Because it would not be in our interest, but in the interest of the Western powers. Because the Allies are most interested in having some territory to fight on in the event of Eastern aggression; it is not our fault that things are as bad as they are, make the Americans pay who let the Russians come to Berlin; it is not our affair, since we want to remain neutral; etc.

1 1 8 - -

Because there is no danger for Germany:

I don't see any danger, and if there is, one all that wouldn't help as we have witnessed in Korea; because we are an occupied country, threatened by no one, better give disabled war veterans and refugees higher pensions; etc.

1 1 - - -

Other opinions: In my opinion the whole thing is senseless, furthermore German economy would be ruined; etc.

1 1 1 1 2

No opinion / No answer:

7% 6% 9% 7% 3%

* Percents add to more than those who answered "None" to previous question, because some respondents gave more than one answer.

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

There is a tendency for those who have gone beyond elementary school to say more often than those with only elementary schooling that Germans should contribute the same portion of their income as others for defense. More men, and more in the higher income brackets, as well as more of those under forty than their opposites hold this opinion. Expellees and refugees as well as more often than native Germans willing to have the same income proportion paid by Germans as by others for defense.

"Suppose the occupation costs were used for maintaining the security of Germany. Are you of the opinion that the German citizen should contribute the same proportion of his income for the protection of Germany by the occupation forces as the citizen of other West European nations do for the protection of their countries, or do you think the German should contribute a smaller proportion of his income?"

	Same or larger proportion	Smaller proportion	Nothing	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	47%	38%	6%	9% .., 100%	386
Women	37	30	8	25	414
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	39%	35%	7%	19%	653
Beyond elementary school	58	33	3	6	144
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower	40%	30%	8	22	393
Middle and upper	44	39	5	12	406
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 149 DM	34%	31%	10%	25%	222
150 - 299 DM	44	35	5	16	364
300 DM and more	46	38	4	12	204
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	48%	32%	6%	14%	344
40 years and over	37	37	6	20	465
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	47%	42%	4%	7%	208
CDU/CSU	49	34	3	14	139
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	45	45	8	2	51
Other parties	50	42	3	5	79
None	38	26	9	27	165
Don't know	29	26	10	35	161
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	37%	37%	8%	18%	350
Protestants	45	32	5	18	420
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	50%	38%	-	12%	34
Businessmen	40	40	6	14	94
White collar workers	50	36	6	8	110
Skilled laborers	44	34	9	13	133
Semi-skilled laborers	36	32	8	24	120
Farmers	41	33	4	22	93
<u>Trade-Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, self	45%	43%	5%	8%	138
Yes, family member	37	35	5	23	116
Neither / nor	42	33	7	16	553
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	39%	35%	7%	18%	641
Expellees, refugees	48	33	3	16	169

* Less than one half of one per cent.

01487

DO GERMANS WANT A SINGLE YOUTH ORGANIZATION
IN WEST GERMANY?

Report No. 73
Series No. 2
April 13, 1951

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION

American policy on German youth organizations has been to encourage decentralization and diversification in preference to the unitary monolithic type of Hitler times. In view of the fact that the Communists are following in Hitler's footsteps in their efforts to attract and organize German youth, the serious question has arisen as to how much appeal exists among the West German populace for a single unitary type of youth organizations.

To shed some light on the above question the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, surveyed at the turn of the year a representative sample of 1,500 cases in the US Zone, 250 in Berlin and 175 in Bremen. The interviews were conducted as usual by the trained German field operatives of the Reactions Analysis Staff.

SUMMARY

- ... The findings of the present survey raise a problem for American policy objectives in their indication that the preponderant sentiment among US Zone Germans is in favor of only one single youth organization in preference to the many that are now encouraged. Forty-four per cent take this point of view, with 34 per cent opposing and 22 per cent expressing no opinion.
- ... Of even greater significance is the finding that among US Zone youth themselves - who are of course the ones directly concerned - favor of a unitary organization is considerably greater than among older members of the US Zone public.
- ... Among the US Zone residents who espouse a single youth organization almost as many as not would prohibit the existence of any other youth groups. So it is rather evident for this fraction at least that they are not thinking in terms like a federation, with affiliated groups. What they apparently want is something patterned along the lines of the Hitler Jugend in form if not in ideology.
- ... The German predilection for "law and order" and the tendency to equate individual differences with division and confusion, and a consequent threat to orderly conduct, is implicit in most of the arguments adduced for preferring one organization. The one argument by far the most frequently advanced (27%) is that whereas unity makes strength, division means strife. Other reasons are in effect variations on the same theme.
- ... Proponents of more than one youth organization mainly argue, first, that people have different interests which they must have an opportunity to express; second, a single organization is undemocratic and smacks of dictatorship; and third, differences and exchange of ideas are healthy and desirable.
- ... Group comparisons among the US Zone population reveal that the opinion leading elements - the better schooled, the more affluent, and respondents of higher socio-economic and professional levels deviate considerably from their counterpart groups on the present issue. Among these more educated and informed respondents the preponderant opinion is clearly opposed to the idea of a single unitary youth organization.

PREPONDERANT SENTIMENT IN FAVOR OF A SINGLE YOUTH ORGANIZATION ...

The findings of the present survey raise a distinct problem for American policy objectives in their clear indication that the preponderant sentiment among US Zone Germans is in favor of only one single youth organization in preference to the many that are now encouraged.

"Which do you think would be better: if there were only one single youth organization in West Germany, or if there were more than one?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	US ZONE	Berlin	Bremen
One	47%	42%	38%	44%	43%	51%
More	34	31	39	34	51	35
No opinion	19	27	23	22	6	14
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Of even greater significance is the finding that among US Zone youth themselves - who are of course the ones directly concerned - favor of a unitary organization is considerably greater than among older members of the US Zone public.

	Should be only one youth organization	Should be more than one	No opinion	No. of cases:
US ZONE				
15 - 24 years	55%	32%	13%...100%	259
25 years and more	41	35	24	1246

Among the US Zone residents who espouse a single youth organization almost as many as not would prohibit the existence of any other youth groups. So it is rather evident for this fraction at least that they are not thinking in terms like a federation, with affiliated groups. What they apparently want is something patterned along the lines of the Hitler Jugend in form if not in ideology.

"Is it your opinion that all over youth groups should then be forbidden or not?" (Asked of those who answered "Only one single youth organization" to previous question.)

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	US ZONE	Berlin	Bremen
Forbidden	21%	14%	12%	17%	20%	23%
Not forbidden	22	21	21	21	22	23
No opinion	4	7	5	6	1	5
	47%	42%	38%	44%	43%	51%
	Others should be forbidden	Others should not be forbidden	No opinion	No. of cases:		
US ZONE						
15 - 24 years	21%	28%	6%...55%	259		
25 years and more	16	20	5 ... 41%	1246		

REASONS GIVEN FOR FAVORING A SINGLE ORGANIZATION ...

The German predilection for "law and order" and the tendency to equate individual differences with division and confusion, and a consequent threat to orderly conduct, is implicit in most of the arguments adduced for preferring one organization. The one argument by far the most frequently advanced (27%) is that whereas unity makes strength, division means strife. Other reasons are in effect variations on the same theme.

"Which do you think would be better: if there were only one single youth organization in West Germany, or if there were more than one?"

If "Only a single youth organization": "Why are you of this opinion?"

US ZONE Berlin Bremen

Strength through unity - no disintegration - no disagreements: Because otherwise it would lead to disintegration; there is always strength in unity; there should not be so many factions - strength is only in unity; there would be greater unity; in order to reestablish the unity of the German youth; there won't be so many contrasts; many different organizations will only lead to disintegration; many different organizations will entail disintegration just like in the political parties; many heads - many different opinions; a variety of organizations will result in a variety of opinions; in order to avoid disagreements; the increasing disintegration will only lead to disagreements; that would only complicate matters, some want this and others want that; in order to avoid disintegration; in case of one single organization there would be no disagreement; etc.

27% 29% 36%

A uniform education is better: So that there would be a uniform education and every adolescent would be equal to the other; the best thing is to give the youth a uniform education; a variety of youth organizations will stimulate too many ideas which could harm the youth; there would only be one way; with regard to education it would be advisable to unite the youth; the youth could receive a uniform education; give them a uniform education in order to make them work towards one goal; the youth should be educated in such a way that they have common interests; to educate the youth in a uniform way; etc.

5 5 5

Greater unity among the youth - better understanding: Unity among the youth would thereby increase; a coalition would be favorable to unity; for the sake of unity and better cooperation of the people; for the benefit of better understanding; for the promotion of better individual understanding and for the benefit of a more thorough mental education; to further mutual understanding of the youth; etc.

5 3 5

It is simpler to organize and lead a single youth movement - greater discipline: It is easier to lead a single youth organization; everything can be better organized; because the youth would then have the right guidance - conscious of the common goal; it would simplify matters and the youth would be stimulated through a uniform education; discipline would improve; so that the youth know where they belong instead of becoming demoralized; etc.

3 4 4

(cont'd on next page)

US ZONE Berlin Bremen

For the purpose of a uniform and Christian education:
To educate the youth uniformly and in the Christian
spirit; a united Christian, interdenominational, and
non-partisan youth would mean progress; in order to
achieve unity between the two confessions; etc.

15 15 -4

Other opinions: That should be a progressive one, and
 the goal should mainly be peace; so that never again a
 man like Hitler can influence the youth - all we need is
 one single Democratic youth movement; during the Third
 Reich it was like that and that proved a success; they
 are financially better off; etc.

1 1 1

No opinion / No answer:

$$\frac{3}{45\%}$$

$$\frac{1}{17\%}$$

$$\frac{1}{52\%}$$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

REASONS GIVEN FOR OPPOSITION TO A SINGLE YOUTH ORGANIZATION ...

Proponents of more than one youth organization mainly argue, first, that people have different interests which they must have an opportunity to express; second, a single organization is undemocratic and snacks of dictatorship; and third, differences and exchange of ideas are healthy and desirable.

"Which do you think would be better: if there were only one single youth organization in West Germany, or if there were more than one?"
If "More than one": "Why are you of this opinion?"

US ZONE Berlin Bremen

People have different interests - everybody must live according to his convictions: Because everybody should live by his own convictions; so everybody can go where he likes; in order to promote the forming of independent ideas - a unity would lead to lack of judgment; everybody should act according to his views and be in the organization he likes best; because then people can choose what they want to join and are not forced to be members of one organization; so that those who want to get a military training can join the youth organization they like - others, who have different interests can seek them in other organizations; there must be some choice; everybody can do as he pleases; people have different interests - they cannot be combined in one organization; etc.

15%

22%

16%

One organization is not according to democratic principles - it would mean dictatorship and pressure - would be the same as during the Third Reich: That would lead to dictatorship; in the interest of democracy; only in a dictatorship a single organization exists which represents all views; only the existence of several youth organizations can guarantee work on a democratic basis; otherwise they would exert pressure; it was not too long ago that everybody marched in the same direction - that was wrong; if there was only one organization they would want to dictate - then we won't be permitted to have free opinions; only in a dictatorship they have one youth organization - yet we have a democracy now; etc.

9

18

11

Competition is useful - (exchange of ideas, etc):
Opposition must exist; because one could criticise the other, which is right - this way mistakes can be rectified; competition is always good; because the different political opinions would be balanced; it would promote active exchange of ideas; because several organisations can cooperate well; etc.

5

8

6

The denominational difference makes it necessary:
Because the young should be divided according to their denominations - each movement can pursue its own interests then; Protestant youth cannot be part of a Catholic youth organization, i.e.; because I don't think that the Catholic youth would join a Protestant organization; only because of the various denominations several youth organisations should exist; etc.

3

2

-

(cont'd on next page)

US ZONE Berlin Bremen

A better and more extensive education of the young is thus possible: If there was only one youth organization the young would be educated in one direction only - I consider that wrong; the children need a good training and one youth organization would not fulfill this requirement; otherwise the young will be educated in one direction only; because then the children would learn a one-sided ideology again; etc.

2%

3%

4%

Other opinions: It is too dangerous; because difficulties exist according to origin (North and South i.e.) - this cannot be effectively handled in one organization; there is more than one party in Germany - therefore we should have several youth organizations; some want to get into the church, the others only behind it; etc.

1

*

-

No opinion / No answer:

 $\frac{1}{36\%}^{**}$ $\frac{*}{53\%}^{**}$ $\frac{1}{38\%}^{**}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

Group comparisons among the US Zone population reveal that the opinion leading elements - the better schooled, the more affluent, and respondents of higher socio-economic and professional levels deviate considerably from their counterpart groups on the present issue. Among these more educated and informed respondents the preponderant opinion is clearly opposed to the idea of a single unitary youth organization.

"Which do you think would be better: if there were only one single youth organization in West Germany, or if there were more than one?"

	Should be only one youth organization	Should be more than one youth organization	No opinion	No. of cases:
US ZONE				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	41%	44%	15%...100%	655
Women	45	27	28	850
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school and High school without graduation	45%	33%	22%	1445
High school with graduation and univer- sity	14	65	21	56
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	46%	29%	25%	752
Middle class	44	38	18	686
Upper class	19	60	21	67
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
DM 0 - 149.99	45%	22%	33%	388
DM 150 - 199.99	45	30	25	219
DM 200 - 399.99	43	41	16	661
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professional	23%	62%	15%	47
Businessmen	41	43	16	177
White-collar workers	44	44	12	163
Skilled laborers	46	38	16	234
Semi-skilled laborers	46	29	25	217
Domestic, protective services	51	32	17	47
Farmers	44	29	27	235
Housewives	30	30	40	73
Unemployed	58	26	16	76
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	42	28	30	236
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	43%	36%	21%	836
Protestants	45	33	22	619
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	43%	35%	22%	1209
Refugees and Expellees	47	32	21	296

"Is your opinion that all other youth groups should then be forbidden or not?" (Asked of those who answered "only one single youth organization" to previous question.)

	Others should be forbidden	Others should not be forbidden	No opinion	Total who answered "Should be only one single youth organi- zation" to original question
US ZONE				
Sex:				
Men	17%	21%	3%	41%
Women	17	21	7	45
Education:				
Elementary school and High school without gradua- tion	1%	22%	6%	45%
High school with graduation and university	3	9	2	14
Socio-economic Status:				
Lower class	20%	19%	7%	46%
Middle class	15	25	4	44
Upper class	9	10	-	19
Income (per month):				
DM 0 - 149.99	22%	18%	5%	45%
DM 150 - 199.99	17	23	5	45
DM 200 - 399.99	15	23	5	43
DM 400 and more	13	20	5	38
Occupation:				
Professional	8%	15%	23%	46%
Businessmen	12	23	6	41
White-collar workers	12	25	7	44
Skilled laborers	19	23	4	46
Semi-skilled laborers	20	18	8	46
Domestic, protective services	23	26	2	51
Farmers	19	20	5	44
Housewives	14	9	7	30
Unemployed	21	30	7	58
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	16	21	5	42
Religion:				
Catholics	18%	19%	6%	43%
Protestants	16	24	5	45
Origin:				
Natives	17%	21%	5%	43%
Refugees and Expellees	19	22	6	47

WEST GERMAN VIEW ON TWO CURRENT ISSUES:
THE PROPOSED FOUR POWER CONFERENCE
AND THE REVISED OCCUPATION STATUTE

Classification cancelled
by authority of L. P. Crespi
Report No. 74
Series No. 2
April 16, 1951
PUB/RAS.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

CONFIDENTIAL

INTRODUCTION ...

As part of a larger study on current political issues made March 15-23, 1951, the Reaction Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs continued to follow the trend of opinions on issues related to the proposed four power conference. In addition, some questions on the revised occupation statute, announced prior to the survey, were asked. The stratified probability sample included 800 respondents from West Germany and 200 from the three Western sectors of Berlin, and represents a scientific cross-section of the populations in these areas.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

THE FOUR POWER CONFERENCE ...

The finding that almost two-thirds (63%) of the West German people believe that the Western powers will represent West German interests at a four power conference, if one is held, is the only additional new information disclosed by this latest survey on the conference issue.

That Germany does not stand to gain much from a four power conference continues to be the predominant sentiment. However, the proportion anticipating an advantage has increased from a fifth in the prior survey to a third at present. The fact that the phrase "the Russians have proposed" a four power conference was omitted in the present question, may have contributed to the gain in favorable expectations.

There is widespread awareness that preliminary negotiations are taking place in Paris - seven in ten know of them.

THE OCCUPATION STATUTE ...

- ... Knowledge of the recent changes in the occupation statute is far from extensive. Only 37% of all West Germans have heard that revisions have occurred. And only 15% can specify any changes.
- ... Opinion leading elements tend, as is usually the case, to be better informed than the lesser educated, lower socio-economic groups. However, even among them specific information on the changes is the exception rather than the rule.
- ... When the broad outlines of the changes are explained, and reactions sought, only a third state that the revised statute represents a real step toward West German independence. Preponderant sentiment is that it means little progress or no progress at all toward this goal.

- 2 -

CONFIDENTIAL

I. FOUR POWER CONFERENCE

AWARENESS OF THE PARIS NEGOTIATIONS ...

Nearly two weeks after the negotiations on an agenda for a four power conference at Paris had begun about two-thirds of a representative West German sample expressed awareness that discussions are in progress. As was to be expected, Berlin indicated somewhat greater awareness than the general West German public.

"Have you heard or read of negotiations in Paris for a four power conference, in which also the problem of Germany is to be discussed?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Yes	68%	72%	66%	59%	88%
No	<u>32</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>12</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

NO GAINS EXPECTED FROM A CONFERENCE ...

Although a third of the West Germans think that a foreign ministers' conference will be advantageous for Germany, the predominating opinion remains that the Germans do not stand to gain from such a meeting. Only in Berlin is the weight of opinion toward the view that Germany would benefit by a four power conference.

"If such a four power conference were to come about, do you think it likely that this conference in general will be of advantage or of disadvantage for Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Advantage	34%	36%	35%	22%	54%
Disadvantage	13	14	13	10	8
Neither/nor	31	29	28	47	33
No opinion	<u>22</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>5</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As previously reported,* a similar question was asked the West German public in early March, but in the context of a Russian proposal for a four power conference. Then only a fifth (21%) considered such a conference to be advantageous to Germans. The increase in optimism registered in the present survey may possibly result from the removal of any allusion to Russian sponsorship as in the previous statement concerning proposals for a conference. Also because of the deputies' meeting in Paris, the likelihood of a foreign ministers' conference might have appeared more real to some respondents.

* See Report No. 69, Series No. 2, dated March 29, 1951, "THE WEST GERMAN PEOPLE VIEW DEFENSE PARTICIPATION, NEUTRALITY, AND RELATED ISSUES, Introducing the New Full-Scale Sample of West German Opinion." The same question had previously been put to an urban West German sample with fairly similar results.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENCE IN WESTERN POWERS

As a measure of West German confidence in the Western powers, the respondents were asked if they thought that German interests would be represented by the Western powers at the proposed conference.

Results indicate that a good majority - nearly two-thirds - believe that German interests will be represented at the proposed conference by the Western powers.

"Do you think that the Western powers will represent the interests of Germany at this conference or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Will represent	63%	62%	66%	54%	94%
Will not represent	21	21	21	27	5
No opinion	16	17	13	19	1
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

In general those social groups which can be expected to evince the most interest in current affairs indicate by decisive proportions their awareness of the Paris meetings. That is to say, men, the better educated, the upper socio-economic level, those in higher income brackets, and such occupational groups as professionals, businessmen, white collar workers, and skilled laborers, register between 85% and 90% awareness. This is contrasted with the range in awareness of their respective social counterparts of from 45% to 70%.

Such groupings as age, party preference and religion do not produce such pronounced distinctions although all indicate, at the least, two-thirds awareness.

"Have you heard or read of preparatory negotiations in Paris for a four power conference, in which also the problem of Germany is to be discussed?"

	Yes	No	Number of cases:
WEST GERMANY			
Sex:			
Men	86%	14% ... 100%	385
Women	52	48	413
Education:			
Elementary school	63%	37%	653
Beyond elementary school	91	9	145
Socio-economic Status:			
Lower class	54%	46%	392
Lower middle to upper class	81	19	405
Income (per month):			
0 - 149 DM	51%	49%	222
150 - 299 DM	72	28	364
300 DM and more	82	18	204
Age:			
Under 40 years	71%	29%	343
40 years and over	66	34	454
Party Preference:			
SPD	73%	27%	208
CDU/CSU	71	29	139
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	88	12	51
Other parties	77	23	79
No party	57	43	165
Don't know	60	40	149
Religion:			
Catholics	65%	35%	348
Protestants	69	31	420
Occupation:			
Professionals	88%	12%	34
Businessmen	82	18	94
White collar workers	84	16	110
Skilled laborers	68	32	133
Semi-skilled laborers	55	45	119
Farmers	70	30	93
Trade-Union Membership:			
Yes, self and family member	69%	31%	253
Neither/nor	68	32	553
Origin:			
Natives	86%	34%	640
Expellees, refugees	75	25	157

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON RESULTS OF A PROPOSED CONFERENCE ...

In general those groups which tend most frequently to be aware of the present negotiations also seem to lean toward the opinion that Germany would gain nothing from the proposed conference. That is to say, more of the better educated, the upper social class, the more affluent and the professional and businessmen hold this opinion than do opposite members of their groups. However, group differences on this issue are not particularly distinct.

"If such a four power conference were to come about, do you think it likely that this conference in general will be of advantage or of disadvantage for Germany?"

	Advantage	Disadvantage	Neither/ nor	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY					
Sex:					
Men	39%	16%	34%	11%	386
Women	29	11	28	32	414
Education:					
Elementary school	34	14	28	24	653
Beyond elementary school	33	9	44	14	144
Socio-economic Status:					
Lower class	33%	15%	25%	28%	393
Lower middle to upper class	35	12	36	17	406
Income (per month):					
0 - 149 DM	31%	14%	28%	27%	222
150 - 299 DM	35	14	30	21	364
300 DM and more	35	11	36	18	204
Age:					
Under 40 years	37%	15%	30%	18%	344
40 years and over	32	12	31	25	455
Party Preference:					
SPD	40%	13%	33%	14%	208
CDU/CSU	39	14	26	21	139
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	43	8	33	16	51
Other parties	40	22	25	13	79
No party	24	12	41	23	165
Don't know	26	13	21	40	151
Religion:					
Catholics	30%	14%	30%	26%	350
Protestants	36	13	31	20	420
Occupation:					
Professionals	32%	3%	47%	18%	34
Businessmen	33	11	35	21	94
White collar workers	38	13	35	14	110
Skilled laborers	42	16	27	15	133
Semi-skilled laborers	25	18	25	32	120
Farmers	37	12	26	25	93
Trade-Union Membership:					
Yes, self and family member	40%	15%	37%	18%	253
Neither/nor	31	13	33	24	553
Origin:					
Natives	32%	13%	32%	23%	641
Expellees, refugees	40	16	27	17	158

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON WESTERN POWERS' AND GERMAN INTEREST ...

Confidence that the Western powers would keep German interest in mind in a four power conference was relatively higher among the opinion leading elements of the public - the men, the better schooled, and the higher socio-economic and income levels. However, among no groups did such a viewpoint fail to preponderate, usually by sizable majority.

"Do you think that the Western powers will represent the interest of Germany at this conference or not?"

	Will represent	Will not represent	No opinion	Number of cases:
--	----------------	--------------------	------------	------------------

WEST GERMANYSex:

Men	70%	21%	9% ... 100%	386
Women	56	21	23	414

Education:

Elementary school	60%	22%	18%	653
Beyond elementary school	73	19	8	144

Socio-economic Status:

Lower class	55%	23%	21%	393
Lower middle to upper class	68	20	12	406

Income (per month):

0 - 149 DM	55%	23%	22%	222
150 - 299 DM	66	20	14	364
300 DM and more	65	23	12	294

Age:

Under 40 years	62%	24%	14%	344
40 years and over	63	19	18	455

Party Preference:

SPD	67%	24%	9%	208
CDU/CSU	71	15	14	139
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	78	14	8	51
Other parties	70	20	10	79
No party	53	29	18	165
Don't know	52	17	31	151

Religion:

Catholics	61%	20%	19%	350
Protestants	63	22	15	420

Occupation:

Professionals	70%	15%	15%	34
Businessmen	62	19	19	94
White collar workers	75	20	5	110
Skilled laborers	63	25	12	133
Semi-skilled laborers	56	23	21	120
Farmers	65	18	17	93

Trade-Union Membership:

Yes, self and family member	62%	26%	12%	253
Neither/nor	63	19	18	553

Origin:

Natives	61%	23%	16%	641
Expellees, refugees	68	16	16	188

II. OCCUPATION STATUTE REVISION

AWARENESS NOT WIDESPREAD ...

Roughly one week after its announcement less than four out of ten West Germans had heard of the revision of the occupation statute.

"Have you by any chance heard or read that the Western powers have made alterations of the occupation statute for West Germany recently?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Heard	37%	36%	38%	34%	44%
Not heard	$\frac{63}{100\%}$	$\frac{64}{100\%}$	$\frac{62}{100\%}$	$\frac{66}{100\%}$	$\frac{56}{100\%}$

It takes a further question, however, to plumb the full extent of unawareness of the statute revisions. Only 15% of the total sample know either that West Germany has been granted a foreign ministry or that Allied controls over German legislation have been relaxed. The rest of those who have heard of the changes in the statute either have false conceptions as to what they are or have no specific information.

"Can you perhaps tell me which alterations were made in the occupation statute?" (Asked of those who answered "Heard" to previous question)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Yes, right (German foreign ministry, less control over German legislation)	15%	14%	16%	17%	21%
Yes, wrong	4	5	3	3	4
No opinion	$\frac{18}{37\%}$	$\frac{17}{36\%}$	$\frac{19}{38\%}$	$\frac{14}{34\%}$	$\frac{19}{44\%}$

CONFIDENTIAL

SKEPTICISM ABOUT REVISION OUTWEIGHS ENTHUSIASM ...

When the broad outlines of the revision were explained to all only about a third were inclined to look on it as a real step toward independence. The preponderant view among West Germans was that the revision represented little progress or no progress at all. Only in Berlin did a majority see the revision as a real step toward German independence.

"The Western powers altered the occupation statute. This alteration grants a German foreign ministry and gives up a considerable amount of High Commission control over German legislation.

"Do you think that this alteration means considerable progress on the way to independence for West Germany, or do you think this alteration means only a little progress or no progress at all?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Considerable progress	35%	35%	35%	28%	60%
A little progress	34	33	34	38	27
No progress	10	10	10	12	4
No opinion	21	22	21	22	9
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

CONFIDENTIAL

CONSIDERABLY MORE AWARENESS AMONG OPINION LEADERS ,..

Awareness that revisions have occurred in the statute appears, however, to be quite widespread among the usual opinion leading groups. Thus the better educated, higher socio-economic levels, and the men are much more frequently aware than others that the statute was revised.

"Have you by any chance heard or read that the Western powers have made alterations of the occupation statute for West Germany recently?"

	Heard	Not heard	Number of cases:
WEST GERMANY			
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	58%	42% ... 100%	384
Women	17	83	413
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	31	69	652
Beyond elementary school	63	37	143
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>			
Lower class	23%	77%	392
Lower middle to upper class	50	50	404
<u>Income (per month):</u>			
0 - 149 DM	24%	76%	222
150 - 299 DM	37	63	364
300 DM and more	51	49	203
<u>Age:</u>			
Under 40 years	37%	63%	343
40 years and over	37	63	453
<u>Party Preference:</u>			
SPD	42%	58%	208
CDU/CSU	36	64	139
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	51	49	51
Other parties	48	52	79
No party	29	71	165
Don't know	30	70	148
<u>Religion:</u>			
Catholics	35%	65%	347
Protestants	36	64	420
<u>Occupation:</u>			
Professionals	58%	42%	33
Businessmen	44	56	94
White collar workers	54	46	110
Skilled laborers	39	61	133
Semi-skilled laborers	28	72	119
Farmers	36	64	93
<u>Trade-Union Membership:</u>			
Yes, self	55%	45%	138
Yes, family member	25	75	115
Neither/nor	35	65	552
<u>Origin:</u>			
Natives	36	64	639
Expellees, refugees	40	60	157

The following chart indicates a certain amount of specific information among the opinion leading sectors of the population about the revisions that were actually made and a remarkable lack of it among their counterparts.

"Can you perhaps tell me which alterations were made in the occupation statute?" (Asked of those who answered "Heard" to original question)

	Yes, heard right answer	Yes, heard wrong answer	Yes, heard Don't know	Not heard	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	27%	6%	25%	42%..100%	384
Women	4	2	11	83	413
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	11%	4%	16%	69%	652
Beyond elementary school	32	3	28	37	143
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	6%	3%	14%	77%	392
Lower middle to upper class	24	5	21	50	404
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 149 DM	6%	1%	14%	76%	222
150 - 299 DM	15	3	17	63	364
300 DM and more	26	3	22	49	203
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	14%	5%	18%	63%	343
40 years and over	15	3	19	63	453
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	17%	6%	19%	58%	208
CDU/CSU	15	3	18	64	139
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	25	2	24	49	51
Other parties	15	9	24	52	79
No party	11	4	14	71	105
Don't know	13	2	15	70	148
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	16%	4%	15%	65%	347
Protestants	14	3	19	64	420
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	27%	-	31%	42%	33
Businessmen	21	2	21	56	94
White collar workers	33	5	16	46	110
Skilled laborers	11	8	20	61	133
Semi-skilled laborers	9	3	16	72	119
Farmers	11	4	21	64	93
<u>Trade-Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, self	23%	6%	26%	45%	138
Yes, family member	3	4	18	75	115
Neither/nor	15	3	17	65	552
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	15%	3%	18%	64%	639
Expellees, refugees	17	6	17	60	157

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON PROGRESS TOWARD INDEPENDENCE ...

Group attitudes are mixed but in no important group does the view preponderate that the statute revision constitutes considerable progress toward the independence of Germany.

"The Western powers altered the occupation statute. This alteration grants a German foreign ministry and gives up a considerable amount of High Commission control over German legislation.

"Do you think that this alteration means considerable progress on the way to independence for West Germany, or do you think this alteration means only a little progress or no progress at all?"

	Considerable progress	A little progress	No progress	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	39%	43%	11%	7% ... 100%	386
Women	31	25	9	35	414
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	38%	36%	12%	14%	579
Beyond elementary school	25	30	5	40	220
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	33%	27%	11%	29%	393
Lower middle to upper class	37	40	8	15	406
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 149 DM	29%	25%	13%	33%	222
150 - 299 DM	36	36	9	19	364
300 DM and more	39	39	10	12	204
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	36%	36%	12%	16%	344
40 years and over	34	32	8	26	455
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	36%	42%	10%	12%	208
CDU/CSU	39	35	5	21	139
FDP/LFP/DVP/BDV	35	47	10	8	51
Other parties	51	37	7	5	79
No party	27	28	16	29	165
Don't know	30	22	8	40	151
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	34%	33%	10%	24%	350
Protestants	36	34	10	20	420
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	32%	53%	6%	9%	34
Businessmen	36	38	13	13	94
White collar workers	39	43	7	11	110
Skilled laborers	34	39	11	16	133
Semi-skilled laborers	38	25	11	26	120
Farmers	33	31	9	27	93
<u>Trade-Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, self	44%	39%	10%	7%	138
Yes, family member	37	28	9	26	115
Neither/nor	33	34	10	23	553
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	33%	32%	13%	22%	641
Expellees, refugees	32	38	7	17	180

GERMAN REACTIONS TO THREE CURRENT ECONOMIC ISSUES -
CO-DETERMINATION, DECARTELIZATION AND FREEDOM OF ENTERPRISE

Report No. 75
Series No. 2
April 18, 1951

OFFICE OF THE U. S. LEGAL COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION

This report on public reactions to three currently important politico-economic issues is based on findings obtained in two surveys, dealing with a number of current issues, conducted by Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs. The first survey which included the freedom of trade and co-determination issues was made March 7-15, 1951; the second, dealing among other topics with decartelization was carried out from March 15-22, 1951.

The samples used were of the stratified random type consisting of 800 cases drawn from West Germany and 200 from the three Western sectors of Berlin, and represent scientific cross-sections of the populations in both areas.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

REACTIONS TO CO-DETERMINATION ...

The co-determination issue is apparently not clearly understood by the West German public, according to this survey made at the time the question was before the Federal parliament, but prior to the passage of the Federal law granting the right of co-determination to workers in certain industries. Clearly demonstrated by the findings is that preponderant West German opinion favors improving the status of workers in industry. But equally clearly demonstrated is that preponderant opinion disapproves giving the workers equality with employers in all management decisions. Specifically ...

- ... A majority (61%) had heard that the "co-determination" issue was under discussion.
- ... Predominant opinion (46%) favored granting labor's demands for co-determination when the issue was presented without further definition.
- ... Any thoroughgoing understanding of what the co-determination proposal actually encompasses was not apparent, however, in the arguments advanced by the group favoring labor's demands. Their comments indicated that though they want a better deal for labor, something far short of equal rights in management is all that most of them seemed to have in mind.
- ... Bearing out such indications it is found that the direction of opinion changed, with opposition to co-determination becoming the preponderant sentiment when the public was given a more detailed statement outlining the salient issue at stake — an equal voice for labor in management. With co-determination thus spelled out, 50% were against, 39% for, and 11% without opinions.

So this discrepancy in judgments — predominant acceptance of co-determination when undefined, predominant rejection of the idea when spelled out — demonstrate that a large segment of the public is under considerable misapprehension as to what extent of workers' participation in management the co-determination proposal actually embraces.

REACTIONS TO DECARTELIZATION ...

It is very evident that the Allied decartelization program has had little impact on the West German public. Most West Germans do not even know that there is a law designed to implement the splitting up of the pre-war cartels. And only a fraction positively approves the program.

Since the cartel issue has already been raised in connection with the Schuman Plan negotiations, these findings assume added significance. They suggest that the West German public could probably not be counted on to offer effective resistance to any efforts that cartel groups might make to dominate Schuman Plan negotiation or implementation. Salient findings are as follows:

- ... A majority (62%) has never heard that a law providing for the dismemberment of cartels exists. Two in ten say they know there is such a law but do not know what it is called. Only a minority of 16% can specifically designate the law by name. Since the name and the process are so closely related, it is possible to say that this 16% minority includes almost all West Germans who know anything about the decartelization program.
- ... Only a quarter (25%) voices agreement with decartelization. Three in ten are opposed, and the largest single group (44%) are not prepared to say whether they agree or disagree.
- ... Opponents of decartelization assert that the alleged greater efficiency of the large concerns benefits the entire German economy. Proponents, on the other hand, favor decartelization because they hope it will lead to greater social justice, or because they fear big business.

REACTIONS TO FREEDOM OF ENTERPRISE ...

The issue of freedom of enterprise as the term is applied in West Germany has its roots deep in the German past. In conflict today are the traditional orientations associated with the proved artisan-tradesman, stemming from the medieval guild system, and advocacy of the competitive system with its attendant risks for the entrepreneur and, at times, for the customer. The latter point of view particularly as it applies to tradesmen and shopkeepers is new to German thinking.

Among the West German public the reaction to this issue is mixed:

- ... On the one hand, freedom of trade as a slogan elicits preponderantly favorable response with 47% approving of it.
- ... On the other hand, when required to make a judgment in a specific illustrative situation, the residual guild orientation figures prominently in the thinking of many, to the extent that the net result is as much opposition to freedom of enterprise as approval.
- ... Asked whether a prospective entrepreneur should be permitted to set up a shop - a radio shop was the illustration - without prior certification from his fellow tradesmen, 47% agreed, but about as many (43%) disagreed.
- ... A prominent reason for disagreement is that proof of skill and competence should precede any venture into trade.

The inference of these findings is that a return to the traditional practice of certification as a requisite for setting up in business, in preference to the free competitive situation sponsored by occupation authorities would receive considerable support from a large segment of the population.

I. REACTIONS TO CO-DETERMINATION

MAJORITY AWARENESS OF CO-DETERMINATION ISSUE ...

Prior to the recent passage of the co-determination law in the Federal Bundestag, a majority of West Germans (61%) claimed to have heard that the co-determination issue was under discussion. In the British Zone, center of West Germany's steel and coal industries, awareness was greater than in other regions, as is indicated in the following table.

"Have you heard recently of discussions about the so-called right of co-determination?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Yes	61%	69%	53%	54%	64%
No	39	31	47	46	36
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

PREPONDÉRANT OPINION IN FAVOR OF CO-DETERMINATION ...

The predominant West German reaction (46%) to labor's demand for co-determination was that it should be granted. Only 10% said they disapproved, and the remainder had no opinion.

"The workers of various industries have demanded the right of co-determination. Should, in your opinion, the workers be granted this right or not?" (Asked of those who said "Yes" in previous question)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Granted	46%	51%	40%	44%	50%
Not granted	10	12	8	7	11
No opinion	5	6	5	3	3
	<u>61%</u>	<u>69%</u>	<u>53%</u>	<u>54%</u>	<u>64%</u>

ARGUMENTS ARE GENERAL RATHER THAN SPECIFIC ...

This readiness to meet labor's demands appeared, however, to stem largely from a general and rather emotionally based expression of good will toward workers rather than from any thorough-going understanding of the co-determination issue as it was being debated in the Federal parliament. This is demonstrated in the arguments of respondents which are classified and presented on the following page.

"The workers of various industries demanded the right of co-determination. Should, in your opinion, the workers be granted this right or not?"

If "Yes": "Why?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
<u>To recognize workers' right to a say:</u> The man that works should have the right to have his say in the company; because the worker works for the company, thus he should have the right of co-determination; because our most precious gift is the ability to work, therefore one should have the power to decide how this ability is to be used; the worker should have some rights in return for his work; I think it important that the opinions of the workers are considered; if we want to be democrats, everybody should have the right to have his say; etc.	14%	14%	15%	13%	14%
<u>To safeguard labor's rights:</u> So workers are not taken advantage of by capitalists; so the relationship between worker and employer is satisfactory; big capital is too monopolistic, therefore the worker should have something to say; then workers can force employers to grant more and fairer advantages; so the employer cannot make any decisions without the permission of the workers; the worker should not be oppressed but have a chance to have his say; we've been enslaved long enough; so the employer cannot exploit the workers; because the workers are cheated of much otherwise, I know that from personal experience; etc.	9	10	8	8	8
<u>To increase wages and influence of workers:</u> So the influence of the employer won't get too strong and the workers will have some control over the profits; the employers make a lot of money and the worker does the work - we only want to share in the profits; the workers would gain power, thus get higher wages and more influence; people who work want to have some advantages too - perhaps higher wages and more influence; so the worker, not only the employer, will get some of the profits of his labor; etc.	7	8	6	4	8
<u>To promote efficiency:</u> The worker can, due to his practical experience, promote many things valuable to the advantage of the company; it should not be without interest for the manufacturing process if the workers had a word to say; if the workers actively cooperate in the company, many of them for their entire lives, they should get some idea about the workings of the company - they are experts after all; for the simple reason, that both groups, employers and employees, can do their best if they cooperate; the workers have interest in the company - they would enjoy their work more and production would increase; etc.	7	8	6	8	12

(cont'd on next page)

WEST British US French Berlin
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

To improve social conditions of workers:
The social condition of the worker might be clarified; the workers could get some improvement of their social conditions; so the working class will be better off; etc.

4 5 5 3 3

To recognize majority rights: Because it is always of advantage if the majority of a people, and that is the worker, has something to say; the workers are the majority of the people and therefore the right of co-determination is a necessity for them; etc.

1 2 - 1 -

Other opinions: Because the director of a factory cannot very well put himself into the position of the workers; because the trade unions do not always sufficiently represent the workers; because they could not produce arms anymore, the workers would see to that; so the whole economy will work better; I think it would be a little too much if the right of co-determination would be extended to buying and selling; etc.

4 3 3 10 5

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{3}{49\%}$ $\frac{3}{53\%}$ $\frac{1}{44\%}$ $\frac{4}{45\%}$ $\frac{2}{52\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

REASONS FOR OPPOSITION ...

Opponents of co-determination also seemed to be thinking more in broad terms rather than of the specific stipulations of the present issue. Such a widely publicized specific objection as the extent of union control from outside the plant is scarcely mentioned.

"The workers of various industries demanded the right of co-determination. Should, in your opinion, the workers be granted this right or not?" (Asked of those who said "No" in previous question)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
<u>The workers lack the necessary qualifications:</u> Not every worker has the ability for it; up till now everything has been all right - the worker does not have the knowledge and the overall picture like the boss does; in the end we will only have directors - only those should decide who learned how; the workers would make mistakes - they are not informed much about business matters; I don't think the worker possesses the foresight necessary for running a company; it is impossible that the workers want to interfere with something they know nothing about; etc.	4%	5%	3%	-	5%
<u>Too many cooks spoil the broth - decisions can only be made by the directors:</u> Too many people, too many ideas, explains everything; too many cooks spoil the broth; if all of them want to direct it won't be of any use; not everybody should try to decide - the decision should be up to one person; etc.	2	3	1	2	3
<u>Management takes risks and must have responsibility:</u> If I am the owner of a company I have the sole responsibility - if the company collapses, the worker won't take the responsibility for it; the company owner carries the responsibility alone in any event; the workers are not owners of a company and can't judge the responsibility; the owner carries the whole responsibility - yet I am not opposed to a certain control by the workers; etc.	1	1	2	1	2
<u>Other opinions:</u> If the workers had the right of co-determination it would be like in the East Zone - they would equalize all the prices and competition would be eliminated; I believe that a middle way could be found in order not to impede private initiative of owners; it is a communistic idea; etc.	$\frac{3}{10\%}$	$\frac{3}{13\%}$	$\frac{2}{8\%}$	$\frac{5}{7\%}$	$\frac{1}{11\%}$

BUT OPPOSITION PREPONDERATES WHEN CO-DETERMINATION SPILLED OUT ...

The direction of opinion changed, however, with opposition to co-determination becoming the predominant sentiment when the public was given a more detailed statement outlining the salient issue at stake - an equal voice for labor in managerial matters. With co-determination thus spelled out, 50% of the public expressed opposition, 39% were in favor, and 11% withheld opinions.

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
The workers of a plant should be represented in the management and their influence should be just as great as that of the employers in all questions	39%	39%	37%	44%	49%
There are many important questions in the plant which can only be decided by the employer and therefore the workers should not have just as much to say about management as the employer	50	50	51	45	51
No opinion	$\frac{11}{100\%}$	$\frac{11}{100\%}$	$\frac{12}{100\%}$	$\frac{11}{100\%}$	$\frac{-}{100\%}$

CONCLUSION ...

The sharp discrepancy in reactions to co-determination when it is presented without definition on the one hand, and when its meaning is fully spelled out, indicates that the German public has no clear understanding of what the co-determination proposal actually embraces. It is clear that a preponderance approves of improving the status of the worker in industry, it is equally clear that a preponderance disapproves of the workers having an equal voice with employers in all managerial decisions.

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN AWARENESS ...

Awareness of discussions of co-determination was greater among residents of large cities (77%) than among those living in smaller cities (61%) and villages (52%). As is customarily the case on awareness of current issues, men, the better educated, and the higher socio-economic and income levels professed awareness more often than counterpart groups. Trade union members and skilled workers were also more aware than citizens in general.

"Have you heard recently of the discussions about the so-called right of co-determination?"

	Yes	No	Number of cases:
WEST GERMANY			
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	82%	18% ... 100%	351
Women	45	55	444
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	57%	43%	653
Beyond elementary school	80	20	141
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>			
Lower class	53%	47%	410
Middle and upper class	70	30	385
<u>Income (per month):</u>			
0 - 149 DM	43%	57%	221
150 - 299 DM	66	34	363
300 DM and more	77	23	201
<u>Age:</u>			
Under 40 years	60%	40%	339
40 years and over	63	37	456
<u>Party Preference:</u>			
SPD	72%	28%	206
CDU/CSU	56	44	153
FDP/DFP/DVP/BDV	81	19	48
Other parties	68	32	78
No parties	57	43	148
Don't know	48	52	158
<u>Religion:</u>			
Catholics	56%	44%	383
Protestants	65	35	278
<u>Occupation:</u>			
Professionals	79%	21%	48
Businessmen	62	38	81
White collar workers	68	32	92
Skilled laborers	72	28	139
Semi-skilled laborers	62	38	102
Farmers	47	53	93
<u>Trade-Union Membership:</u>			
Yes	90%	10%	123
No	55	45	543

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON EQUAL SAY FOR LABOR IN MANAGEMENT ...

The lower social, educational and income levels in the population tended to show somewhat more support for and less opposition to an equal workers' voice in management than do the better situated. Labor alone among occupational groups favored giving itself a fully equal voice, though it too, showed something of a split on the issue -- as did union members.

	The workers should have as much to say	The workers should not have as much to say	No opinion	No. of cases:
--	---	--	---------------	------------------

WEST GERMANY

<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	42%	53%	5% ..100%	351
Women	37	47	16	446
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	41%	46%	13%	655
Beyond elementary school	27	67	6	104
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	46%	38%	15%	412
Middle and upper class	31	62	7	385
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	40%	41%	19%	222
150 - 299 DM	41	49	10	364
300 DM and more	34	59	7	201
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	43%	47%	10%	339
40 years and over	35	52	13	455
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	60%	35%	5%	207
CDU/CSU	27	62	11	153
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	15	83	2	48
Other parties	41	49	10	78
No parties	34	49	17	148
Don't know	33	47	20	159
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	41%	46%	13%	284
Protestants	36	54	10	379
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	27%	69%	4%	48
Businessmen	17	77	6	81
White collar workers	40	51	9	92
Skilled laborers	50	41	9	139
Semi-skilled laborers	51	37	12	103
Farmers	28	58	14	100
<u>Trade-Union Membership:</u>				
Yes	56%	39%	5%	123
No	33	55	12	543

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON GRANTING RIGHT OF CO-DETERMINATION ...

Support for granting co-determination to the workers tended to run slightly higher among the less educated, lower socio-economic and the lower and middle income brackets. No group, however, failed to give predominate assent.

	Should be granted	Should not be granted	No opinion	Number of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
Sex:				
Men	77%	17%	6% ... 100%	289
Women	71	16	13	200
Education:				
Elementary school	78%	13%	9%	375
Beyond elementary school	63	27	10	113
Socio-economic Status:				
Lower class	85%	8%	7%	218
Middle and upper class	67	22	11	270
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	74%	16%	10%	94
150 - 299 DM	80	12	8	238
300 DM and more	68	23	9	154
Age:				
Under 40 years	77%	14%	9%	204
40 years and over	74	17	9	285
Party Preference:				
SPD	97%	1%	2%	148
CDU/CSU	62	24	14	86
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	54	36	10	39
Other parties	68	23	9	53
No parties	72	16	10	85
Don't know	65	20	15	75
Religion:				
Catholics	78%	13%	9%	216
Protestants	71	20	9	246
Occupation:				
Professionals	55%	34%	11%	38
Businessmen	60	30	10	50
White collar workers	76	18	6	63
Skilled laborers	82	12	6	101
Semi-skilled laborers	89	3	8	63
Farmers	59	13	28	47
Trade-Union Membership:				
Yes	87%	8%	5%	111
No	68	21	11	200

II. REACTIONS TO DECARTELIZATION

INTRODUCTORY NOTES ...

Since the end of the war the issue of decartelization has been a major one in discussions between allied representatives and West German politicians and industrialists. With the whole issue closely connected with the passage of the Schumann plan, press coverage has increased recently with considerable attention to the existing decartelization act. To appraise the West German public's awareness of and reaction to the decartelization program, questions on it were included in a Reactions Analysis Survey conducted March 8th through 15th, 1951.

DECARTELIZATION NOT A VERY LIVE ISSUE WITH WEST GERMAN PUBLIC ...

Apparently allied efforts to break up the major German cartels have not been very widely noticed by the West German public. Fewer than four out of ten are aware that there is any sort of decartelization act in existence, and not even two out of ten have any ideas of what the law is called.*

"Do you perhaps know the name of the law by which the big industrial concerns like I.G. Farben and Krupp are split up into smaller independent companies?"

WEST GERMANY - British Zone US Zone French Zone Berlin

Yes, right (decartel- ization law	16%	16%	14%	14%	13%
Other answers	-	-	-	-	1
Heard of it but can't name it	22	24	19	24	20
Not heard of it	<u>62</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>62</u>	<u>66</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Either Entflechtungsgesetz or (decentralization law) or Dekartelisierungsgesetz (decartelization law), the terms by which the act has usually been referred to in the press and radio, were accepted as correct answers.

AWARENESS AMONG DIFFERENT SECTORS OF THE POPULATION ...

Inability to attach the designation "decartelization" or its equivalent to the law is the prevailing situation even among those segments of the population customarily better informed on current issues - the better educated, the higher socio-economic and more affluent groups, and the men. However, members of these groups do claim more frequently than their counterparts to know that such a law exists.

"Do you perhaps know the name of the law by which the big industrial concerns like I.G. Farben and Krupp are split up into smaller independent companies?"

	Yes, right answer (de-cartelization law)	Other answers	Heard of it but can't name it	Not heard of it	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY					
Sex:					
Men	27%	-	29%	44% ... 100%	385
Women	5	-	16	79	412
Education:					
Elementary school	10%	-	21%	69%	652
Beyond elementary school	40	-	28	32	143
Socio-economic Status:					
Lower class	6%	-	15%	79%	392
Middle and upper class	25	-	29	46	404
Income (per month):					
0 - 149 DM	6%	-	15%	79%	222
150 - 299 DM	13	-	26	61	364
300 DM and more	31	-	24	45	203
Age:					
Under 40 years	17%	-	23%	60%	343
40 years and over	15	-	21	64	453
Party Preference:					
SPD	16%	-	27%	57%	208
CDU/CSU	15	-	25	60	139
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	30	-	29	41	51
Other parties	19	-	27	54	79
No parties	12	-	13	70	165
Don't know	14	-	13	73	148
Occupation:					
Professionals	46%	-	27%	27%	33
Businessmen	25	-	30	45	93
White-collar workers	31	-	26	43	109
Skilled laborers	9	-	27	64	133
Semi-skilled laborers	6	-	19	75	119
Farmers	7	-	24	69	93
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, self	24%	-	28%	48%	138
Yes, family member	8	-	16	76	115
Neither/Nor	15	-	22	63	552
Religion:					
Catholic	13%	-	21%	66%	347
Protestants	17	-	22	61	420
Origin:					
Natives	16%	-	22%	62%	639
Expellees and Refugees	15	-	24	61	157

OPINIONS DIVIDED ON DECARTELIZATION ...

Further indication that the decartelization issue has not had any large impact on public thinking is revealed when attitudes toward it are measured. More than four in ten West Germans are not prepared to say whether they agree or disagree with splitting up large industrial combines into smaller, independent units. Among those who have arrived at an opinion, pro and con views are fairly evenly matched, with the latter having a slight edge.

"Do you agree with such a law or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Agree	25%	28%	23%	17%	36%
Disagree	31	30	31	33	42
No opinion	44	42	46	50	22
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

As would be expected, respondents with better education, the higher socio-economic, and income levels and the men are more likely than their counterparts to have formed an opinion on decartelization. Among these, upper opinion leading elements opposition to decartelization tends to outweigh support somewhat more strongly than among those in the lower brackets who do offer an opinion.

"Do you agree with such a law or not?"

	Agree	Disagree	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
Sex:				
Men	35%	38%	27% ... 100%	386
Women	15	24	61	414
Education:				
Elementary school	25%	28%	47%	653
Beyond elementary school	24	45	31	144
Socio-economic Status:				
Lower class	22%	26%	52%	393
Middle and upper class	27	36	37	406
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	22%	22%	56%	222
150 - 299 DM	26	32	42	364
300 DM and more	28	39	33	204
Age:				
Under 40 years	22%	40%	38%	344
40 years and over	27	24	49	455
Party Preference:				
SPD	32%	37%	31%	208
CDU/CSU	24	23	53	139
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	24	47	29	51
Other parties	33	44	23	79
No parties	19	31	50	165
Don't know	20	17	63	151
Occupation:				
Professionals	27%	38%	35%	34
Businessmen	26	37	37	94
White-collar workers	27	44	29	110
Skilled laborers	34	24	42	133
Semi-skilled laborers	22	26	52	120
Farmers	27	23	50	93
Trade Union Membership:				
Yes, self	39%	35%	26%	138
Yes, family member	21	26	53	116
Neither/Nor	23	31	46	553
Religion:				
Catholics	27%	27%	50%	350
Protestants	26	34	40	420
Origin:				
Natives	25%	30%	45%	641
Refugees and Expellees	25	35	40	158

REASONS FOR APPROVING DECARTELIZATION ...

Heavily stressed among the reasons for favoring decartelization are the hope that it will bring greater social and economic justice, and conversely fear and distrust of big business.

"Do you agree with such a law or not?"
If "Agree": "For what reasons?"

WEST Br. US Fr. Berlin
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

More just distribution of earnings; better working opportunities: Then there wouldn't be so many share-holders and directors, the earnings would be for the benefit of the single enterprises; because partitioning would be of advantage for many people; because the decentralization of capital would be of advantage for the masses; the little man should also profit, why should one alone have everything; smaller enterprises bring better opportunities for work; etc.

12% 14% 10% 9% 21%

To avoid concentration of economic power: To avoid a concentration of economic power leading to political power; to take the economic power away from the industry; to prevent big capital coming into power; through this law the power of the industrialists is decreased; otherwise we shall get a monopolistic economy again; etc.

6 5 7 3 8

Avoidance of armament industry: That will put a stop to the armament industry; a small enterprise can't manufacture arms as quickly as big companies; this law will prevent the directors and employees from being punished for manufacturing arms; there won't be any people like Krupp who helped Hitler to come into power; etc.

2 2 1 2 1

Competition causes higher efforts: Efforts will be greater if there is competition; etc.

1 2 1 - 2

Other opinions: In these great enterprises there are only young workers but in smaller ones they also need the older men; these great enterprises would only deal with export and with the small enterprises the money remains in the country; if the chief is the owner of the factory the working conditions are usually better; there is better control in small enterprises; etc.

4 4 3 2 5

No opinion:

$\frac{1}{26\%}$ $\frac{1}{28\%}$ $\frac{2}{24\%}$ $\frac{1}{17\%}$ $\frac{1}{35\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

REASONS FOR OPPOSING DECARTELIZATION ...

The main stress of those opposed to decartelization is on the alleged greater efficiencies of big companies to the benefit of the whole economy.

"Do you agree with such a law or not?"
If "Disagree": "For what reasons?"

WEST GERMANY	Br. Zone	US Zone	Fr. Zone	Berlin
-----------------	-------------	------------	-------------	--------

Large concerns are more efficient: Big concerns usually have a higher production than small enterprises which constantly have to struggle for life; the more extensive an enterprise is the more it will accomplish; the big enterprises are needed for they make better progress, it is the same as with small and big farms; a small business always has higher production costs; a large enterprise is more economic; every little company works for itself and in the end the result is insufficient; etc.

17%	17%	18%	12%	26%
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

Decentralization would harm the German economy:

Nothing good will result of splitting them up; only a concentration can lead to an economic development; it is exactly like separating a family or amputating an important limb from a human body; decartelization splits Germany's economic power - we are no longer able to compete; because it would put a stop to the world-wide successes of concerns, such as those in the medical field - for the sake of mankind; it would harm Germany economically; it would be very difficult for us Germans to accomplish something great in the field of research; lack of financial means which are necessary - also economic retrogression; etc.

6	7	7	5	8
---	---	---	---	---

Working opportunities for more employees in big industrial concerns, also better working conditions: Because little enterprises don't need as many employees as the big ones, so unemployment rate would increase; it would be better if the big concerns would remain for the sake of the unemployed; working opportunities for the unemployed in big concerns, the small enterprises will prove a failure; no advantage at all for the workers; I don't see why I should agree to that; a big industrial concern can do much more for its workers than a small one; etc.

4	4	3	7	7
---	---	---	---	---

(cont'd on next page)

WEST GERMANY	Br. Zone	US Zone	Fr. Zone	Berlin
-----------------	-------------	------------	-------------	--------

No similar actions in other countries - only in the German industries: As long as similar actions are not carried through in other countries, for instance the U.S., it would not do any good here; first they want to unite the heavy industries and now they want to split them up only because they were German; because nothing of the kind takes place in other countries; would contribute towards depriving Germany of her power; etc.

1%	-	1%	3%	1%
----	---	----	----	----

Everyone has the right to keep his property (Such a law is like Communism): Everyone should be allowed to keep what is his own; if someone comes to me to take my bed I wouldn't give it up; that seems to me like Communism; these are communistic methods; etc.

1	1	2	-	1
---	---	---	---	---

Small enterprises work for their own advantage and for the advantage of the economy: Because those little companies work for their own advantage, otherwise they will go broke; because then the directors would only earn more money, we have enough officials already in Germany; etc.

1	-	1	-	1
---	---	---	---	---

Other opinions: Through increasing competition disadvantages for the population, production costs too high; not practicable and economically irresponsible; because I consider the maintenance of certain industrial concerns very important; we have no right to decide; etc.

2	2	1	5	1
---	---	---	---	---

No opinion:

32%	31%	33%	33%	46%
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

It is evident that many people with the same basic views and attitudes can make different interpretations of decartelization. For example, many advocates hoped there would be more job opportunities with decartelization. A smaller, but still considerable percentage of opponents explicitly state that big concerns can better provide opportunities for work - an argument implicit in all statements about the greater benefits of big industry for the entire economy.

The nature of these pro and con reasons indicates that arguments on both sides can make a marked, if not perhaps quite equal, impression on the more alert members of all social groups. This tends to be in keeping with the group comparisons which showed a considerable, though slightly varying, amount of opposition and support through all strata.

III. REACTIONS TO FREEDOM OF ENTERPRISE

INTRODUCTORY NOTE ON GEWERBEFREIHEIT ...

The measurement of popular sentiment on Gewerbefreiheit (freedom of enterprise) is timely because of current attempts to pass a handicraft bill through the Bundestag. This bill would limit the freedom of an individual to enter a trade by requiring approval by a council of tradesmen. Such legislation has been criticized by the Allied High Commission. In addition, American policy in Germany has been to encourage the development of freedom of individual enterprise.

It should be noted parenthetically that the slogan, Gewerbefreiheit, need not imply to Germans what freedom of enterprise connotes to the average American. In general it refers to the idea of eliminating traditional guildist restrictions upon free enterprise, for example: proof of competence, sufficient investment capital, and a decision as to whether a particular community needs an additional craftsman in a specific trade area.

PREPONDERANTLY FAVORABLE REACTIONS TO SLOGAN ...

The first line of inquiry utilized to ascertain public reaction to the idea of freedom of enterprise was to measure the extent of acceptance of "Gewerbefreiheit" when the term was presented more or less in slogan form, that is to say, without definition or illustration.

Measured thus, it is found that approval of freedom of enterprise is the preponderant sentiment among the West German public. However, as much as a third disapprove and a fifth takes no stand in the matter. Approval of "Gewerbefreiheit" is at its maximum in West Berlin where it outweighs opposition sentiments by more than two to one.

"On the whole, do you favor or oppose the so-called freedom of enterprise in Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Favor	47%	46%	48%	49%	59%
Oppose	32	30	34	32	24
Never heard of it	8	9	7	4	13
No opinion	13	15	11	15	4
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

GROUP DIFFERENCES

The picture of preponderantly favorable reactions toward "Gewerbefreiheit" is maintained in most of the specific population groups examined below. However, among business men, and less conclusively, affiliates of the FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV complex of political parties, opposition to freedom of enterprise appears to outweigh approval.

"On the whole, do you favor or oppose the so-called freedom of enterprise in Germany?"

	Favor	Oppose	Never heard of it	No opinion	Number of cases:
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	57%	33%	3%	7%	351
Women	40	29	12	19	446
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	47%	30%	9%	14%	655
Beyond elementary school	50	39	3	8	141
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	48%	26%	12%	14%	412
Middle and upper class	46	37	4	13	385
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 149 DM	42%	25%	14%	19%	222
150 - 299 DM	48	34	7	11	364
300 DM and more	52	33	4	11	202
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	49%	31%	8%	12%	339
40 years and over	46	32	8	14	458
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	53%	30%	6%	11%	207
CDU/CSU	47	37	6	10	153
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	44	50	-	6	48
Other parties	59	25	8	8	78
No parties	43	29	11	17	148
Don't know	40	26	13	21	159
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	52%	36%	2%	10%	48
Businessmen	36	57	2	5	81
White-collar workers	50	37	3	10	92
Skilled laborers	47	29	8	16	139
Semi-skilled laborers	57	20	12	11	103
Farmers	47	25	14	14	100
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	50%	28%	7%	15%	384
Protestants	44	34	10	12	379

BUT OPPOSITION MOUNTS WHEN ISSUE CONCRETIZED ...

A second line of inquiry was included to obtain reactions to freedom of enterprise in a specific illustrative situation - without reference to terminology or slogans. Here, respondents were asked to decide whether or not a specific entrepreneur - a man who wished to open a radio shop was used as an illustration - should be able to set up a business without first receiving permission from members of the trade.

In this situation the same proportion (47%) vote for the freedom of the prospective tradesman to make his own decision as previously had said they favored "Freedom of Enterprise."

However, opposition grows when the matter is thus presented in concrete form. Whereas approximately a third had said they were against freedom of enterprise, now 43 per cent say members of the same trade should decide whether or not a new business in their trade should be established.

"Mr. Schulze wants to open a store and deal in radios. Should a group of businessmen of the radio trade decide on it, or should he be able to open his store without the permission of such a group?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
With permission	43%	45%	42%	36%	57%
Without permission	47	45	48	57	41
No opinion	10	10	10	7	2
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Almost all of the people who feel that Herr Schulze should not have to get permission from the trade group before setting up his shop would grant the same freedom to most other tradesmen. In effect, then, four in ten West Germans support freedom of enterprise in practice. The few who hold this freedom should not apply to all trades indicate by their comments that they feel that entry into certain businesses, particularly those that bear directly on the public welfare, should require proof of ability.

"Should this, in your opinion, apply to most trades or not?"
(Asked of those who answered "Without permission" to previous question.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
For most of them	40%	38%	40%	46%	38%
Not for most of them	6	5	7	9	3
No opinion	1	2	1	2	-
	<u>47%</u>	<u>45%</u>	<u>48%</u>	<u>57%</u>	<u>41%</u>

PRIMARY CONCERN IS WITH PROOF OF COMPETENCE ...

The main argument of those who feel that a prospective entrepreneur in radios should first have the permission of a group of fellow tradesmen before opening a store is that his technical ability should first be established. The alleged wastefulness of unrestricted competition is also brought up, but less frequently than the need for some kind of preliminary examination of competence.

"Mr. Schulze wants to open a store and deal in radios. Should a group of businessmen of the radio trade decide on it, or should he be able to open his store without the permission of such a group?"
If "With permission": "Why are you of this opinion?"

WEST	British	US	French	Berlin
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone	

Decision of group guarantees ability in the field of radio: Attention should be given in every trade that expert knowledge exists; if I have to get my radio repaired I must know that the businessman is an expert - consequently permission should only be granted to people with expert knowledge; Mr. Schulze should first prove his knowledge of the subject before he sells any radios; otherwise everybody with enough money could open a shop, yet doesn't understand anything about his business; he must prove his abilities first, before he cheats people; free trade does not always guarantee solid workmanship; etc.

20%	22%	21%	11%	33%
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

As a measure to curb competition: One business will ruin the other - a certain control is necessary - not all of us can be traders; so competition will not increase to such an extent - in the end nobody will be able to make a living; the freedom of trade has ruined so many business establishments - everybody wants to trade in something and nothing good comes of it; I don't think it right that stores spring up like mushrooms everywhere - people from the respective business should have the control over it; etc.

9	10	9	4	10
---	----	---	---	----

In order to protect those who really possess expert training in the respective field:

Because perhaps another person who really has expert knowledge and training will be pushed out of his position if anybody can open a shop; because experts in all fields are without work and on the streets, while cobblers and tailors deal in all sorts of things and therefore contribute to unemployment; in order that untrained people won't undercut radio experts with their prices; anybody who saved up some money could then open a store - no matter whether he knows his subject or not - another person has to work a lifetime in order to get anywhere and will be undersold - besides the customer is cheated too; etc.

4	4	4	2	6
---	---	---	---	---

(cont'd on next page)

West GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------	--------

Non-experts do not have the ability to compete anyway: They should examine whether he really knows his subject - otherwise he'd soon be broke and his money be wasted; there are so many stores today who are in the red because their owners do not know their business; because many establishments go broke because the owners are non-experts - that is a loss to the people in general; etc.

23	19	27	7	49
----	----	----	---	----

The decision should be up to a higher department: A higher department should make the decision; there are enough stores in this field, one more would only lead to a decrease in the business - yet fundamentally a group of businessmen in the same field should not have the final decision, because they could fear the competition, a trade supervisory board of the magistrate should decide about the necessity of such store; etc.

1	1	-	1	-
---	---	---	---	---

Other opinions: Not everybody can do as he pleases - that is against order; the state has to have wage and price control - that is impossible in regard to freedom of trade; part of the people have to pay taxes and the people that earn money without being controlled need not to - that is impossible; etc.

4	4	4	7	5
---	---	---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

2 42%	1 43%	1 41%	9 34%	- 58%
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

There are few marked differences among population groups on attitudes on this issue, though the men, the better educated and the more affluent lean slightly toward the view that Mr. Schulze should be free to start his own business. In this instance, as with the term "freedom of enterprise," businessmen more frequently than other occupation groups are in favor of control by the trade organization.

"Mr. Schulze wants to open a store and deal in radios. Should a group of businessmen of the radio trade decide on it, or should he be able to open his store without the permission of such a group?"

	With permission	Without permission	No opinion	Number of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
Sex:				
Men	41%	54%	5%	351
Women	44	42	14 ... 100%	446
Education:				
Elementary school	43%	46%	11%	655
Beyond elementary school	44	52	4	141
Socio-economic Status:				
Lower class	42%	45%	13%	412
Middle and upper class	44	50	6	385
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	42%	41%	17%	222
150 - 299 DM	44	47	9	364
300 DM and more	43	53	4	202
Age:				
Under 40 years	43%	51%	6%	339
40 years and more	42	45	13	458
Party Preference:				
SPD	45%	52%	3%	207
CDU/CSU	48	46	6	153
FDP/LDP/DVP/EDV	56	44	-	48
Other parties	45	49	6	78
No party	38	45	17	148
Don't know	34	45	21	159
Occupation:				
Professionals	36%	58%	6%	48
Businessmen	61	37	2	81
White-collar workers	49	46	5	92
Skilled laborers	35	55	10	139
Semi-skilled laborers	40	50	10	103
Farmers	45	41	14	100
Religion:				
Catholics	40%	51%	9%	384
Protestants	46	43	11	379

THE HICOG SURVEYS

Volume III

Reports 76 - 103

Volume III

76. Continuing Trends in Awareness and Patronage of the Amerika Häuser in the U.S. Zone (24 April 1951)	1532
77. Initial Reactions of Urban West Germans to the Recall of General MacArthur (24 April 1951)	1541
78. U.S. Zone Germans View the Kreis Resident Officers (14 May 1951)	1554
79. Attitudes behind the Iron Curtain: III. A Preliminary Exploration of Attitudes among East Zone Male Youth (17 May 1951)	1579
80. Current Trend on Defense Participation: With West German Reactions to the Communist Remilitarization "Plebiscite" (28 May 1951)	1640
81. The Effectiveness of Recent Informational Efforts on the Schuman Plan (30 May 1951)	1652
82. Does East or West Really Want a Four-Power Conference? (31 May 1951)	1672
83. The Present State of West German Confidence in the West: With Reactions to General MacArthur's Recall (12 June 1951)	1686
84. Guns or Butter? West German Opinion on the Use of Marshall Plan Funds (14 June 1951)	1716
85. The Impact of the Europa Train: A Preliminary Study on a Mainz Audience (15 June 1951)	1726
86. The East-West Trade Issue as Viewed by the West German People (21 June 1951)	1740
87. West Germans View the Socialist Reich Party: With a Preliminary Analysis of SRP Attitudes (29 June 1951)	1753
88. Current Thinking on West German Defense Participation: With Projected Reactions to a Possible Bonn Agreement (6 July 1951)	1797
89. Urban West German Reactions to the Kemnitz Case (13 July 1951)	1845
90. Attitudes behind the Iron Curtain: IV. Radio Listening in the East Zone (25 July 1951)	1867
91. West German Attitudes on Some Current Political Issues (6 August 1951)	1926
92. West German Reactions to the Korean Armistice Negotiations (20 August 1951)	1956
92B. A Note on West German Reactions to Ending the State of War (23 August 1951)	1993
93. West German Reactions to the Projected American-Spanish Military and Economic Pact (24 August 1951)	1999
94. The Views of West Germans on the Defense of West Europe (27 August 1951)	2014
95. Germans View the "Voice of America": I. The Extent and Characteristics of the VOA Audience in West Germany and West Berlin (28 August 1951)	2043

96.	How Do West German Youth React to American History? A Preliminary Study of Stuttgart Pupils' Appraisal of <u>An Outline of American History</u> (30 August 1951)	2069
97.	Germans View the "Voice of America": II. Some Technical Factors in VOA Listenership (31 August 1951)	2095
98.	Reactions of the Berlin Audience to the Train of Europe (13 September 1951)	2121
99.	West German Reactions to a "Preservation of Democracy" Clause in the Projected Contractual Agreement (21 September 1951)	2137
100.	Program Tastes of West German and West Berlin Radio Listeners: And Tabular Summary (27 September 1951)	2153
101.	Attitudes of East German Youth: I. Evaluations of the Berlin Youth Festival and Impressions of West Berlin (29 September 1951)	2210
102.	Attitudes of East German Youth: II. What Young Germans Would Like to Ask Mr. McCloy (29 September 1951)	2244
103.	The Current State of German-American Relations (12 October 1951)	2257

CONTINUING TRENDS IN AWARENESS AND PATRONAGE
OF THE AMERIKA KLUSER IN THE US ZONE

Classification cancelled
by authority of Leo P. Crespi
PUB RAS.

R E S T R I C T E D

ICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

R E S T R I C T E D

I N T R O D U C T I O N

Since early 1948, trends in awareness and patronage of the Amerika Haus (US Information Centers) in the US Zone have been regularly measured. Results of the latest survey done in January 1951, by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, HICOG, are reported here, together with the earlier trends. The sample used was a stratified random sample of 1,500 cases drawn from the US Zone, and represents a scientific cross-section of the population in that area. Interviewing was conducted by a trained German staff, and the analysis made in the Frankfurt headquarters of RAS.

In an appendix to this report readers will find a supplementary table based upon returns from a special study among 465 Frankfurt school children between the ages of 10 and 15 years which shows what proportions of this group have visited the Amerika Haus.

H I G H L I G H T S O F T H E R E P O R T

The US Information Centers in West Germany have played an increasingly important role in the American information program almost since the beginning of the occupation. Their numerical and physical growth has been matched by a steady and consistent rise in awareness and patronage among the residents of the US Zone, as measured by public opinion surveys. Three-fourths of the US Zone public now know of the Amerika Haus; with almost half the population awareness extends to specific knowledge of the facilities of the centers.

Necessarily, not as many people have visited an Amerika Haus or reading room as know of them. Limitations imposed by accessibility and capacity enter into any patronage figures. But in respect to patronage, the upward trend has also been marked. The present US Zone average of 11 per cent patronage represents a ten-fold increase over the findings obtained in February 1948 and means that roughly about 1,400,000 adults out of a US Zone adult population of around 13 million have visited one of the centers.

In cities where the centers are more easily accessible, patronage is not only considerably greater, but the rate of increase over the years has been greater than in the Zone as a whole.

Opinion leading elements have consistently visited the Amerika Haus out of proportion to their numbers in the population. But the centers also have considerable popular appeal in that they attract substantial proportions from groups generally characterized by inertness and inaccessibility as regards informational efforts.

- 2 -

R E S T R I C T E D

RESTRICTED

INCREASING GROWTH IN AWARENESS OF US INFORMATION CENTERS ...

Trend figures given below reveal a steady growth in the proportion of respondents stating that they are aware of the existence of Amerika Haus in West German cities. From May 1950 to January 1951, there has been a 12 point rise in the number of people in the US Zone who say that they know of the Information Centers maintained by the United States. Thus, today, three out of every four respondents know of the Amerika Haus, whereas in October 1948 only one in two indicated such awareness.

"Have you heard that in the large cities there is a so-called Amerika Haus, and in smaller cities an American Reading Room?"

	October 1948	May 1950	January 1951
US ZONE TOTAL			
Yes	49%	62%	74%
No	$\frac{51}{100\%}$	$\frac{38}{100\%}$	$\frac{26}{100\%}$

Among the three Länder of the US Zone, the latest figures compare as follows:

	Bavaria	Hesse	W. Baden
Yes	70%	30%	77%
No	$\frac{30}{100\%}$	$\frac{20}{100\%}$	$\frac{23}{100\%}$

* Some results obtained in July 1950 are omitted from this trend, because a special sample of youths versus adults was employed in the study. The findings, it may be seen, however, are entirely in line with the trend indications:

	Youth	Adults
Yes	73%	64%
No	$\frac{27}{100\%}$	$\frac{36}{100\%}$

See Report No. 42, Series No. 2, dated October 25, 1950, GERMANY YOUTH VIEW THE AMERICAN PROGRAM - IV, Awareness and Patronage of Amerika Haus Among Youth.

RESTRICTED

MAJORITIES IN ALL POPULATION GROUPS KNOW OF CENTERS ...

Group comparisons show widespread awareness of the Amerika Hauser in all segments of the population in the US Zone. Indeed, majorities in every group examined are found to know of the existence of the Information Centers. Residents of larger cities, the more educated, the financially better off, and men tend to be informed in greater numbers than their counterpart groups.

"Have you heard that in the large cities there is a so-called Amerika Haus, and in smaller cities an American Reading Room?"

	Yes	No
US ZONE TOTAL		
<u>Sex:</u>		
Men	83%	17% ... 100%
Women	66	34
<u>Education:</u>		
Elementary school	70%	30%
Middle school	99	1
Diploma and University*	100	-
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>		
Lower	64%	36%
Middle	84	16
Upper*	95	5
<u>Income (per month):</u>		
Under 99.99 DM	53%	47%
100 - 149.99 DM	63	37
150 - 199.99 DM	68	32
200 - 249.99 DM	77	23
250 - 299.99 DM	83	17
300 - 399.99 DM	86	14
400 DM and more	92	8
<u>Age:</u>		
Under 20 years	75%	25%
20 - 29 years	87	13
30 - 39 years	80	20
40 - 49 years	71	29
50 - 59 years	69	31
60 - 69 years	71	29
<u>City Size:</u>		
Under 4,999 population	64%	36%
5,000 - 9,999	82	18
10,000 - 99,999	86	14
100,000 - 249,999	94	6
250,000 and over	91	9
<u>Occupation:</u>		
Professional*	95%	5%
Business and Managerial	85	15
Clerical	94	6
Skilled workers	77	23
Semi-skilled workers	72	28
Farmers	53	47
None, retired, students	66	34

* Percentages should be interpreted with caution as the number of cases is small.

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

INCREASED KNOWLEDGE OF FACILITIES ...

Detailed knowledge of Amerika Haus offerings has also gained steadily over the past three years. This further check on awareness indicates that the public's ability to specify facilities of the centers has increased six points in the seven months since the previous survey.

"Do you know what the public is offered there?"

	February 1948	October 1948	May 1950	January 1951
US ZONE TOTAL				
Know offerings (specified below)	4%	22%	38%	44%
Do not know offerings	96	27	24	26
Know nothing about Amerika Haus		51	38	30
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Offerings named, listed in frequency of mention:

Library, newspapers	4%	17%	28%	37%
Lectures, discussions	1	9	21	24
Films, theater	*	3	14	17
Concerts, music	*	3	11	11
American literature	-	3	5	8
Language courses	*	2	5	8
Exhibits, art	-	*	3	6
Other	-	2	5	5
	5%**	39%**	92%**	116%**

● February 1948 returns do not appear in the previous trend table as the initial informational question "Have you heard of Amerika Haus?" - was not asked at the time. Instead the series of queries began with - "Do you happen to know what the public is offered in the Amerika Haus (Information Center) in (name of nearest town)?"

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Percents total more than the number of people who know offerings, because some name more than one.

R E S T R I C T E D

PATRONAGE SHOWS STEADY RISE ...

A steady upward trend in patronage of the US Information Centers has occurred during the past three years. At the latest point in the trend (January 1951), one in every 10 US Zone residents claims to have visited a center one or more times - a sharp contrast to the one in 100 figure obtained in February 1948, when the program was in its early stages. This means that roughly 1,400,000 adults can now be counted as Amerika Haus patrons as compared with about 930,000 last May, and only around 120,000 in early 1948.

This picture of steady increase is sharpened when patronage among urban residents is examined. Patronage rises considerably in cities, as is to be expected, since most centers are located in larger places. More noteworthy is the fact that the rate of increase among city dwellers has been appreciably higher than the zonal average.

Have visited an Amerika Haus:*

	February 1948	May 1950	January 1951
US Zone as a whole	1%	7%	11%
US Zone communities			
Under 5,000 population	*	4%	8%
5,000 - 9,999	1	9	10
10,000 - 99,999	2	12	24
100,000 - 249,999	6	17	31
250,000 and over	1	12	26

* The query used was: "Have you ever visited an Amerika Haus (or reading room)?" The question does not measure frequency of attendance. Total attendance figures would be larger because some people are frequent visitors.

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

OPINION LEADING ELEMENTS HEAVILY REPRESENTED ...

As was found in previous surveys, the opinion leading elements continue to be heavily represented in patronage of the Amerika Haus. For example, roughly six times as many of the university trained as of the grammar school educated, and about three times as many from the upper as from the lower socio-economic group say they have visited an Information Center.

	Visited Center	Did not Visit Center
US ZONE TOTAL		
<u>Sex:</u>		
Men	19%	81% ... 100%
Women	12	38
<u>Education:</u>		
Elementary school	9%	91%
Middle school	33	67
Diploma and University*	54	46
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>		
Lower	10%	90%
Middle	19	81
Upper*	35	65
<u>Income (per month):</u>		
Under 99.99 DM	8%	92%
100 - 149.99 DM	10	90
150 - 199.99 DM	10	90
200 - 249.99 DM	13	87
250 - 299.99 DM	14	86
300 - 399.99 DM	21	79
400 DM and more	30	70
<u>Age:</u>		
Under 20 years*	32%	68%
20 - 29 years	16	84
30 - 39 years	15	85
40 - 49 years	13	87
50 - 59 years	15	85
60 - 69 years	11	89
70 years and over*	15	85
<u>Occupation:</u>		
Professional*	44%	56%
Business and Managerial	19	81
Clerical	23	77
Skilled workers	12	88
Semi-skilled workers	10	90
Farmers	5	95
None, retired, students	14	86

* Percentages should be interpreted with caution as the number of cases is small.

THE CENTERS ALSO HAVE POPULAR APPEAL ...

The Amerika Haus are not, however, exclusive gathering places by any means. When the patronage figures are broken down into component groups, it is apparent that a considerable proportion of the visitors come from the lesser educated, lower income and socio-economic segments of the population. This does not contradict the preceding statement that the opinion leading elements are more likely to visit the centers. It simply reflects the facts that the "common people" bulk heaviest in the population, and many of them come to the centers. In other words, the Amerika Haus are also attracting many in those segments of the population that are generally considered more inert and difficult to reach. This is seen in the following table which gives the composition of Amerika Haus visitors by groups. Composition of the US Zone population is also shown to afford a basis of comparison.

	Proportions visiting Amerika Haus or a Reading Room	Proportions in Total Sample
US ZONE TOTAL		
<u>Sex:</u>		
Men	66%	48%
Women	34%	52%
	100%	100%
<u>Education:</u>		
Elementary school	43%	83%
Middle school	35	12
Diploma and University	22	5
	100%	100%
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>		
Lower	27%	51%
Middle	62	45
Upper	11	4
	100%	100%
<u>Income(per month):</u>		
Under 99.99 DM	8%	16%
100 - 149.99 DM	8	14
150 - 199.99 DM	8	14
200 - 249.99 DM	15	17
250 - 299.99 DM	13	13
300 - 399.99 DM	22	15
400 and more	26	11
	100%	100%
<u>Age:</u>		
Under 20 years	14%	7%
20 - 29 years	22	19
30 - 39 years	22	21
40 - 49 years	18	22
50 - 59 years	13	15
60 - 69 years	7	11
70 years and over	4	5
	100%	100%
<u>Occupation:</u>		
Professional	14%	4%
Business and Managerial	15	11
Clerical	23	13
Skilled workers	13	16
Semi-skilled workers	9	14
Farm	3	13
None, retired, students	14	16
Others	9	13
	100%	100%

APPENDIX

The following returns cannot be termed entirely representative for the population group discussed, as the sample in this particular case was not selected on a strictly random basis. However, they are not without interest. The sample of 465 Frankfurt school children between the ages of 10 and 15 was asked - in the course of a larger study - whether they had ever been to the Frankfurt Amerika Haus, situated on Taunus Anlage. Attendance figures are high in this group of youth, and analysis reveals that more boys than girls and more high school students than others have been to the center.

"Have you ever been to the Amerika Haus on Taunus Anlage?"

	Frankfurt Total	Boys	Girls	Elementary school students	Middle school students	High school stu- dents
Yes	29%	36%	23%	21%	25%	51%
No	$\frac{71}{100}$	$\frac{64}{100}$	$\frac{77}{100}$	$\frac{79}{100}$	$\frac{75}{100}$	$\frac{49}{100}$

INITIAL REACTIONS OF URBAN WEST GERMANS
TO THE RECALL OF GENERAL McARTHUR

Report No. 77
Series No. 2
April 24, 1951

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION ...

This report on the initial reactions of urban West Germans to the dismissal of General MacArthur is based on a "flash" survey made April 16-17, 1951. The urban quota sample consists of 640 cases drawn from cities of 50,000 and more population in the British, U.S., and French zones of West Germany, and is scientifically representative of the urban population in those areas.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT ...

- ... General MacArthur's dismissal and its initial repercussions on American opinion are widely known to the urban West German public. About seven in ten city residents know the General has been relieved of his command. The same proportions are aware that his dismissal has occasioned differences in opinion in the U.S.
- ... In regard to the wisdom of MacArthur's dismissal West Germans manifest mixed reactions - a third agree, a quarter disagree, and the remainder (43%) are undecided.
- ... Those who are in agreement with the decision tend largely to subscribe to the view that his actions in Korea could have led to a third World War. Defenders of the General argue that he is a capable, experienced officer and an expert on Far Eastern affairs.
- ... As to the possible significance of the MacArthur dismissal, preponderant opinion (38%) is that it heralds a more conciliatory policy toward the Communists. Only 14% believe it means the U.S. will take a firmer stand, and 37% think it will have no bearing on U.S. policy in this regard.
- ... But at the time this survey was made, which was prior to the General's return to the U.S. and his speech before the joint session of the Congress, only a quarter were of the opinion that the division in American opinion occasioned by his dismissal would develop to such an extent that it would force a change in the direction of U.S. foreign policy.
- ... A more conciliatory policy toward the Communists would find favor with only a fifth of the urban public.
- ... In this connection, only 17% are of the opinion that the Reds will be more receptive to the Western peace terms, now that MacArthur is no longer in command. Preponderant opinion (53%) is that it will have no influence one way or the other. 12% think that it will make the Communists less likely to accept the Western terms.
- ... The removal of MacArthur is seen as enhancing the cooperation of the West rather than the contrary. However, more than half of the respondents either believe that it will have no influence or express no opinion in the matter.

WIDESPREAD AWARENESS OF MACARTHUR'S DISMISSAL

That General MacArthur was recently relieved of his command is widely known among urban West Germans. At the time of the present survey three quarters were aware of the fact of his dismissal.

"As far as you know, has there been a change recently in the Supreme Command of the UN forces in Korea or not?"

WEST GERMANY US Zone British Zone

Yes, right (MacArthur's dismissal)	74%	77%	73%
Wrong answer, no change, or no opinion	26%	23%	27%
	100%	100%	100%

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN AWARENESS

As usually occurs in informational matters, the better educated, upper socio-economic levels, and the men are more likely than their counterparts to know that General MacArthur has been relieved of his command.

Supreme Command in Korea

Changed Not changed Number of Cases

Sex:			
Men	88%	12%	286
Women	64%	36%	354

Education:			
Elementary school	66%	34%	406
More than elementary school	90	10	234

Socio-economic Status:			
Lower class	86%	14%	126
Middle and upper class	86	14	126

Income (per month):			
0 - 149.99 IM	55%	45%	126
150 - 299.99 IM	73%	27%	126
300 IM and more	86%	14%	126

Age:			
Under 40 years	72%	28%	126
40 years and over	77%	23%	126

Party Preferences:			
SPD	74%	26%	126
CDU/CSU	80	20	112
FDP/LFP/DVP/BDP	96	4	71
Other parties	74	26	39
No parties	84	16	119
Don't know	84	16	97

Trade Union Membership:			
Yes, self	85%	15%	109
Yes, family member	81	19	100
Neither/nor	77	23	137

Religion:			
Catholics	71%	29%	272
Protestants	79	21	207

MIXED REACTIONS TO WISDOM OF DISMISSAL

Among those who expressed an opinion on the wisdom of dismissing the General - and four in ten West German city residents have not made up their minds - the preponderance is in agreement (54%). But a quarter disagree.

Those who were not aware of General MacArthur's dismissal were informed as follows:

"President Truman dismissed General MacArthur from his duties as Supreme Commander of the UN forces."

"In general, do you agree with the dismissal of General MacArthur or not?"

WEST GERMANY US Zone British Zone

Agree	34%	38%	32%
Disagree	24	24	25
No opinion	42	38	43
	100%	100%	100%

PROponents OF DISMISSAL ARGUE THAT MacARTHUR WOULD HAVE EXTENDED WAR ...

Those who agree with the General's dismissal appear for the most part to accept the view that his conduct of the Korean war would probably have led to an extension of the conflict.

"Do you agree with the dismissal of General MacArthur or not?"

If "Agree": "Why?"

WEST GERMANY US Zone British Zone

His actions could have started a world war - his dismissal decreases the danger of war: The arbitrary actions of the general could have involved the USA in a third World War - therefore it is better to do without such a person, even if he is a qualified military man; because President Truman said MacArthur endangered peace - that is my opinion too; his remaining in the position could have led to a new war; I believe that MacArthur would have liked to have started a war with Russia, therefore I agree to his dismissal; he would have attacked China and wanted an all-out war; so the Korean conflict won't spread further and a third World War prevented; he wanted to extend the war in Korea which meant a danger to the whole world; etc.

11% 12% 10%

He was too independent and arrogant: He wanted to do everything himself - he already imagined himself to be Emperor of Japan; MacArthur slowly developed into a dictator of the Far East; he is too overbearing and talked too much; he acted too independently; he was too arrogant - we hope that his successor will make no mistakes - in other words - do better; he acted too arbitrary - that could have become a danger for all of us; etc.

6 7 5

(cont'd on next page)

WEST US British
GERMANY Zone Zone

He was a political general: Military and political leaders have to cooperate, this was not the case with him; as a soldier he should keep out of politics; because this man in his arrogance wanted to play a politician too; he interfered with politics which an officer is not permitted to do; MacArthur should not have meddled in politics - if generals dabble in politics it usually results in war - perhaps with China in this case; a general must subordinate himself to the political leadership - MacArthur did not want this; etc.

5% 3% 6%

He was too aggressive and too radical: His policy was too radical and he desired war; he is a good general, but as a politician he is too radical; because I considered him too aggressive - the situation would be more favorable if they were more careful; because MacArthur pursues a policy of force which I don't consider right; because MacArthur is an irresponsible hothead; etc.

4 5 4

His dismissal increases possibility to negotiate a peaceful solution: This way we might achieve peace sooner and the Korean war will be ended; because diplomacy will have more influence than strategy; perhaps negotiations with Red China might be possible; if MacArthur quits Korea they will have peace over there soon; the dismissal was probably necessary so as not to pass up the psychological moment for peace negotiations - MacArthur was the victor and it is a well known fact that one can not negotiate with a victor; the prospects for peace have improved - MacArthur pursued a policy of war - nobody wants war and now perhaps they can negotiate with the Chinese; etc.

4 5 4

He is too old: He is too old in my opinion for such an important task in the Far East; he is too old; he is old already and should leave that task to younger men; etc.

1 1 1

Truman did the right thing: Truman probably had his reasons for this - it is very difficult to see through the whole matter; Truman probably did the right thing; etc.

1 1 1

Other opinions: Because, as my husband says, the English and Americans could never have agreed otherwise; in my opinion it is most important to stand united against Communism; it is said that he is like Hitler; because he is a conceited and incapable general - comparable with Goering - who lost almost every battle in the Second World War and could defeat Japan only by using the atom bomb; because he didn't drive the Communists out of Korea - somebody should be put there who'll beat the hell out of the whole Communist bunch; etc.

$\frac{4}{36\%}$ $\frac{5}{40\%}$ $\frac{3}{34\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Opponents of the motion against MacArthur argue mainly that he is a capable, experienced officer and an expert on Far Eastern affairs. Only a fraction (6%) argue that his dismissal signifies appeasement of the Communists.

"Do you agree with the dismissal of General MacArthur or not?"

If "Not agree": "Why?"

WEST GERMANY	US Zone	British Zone
-----------------	------------	-----------------

He is a capable general and soldier: I believe that he was a good soldier; after all, he is an experienced general - he knows what he wants - they should have listened to him; he has given proof of being a capable general; he has the same qualities as Rommel; he had great experience and success as a general - therefore it is incomprehensible that such an important man is dropped; I like MacArthur as a person - he has energy and ambition - such men are rare today; because this man acted entirely correctly - his strategic plans are the only ones that might prove successful; he at least knew what he wanted; etc.

9%	6%	9%
----	----	----

He is an expert on Asia and Communism: He knows the people in the Far East thoroughly; he has lived in the Far East for a long time and knows the mentality of the "Yellow Race" (orientals); experts who spend years in one country sometimes know more about it than the government; this man has spent such a long period in Korea and Japan that he is well informed about everything - if a new one will take over things might go wrong; his successor has to start from the beginning, while MacArthur knows all the dope; the General is without doubt an expert on the dangers of Communism and knows the best means to fight it; etc.

6	7	6
---	---	---

His dismissal aids the Communists: Nothing positive can be said about this - it is rather a victory for the Communists, because they regard MacArthur as enemy No. 1; because the Chinese Communists will make even greater demands now; because they are doing the Communists a favor; the General has given proof that he is the right man for this position - now he is sacrificed because they believe it will "buy" a compromise from the Communists; because a change in command is always a strategic disadvantage and an advantage to the enemy; MacArthur would have dealt the Russians a blow they could not have recovered from; because MacArthur was in high esteem with the troops and his dismissal could therefore have a harmful influence on the USA and on the successful continuation of the war; etc.

6	8	5
---	---	---

He only did his duty and served his country: The man really did the best for his country - apparently they have forgotten that in America; because MacArthur acted according to the directives of the government, therefore he should not be dismissed; he did his duty; they did not have any reason to dismiss him - he never did anything wrong - on the contrary he always did everything in his power; etc.

3	3	3
---	---	---

Other opinions: I am of the opinion that it is better to carry on the war in Korea than have it spread over here too; it happened so suddenly, besides nobody knows the reason for it; he acted too independently in his war against Russia, but it had to be this way because the Russians have to be defeated; he does not only represent the interests of the U.S. but also those of the UN as well - besides it is not necessary to increase Republican opposition;

$\frac{3}{20\%}$	$\frac{3}{27\%}$	$\frac{4}{20\%}$
------------------	------------------	------------------

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN AGREEMENT ...

Among all important population elements, agreement with General MacArthur's dismissal tends to bulk over disagreement. In no group, however, does such agreement reach majority status.

"In general, do you agree with the dismissal of General MacArthur or not?"

	Agree	Disagree	No opinion	Number of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>	42%	51%	27%	100%
Men	28	19	53	286
Women				354
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	30%	20%	50%	406
More than elementary school	41	32	27	234
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	30%	19%	52%	320
Middle and upper class	38	30	32	320
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149.99 IM	30%	14%	56%	126
150 - 299.99 IM	35	21	44	256
300 IM and more	35	32	33	257
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	35%	24%	41%	290
40 years and over	33	25	42	350
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	35%	26%	39%	201
CIU/CSU	38	28	34	112
FIP/LIP/DWP/BDW	41	37	22	71
Other parties	33	28	39	39
No parties	29	21	50	119
Don't know	28	11	61	97
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, self	38%	27%	35%	109
Yes, family member	26	17	57	100
Neither/nor	35	25	40	437
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	33%	23%	44%	272
Protestants	34	26	40	307

MANY FEEL DISMISSAL HERALDS MORE CONCILIATORY POLICY TOWARD COMMUNISM ...

Preponderant opinion (38%) is that MacArthur's dismissal indicates that the U.S. will be more conciliatory toward the Communist powers. Only a fraction (14%) believes the U.S. will now take a firmer stand toward the Reds, and a quarter (27%) feel American policy will not change with MacArthur relieved of his command.

"In your opinion, does the dismissal of General MacArthur mean that America will follow a firmer or a more conciliatory policy toward the Communist powers, or will it have no influence on American policy?"

	WEST GERMANY	US Zone	British Zone
Firmer policy	14%	12%	15%
More conciliatory policy	38	43	35
No influence	27	25	28
No opinion	21	20	22
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

A more conciliatory policy toward the Communists would satisfy only a minority (19%) of West Germans. Half of those who regard MacArthur's removal as indication of conciliation disagree with it, and half agree. Almost all of those who think his dismissal presages a firmer policy are in agreement.

"In general, do you agree with that or not?" (Asked of those who answered "Firmer policy" to previous question)

	WEST GERMANY	US Zone	British Zone
Agree	12%	10%	13%
Disagree	1	*	1
No opinion	1	2	1
	<u>14%</u>	<u>12%</u>	<u>15%</u>

"In general, do you agree with that or not?" (Asked of those who answered "More conciliatory" to original question)

	WEST GERMANY	US Zone	British Zone
Agree	19%	19%	19%
Disagree	16	20	13
No opinion	3	4	3
	<u>38%</u>	<u>43%</u>	<u>35%</u>

* Less than one half of one per cent.

The idea that MacArthur's dismissal presages a more conciliatory policy toward Communists is relatively most widespread among opinion leading elements of the urban West German population.

"In your opinion, does the dismissal of General MacArthur mean that America will follow a firmer or a more conciliatory policy toward the Communist powers, or will it have no influence on American policy?"

	Firmer policy	More conciliatory	No influence	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	14%	47%	30%	9% ... 100%	286
Women	14	31	24	31	354
Education:					
Elementary school	16%	31%	27%	27%	406
More than elementary school	12	50	26	12	234
Socio-economic Status:					
Lower class	13%	31%	28%	28%	320
Middle and upper class	15	45	26	14	320
Income (per month):					
0 - 149,99 DM	10%	30%	28%	32%	126
150 - 299,99 DM	13	37	29	31	256
300 DM and more	17	43	24	16	257
Age:					
Under 40 years	15%	39%	25%	20%	290
40 years and over	13	38	27	22	350
Party Preference:					
SPD	17%	33%	28%	22%	201
CDU/CSU	12	45	25	18	112
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	16	59	21	4	71
Other parties	16	33	23	28	39
No parties	11	31	34	24	119
Don't know	12	35	24	29	97
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, self	17%	42%	30%	11%	109
Yes, family member	13	28	29	30	100
Neither/nor	14	39	26	21	457
Religion:					
Catholics	13%	36%	30%	21%	272
Protestants	15	40	24	21	307

EFFECT ON AMERICAN OPINION WIDELY ACKNOWLEDGED ...

That the General's dismissal has occasioned party strife in the U.S. is well known to the urban public - seven in ten say it has resulted in differences of opinion among the American people.

"As far as you know, was the dismissal of General MacArthur generally welcomed in America, or did it occasion differences of opinion?"

	WEST GERMANY	US Zone	British Zone
Welcomed	7%	10%	6%
Differences in opinion	70	73	69
No opinion	23	17	25
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

... The better informed segments are of course much more frequently aware than are their counterparts that American opinion differs regarding the General's dismissal.

	Welcomed	Differences of opinion	No opinion	Number of cases:
Sex:				
Men	5%	85%	10% ... 100%	286
Women	9	59	32	354
Education:				
Elementary school	7%	61%	32%	406
More than elementary school	5	88	7	234
Socio-economic Status:				
Lower class	7%	59%	34%	320
Middle and upper class	7	82	11	320
Income (per month):				
0 - 149,99 DM	6%	50%	44%	126
150 - 299,99 DM	7	69	24	256
300 DM and more	7	82	11	267
Age:				
Under 40 years	7%	70%	23%	290
40 years and over	7	71	22	350
Party Preferences:				
SPD	9%	71%	20%	201
CDU/CSU	2	79	19	112
FDP/LDP/DVP/EDV	4	88	8	71
Other parties	7	67	26	39
No parties	6	66	28	119
Don't know	10	57	33	97
Trade Union Membership:				
Yes, self	5%	80%	15%	109
Yes, family member	7	55	38	100
Neither/nor	7	72	21	437
Religion:				
Catholics	7%	65%	26%	372
Protestants	7	72	21	207

A MINORITY SEES DISMISSAL PROMPTING CHANGES IN FOREIGN POLICY ...

But that the differences in American opinion on the MacArthur issue would in themselves compel a change in U.S. foreign policy is as yet the view of only a quarter of urban West Germans.

"Do you think that these differences of opinion in America could grow strong enough to lead to a change in American foreign policy, or do you think this would not bring about such a change?"
(Asked of those who answered "Differences of opinion" to previous question)

	WEST GERMANY	US Zone	British Zone
Change in foreign policy	25%	27%	25%
No change	30	31	30
No opinion	15	15	14
	70%	73%	69%

Opinion leading elements are more inclined than their opposites to believe that the differences in U.S. opinion resulting from MacArthur's dismissal will induce changes in American foreign policy. In no instance, however, does this sentiment preponderate over the view that no change in policy is to be expected.

	Change in foreign policy	No change	No opinion	Not asked question	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	33%	40%	12%	15% ... 100%	286
Woman	19	23	17	41	354
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	20%	25%	16%	39%	406
More than elementary school	34	40	14	12	234
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	20%	24%	15%	41%	320
Middle and upper class	31	36	15	18	320
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 149.99 DM	13%	21%	16%	50%	126
150 - 299.99 DM	24	31	14	31	256
300 DM and more	32	35	15	18	257
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	24%	29%	17%	30%	290
40 years and over	26	32	13	29	350
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	27%	30%	14%	29%	201
CDU/CSU	28	38	13	21	112
FDP/LRP/DVP/BDP	36	38	14	12	71
Other parties	23	31	13	33	39
No parties	21	29	16	34	119
Don't know	16	20	21	43	97
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, self	27%	39%	14%	20%	109
Yes, family member	17	24	14	45	100
Neither/nor	26	31	15	28	457
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	25	29	14	32	272
Protestants	26	33	14	26	307

WESTERN UNITY MORE AIDED THAN HARMED BY DISMISSAL ...

Three times as many urban West Germans hold that MacArthur's dismissal will improve cooperative relations among the Western powers as maintain the contrary. More than half the respondents, however, either see no influence or express no opinion in the matter.

"Will the dismissal of General MacArthur improve, harm, or not influence cooperation among the Western powers?"

If "Improve" or "Harm": "Very much or only a little?"

	WEST GERMANY	US Zone	British Zone
Improve very much	11%	13%	10%
Improve only a little	23	24	22
Harm very much	3	4	3
Harm only a little	8	8	9
No influence	27	24	28
No opinion	28	28	28
	100%	100%	100%

OPINION LEADERS SEE IMPROVED COOPERATION ...

Urban opinion leaders tend preponderantly to feel that with MacArthur out of the picture Western cooperation will be improved.

	Improve very much or little	Harm very much or little	No influence	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	43%	15%	28%	14%	286
Women	26	9	26	39	354
Education:					
Elementary school	27%	11%	28%	34%	406
More than elementary school	45	12	24	19	234
Socio-economic Status:					
Lower class	26%	13%	27%	35%	330
Middle and upper class	41	12	26	21	330
Income (per month):					
0 - 149,99 DM	23%	10%	33%	36%	126
150 - 299,99 DM	32	12	27	29	256
300 DM and more	41	13	24	22	257
Age:					
Under 40 years	34%	10%	28%	28%	290
40 years and over	33	13	26	28	350
Party Preference:					
SPD	34%	12%	27%	27%	301
CDU/CSU	43	11	32	14	102
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDP	41	11	35	13	71
Other parties	31	18	20	31	39
No parties	24	13	22	41	119
Don't know	30	8	21	41	98
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, self	38%	14%	28%	20%	109
Yes, family member	29	11	25	35	100
Neither/ner	33	12	27	28	437
Religion:					
Catholics	33%	12%	27%	29%	272
Protestants	34	12	27	27	307

Preponderant opinion is that MacArthur's dismissal will not induce the Communists to accept Western peace terms. About half (53%) say it will have no influence, and 12% believe it will make the Reds less inclined to discuss peace. Only 17% are of the opinion that it will make the Communists more inclined to a peaceful settlement of the conflict on Western terms.

"Are you of the opinion that because of MacArthur's dismissal the Communist powers will be more inclined or less inclined to agree to the Western peace terms, or do you think that the dismissal will have no influence on the attitude of the Communist powers?"

	WEST GERMANY	US Zone	British Zone
More inclined	17%	19%	16%
Less inclined	12	14	11
No influence	53	48	55
No opinion	18	19	18
	100%	100%	100%

OPINION LEADERS EXPECT LITTLE INFLUENCE ON COMMUNIST POWERS ...

The better informed segments of the population say more frequently than other groups that the removal of MacArthur will not have any influence on the readiness of the Communists to discuss a peaceful settlement.

	More inclined	Less inclined	No influence	No opinion	Number of cases:
Sex:					
Men	18%	9%	61%	12% ... 100%	286
Women	17	10	45	28	354
Education:					
Elementary school	18%	9%	50%	23%	406
More than elementary school	17	15	59	9	234
Socio-economic Status:					
Lower class	17%	8%	50%	25%	320
Middle and upper class	17	15	57	11	320
Income (per month):					
0 - 149,99 DM	23%	5%	46%	26%	126
150 - 299,99 DM	16	11	55	18	256
300 DM and more	15	16	55	14	257
Age:					
Under 40 years	16	12	54	18	290
40 years and over	18	11	53	18	350
Party Preference:					
SPD	18%	10%	55%	17%	201
CDU/CSU	18	15	57	10	112
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	17	15	60	8	71
Other parties	20	13	51	16	39
No parties	16	9	53	23	119
Don't know	16	8	43	33	98
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, self	15%	11%	56%	18%	109
Yes, family member	18	10	43	29	100
Neither/nor	17	12	55	16	437
Religion:					
Catholics	19%	9%	51%	21%	272
Protestants	15	14	57	14	207

US ZONE GERMAN VIEW THE KEELS RESIDENT OFFICERS

Classification changed to
 Report No. 78
 Serial No. 2
 by authority of P. Cress
 1951
 OFFICIAL USE ONLY
 PUB/RAS.

CONFIDENTIAL

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
 OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
 REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION ...

This report on public awareness and appraisal of the Kreis Resident Officers is based on a survey made in the US Zone of Germany during the latter part of January and the first part of February, 1951, by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, HICOG. The sample used was a stratified, probability sample of 1500 cases representing a scientific cross-section of the US Zone population, ages 15 years and over. The interviewing was conducted by trained German interviewers; the analysis of results was made in the Frankfurt headquarters of RAS.

GENERAL INDICATIONS

I. EXTENT OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE RESIDENT OFFICERS ...

- A. A majority (61%) of US Zone Germans prove to be ignorant of the existence of the Resident Officers, even when judged by the most liberal criterion of awareness. Of those counted as "aware," about three in ten (27%) claim to have heard of the KRO's only after they have been informed that the High Commission does in fact maintain such officers; only about one in ten (12%) is able, when told the name of the local Resident Officer, to supply some sort of correct designation of his office.

... Such a situation is not a matter of great concern of course if the functions of the KRO's are conceived of as "behind the scenes," or as indirect operations via key German functionaries. But if service, in a sense, to the German people is regarded as a function of the Resident Officers, or if the Resident Officers are considered to be the major point of rank and file "grass roots" contact, then the fact that the majority of their target group is entirely unaware of their existence would not seem to contribute to the effectiveness of the KRO mission.

- B. The predominant conception the public holds of the KRO's function - even among those most aware of their existence - is that it is one of control.

... This state of affairs poses something of a problem since such conceptions would not appear to help the American occupation represent its purpose as advice and assistance to the German people rather than control. This matter could become even more troublesome should the conception of control as a KRO function persist into the approaching contractual phase of American-German relations.

II. EVALUATION OF RESIDENT OFFICERS ...

- A. Among the people who can offer an evaluation of the work of the Resident Officers, approval strongly preponderates over disapproval. It should be kept in mind, however, that on the various queries calling for evaluative judgments, only a quarter of the public on the average is prepared to give opinions; two in ten are not ready to do so, and the remaining six in ten could not be asked for their evaluation since, as already noted, they do not know of the existence of the KRO's.

... More specifically, the dominant views of those with opinions are that the Resident Officers perform a useful function, have favorably impressed the German public, and show understanding of the German people.

- a -

CONFIDENTIAL

12122511200

- B. On the other hand, these favorable attitudes toward the work of the Resident Officers are among many respondents coupled with the beliefs that they do not have much influence in the community and that few if any Germans seek them out for advice or assistance.
- C. The fact that the people prepared to evaluate the KRO's are so generally favorable suggests that it would be advantageous for the Resident Officer Program if more of the German public were made aware of their activities.

III. GROUP DIFFERENCES IN KNOWLEDGE AND EVALUATION ...

- A. More likely than others to know of the existence of the Resident Officers are the groups which customarily are better informed - the better educated, the upper social and income groups, and the men.
- B. In all other respects, however, few intra-group differences are apparent. Contrary to the usual situation, the opinion leading elements frequently fail to express opinions about the work of the Resident Officers. When they do offer evaluative judgments, they do not on the whole differ markedly from other population groups.
- C. From this it would appear that though the impact of the Resident Officers on the population as a whole is limited, it is not confined particularly to any one group.

I. KNOWLEDGE OF THE RESIDENT OFFICERS

MAJORITY UNINFORMED ...

Even when judged by the most liberal criterion of awareness, the majority of US Zone Germans prove to be completely uninformed about the existence of Kreis Resident Officers.

A third of the public claim to have heard of their local Resident Officer when given his name with the indication that he is the local representative of the U.S. High Commission, but only 12 per cent of the population could pass the simple test of giving some sort of correct designation of his office.*

"Do you happen to have heard of the representative of the U.S. High Commission for your (Stadt)(city) (Kreis)(county), Mr.?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	US ZONE
Yes	35%	29%	37%	34%
No	$\frac{65}{100\%}$	$\frac{71}{100\%}$	$\frac{63}{100\%}$	$\frac{66}{100\%}$

"And could you please tell me the exact title of his position?"
(Asked of those who replied "Yes" to the above question)

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	US Zone
Resident Officer	7%	9%	11%	8%
Other acceptable designations	5	2	3	4
Incorrect designations	2	1	2	2
Don't know	$\frac{21}{35\%}$	$\frac{17}{29\%}$	$\frac{21}{37\%}$	$\frac{20}{34\%}$

The 12 per cent proved awareness is supplemented by an additional 27 per cent claimed awareness in the following question that was put to those respondents who could not supply a correct designation of the office of the KRO when his name was presented to them.

"The U.S. High Commission has appointed a so-called Kreis Resident Officer for your (city) (county); he is also frequently referred to as in this vicinity.**

"Have you ever heard of him?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	US ZONE
Yes	31%	19%	23%	27%
No	$\frac{69}{88\%}$	$\frac{81}{89\%}$	$\frac{77}{86\%}$	$\frac{73}{88\%}$

So if claims to awareness of the existence of KRO's are taken at their face value, total awareness would appear to add up to 39 per cent of the US Zone population (12% plus 27%). But that this total figure is definitely inflated is abundantly demonstrated in the following pages where it will be seen that (1) no more than one in ten has ever seen a KRO and (2) only approximately a quarter can make a statement - even an incorrect one - about the KRO's functions and (3) no more than a quarter can volunteer any judgments about the quality of his work.

* Such designations other than Resident Officer were considered acceptable: e.g. Kreis or Stadt Kommissar, Kreis or Stadt Governor, etc.

** Interviewers were instructed in asking this question to supply the locally known German designations for Resident Officers.

CONFIDENTIAL

FEW CONTACTS WITH THE RESIDENT OFFICERS ...

Most of the US Zone residents who claim to know of the Krois Resident Officers have not had any personal contacts whatever with them.

"Have you ever seen the Krois Resident Officer?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	US ZONE
Yes, once	5%	5%	9%	5%
Yes, several times	4	2	7	4
No	36	27	19	29
Unaware	<u>55</u>	<u>66</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>61</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Have you ever had an opportunity to talk to him?" (Asked of those who answered "Yes, once" and "Yes, several times" to previous question)

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	US ZONE
Yes	2%	2%	3%	2%
No	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>8</u>
	9%	7%	16%	10%

Most of the people who have seen a Resident Officer have seen him at public gatherings, or only in passing.

US ZONE

At the forum: At the forum; in a public meeting; etc.

5%

At other events: As a referee in a foot-ball match; at General Huebner's farewell; at a movie lecture in Koenigsbrunn; at the close of a sewing course at the Volkshochschule; when he visited an enterprise; etc.

3

By chance: At the station; at the finance office, when I happened to be there; in the street; by chance, saw him in the castle; etc.

1

In his office: I had a personal request; etc.

1
10%

* In the same survey, it was established that 15 per cent of the US Zone population have attended local forums.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

FEW AWARE OF KRO'S SOCIAL CONTACTS WITH GERMANS ...

Since the effectiveness of the Resident Officers depends in part on his social contacts with the public, it is noteworthy that relatively few know whether or not their KRO meets German people socially. Among those who have opinions, as many say his social contacts are infrequent as say they are frequent.

"As far as you know, does the Resident Officer of your county (Kreis) frequently, seldom or almost never meet Germans socially outside his office hours?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	US ZONE
Frequently	7%	4%	7%	6%
Seldom	6	4	4	5
Almost never	1	1	-	1
Don't know	31	25	29	29
Unaware of KRO's	<u>55</u> 100%	<u>66</u> 100%	<u>60</u> 100%	<u>59</u> 100%

OR OF KRO'S MARITAL STATUS ...

Also indicative of the lack of specific knowledge about the Resident Officers is the fact that very few know their marital status. are prepared to say whether or not the wives of KRO's take part in German community life.

"Do you happen to know whether the Kreis Resident Officer is married?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	US ZONE
Correct, married	4%	4%	7%	4%
Correct, not married	*	-	1	*
Incorrect	2	*	1	1
Don't know	39	30	31	36
Unaware of KRO's	<u>55</u> 100%	<u>66</u> 100%	<u>60</u> 100%	<u>59</u> 100%

"As far as you know, does his wife participate in any way in the public life of your (city) (community) or does she not participate?" (Asked of those who answered "Correct, married" to previous question)

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	US ZONE
Participates	2%	2%	3%	2%
Does not participate	-	-	1	*
No opinion	<u>2</u> 4%	<u>2</u> 4%	<u>4</u> 7%	<u>2</u> 4%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

FUNCTION SEEN AS ONE OF CONTROL ...

The preponderance among US Zone residents who claim to be aware of the existence of Kreis Resident Officers are under the impression that the function of the KRO's is to control and supervise the management of affairs in their communities. Even among the respondents who proved their awareness of KRO's (by correctly specifying his office when provided with his name) the emphasis is on control rather than liaison.

US ZONE

All claiming awareness	Knew name and title
------------------------	---------------------

EMPHASIS ON CONTROL AS KRO FUNCTIONControls the German authorities (general supervision):

He gives orders to the authorities about what they are allowed to do; all the work pertaining to politics and general education has to go through him; he has to supervise the leading people of the town administration; he has to approve of the larger orders planned by the community; he is a custodian of the administration of his town and Kreis; he sees to it that the laws passed by the occupation powers are not violated; he applies decisions made in the Potsdam agreement; he checks rulings of German authorities; he watches over the political behavior of the Germans; etc.

13%

5%

Maintains security and order: Provides for order and security; establishes order; he commands the police; he maintains order in the town; provides for peace and order; etc.

4

1

Supervises Americans: Administration of the American authorities; keeps an eye on his Americans; he has to give orders to the military personnel; prevents the soldiers from excesses; he tells the troops what their duties are; he is set up mainly for the army; etc.

3

1

Total

20%

7%

EMPHASIS ON LIAISON AS KRO FUNCTIONMaintains contacts between Germans and Americans.Further cooperation, supports the German authorities:

He is supposed to act as a mediator between Germans and Americans; is supposed to maintain contact between Germans and Americans; he has to negotiate with the German authorities; close cooperation with the town administration; advisor and supporter of the German authorities and the problems they have to solve; he has to demonstrate how matters are handled in the U.S.; to clear up disagreements between Germans and Americans; he tries to combine the interests of his government with our interests; they are to intervene when German authorities don't come to them; etc.

7

3

He helps settle local problems: Deals with all problems that occur; he has to concern himself with everything, only recently he was here because of the railroad fare increase; he is supposed to help the population in every way; he cares for the people as the Landrat does; etc.

Total

4
11%1
4%INDEFINITE

He is supposed to administer in the American manner; he is supposed to take care of us; he is going to Americanize us; he is here to vex us Germans; issues passports; etc.

3

2

DON'T KNOW12
46%2
18%

* Percentage adds to more than 80% of the total or 13% of those who knew the name and title, because some respondents gave more than one answer.

II. EVALUATION OF THE RESIDENT OFFICERS

USEFULNESS OF RESIDENT OFFICERS' FUNCTIONS ...

That the Resident Officers perform a useful function is the predominant view (21%) of those who claim to know about them, but almost as many (17%) have not made up their minds.

"According to everything you have heard, is the general opinion of the people that the function of the Kreis Resident Officer is useful to the Germans or is his work not of very much use?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	US ZONE
Useful	23%	16%	23%	21%
Not of use	4	3	1	3
No opinion	18	15	17	17
Unaware of KRO's	<u>55</u>	<u>66</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>59</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

The aid given to the German people is the reason most frequently advanced by those who believe the Resident Officers perform a useful function. Less frequently mentioned arguments are their alleged functions of control.

US ZONE

He assists the German people in many respects: He cares for whatever we need, we ourselves don't have anything; through his visits to people in the country he can get more information and thus help the people more; return of requisitioned buildings and furniture; he was helpful during the time of misery; the way he treats Germans who are fugitives from the Eastern Zone; the way he talks at the forum; he puts the people's mind at ease; with regard to youth education; he acts as a mediator in difficult cases; in case of tensions between Germans he often can be the mediator; he has done much in the reconstruction of the city; etc.

9%

He furthurs cooperation and understanding between Americans and Germans: There is a certain contact between the population and the occupation powers; because he tells us about America and we get to know about conditions there; up to now he was always able to settle disagreements between the occupation and the population; etc.

3

He supervises the German authorities: He supervises the German authorities in order to prevent corruption and disagreements which would have a bad effect on the population; he made a good impression at the forum and contradicted the Landrat whenever he was wrong; controlling the German authorities which is very important; etc.

2

He provides for order and security: There is order and peace in the Kreis; there at least is somebody who is respected like nobody else; everything is running smoothly, otherwise we would have torn each other to pieces long ago; etc.

2

Other opinions: We prefer the Americans to the Russians; he has something to do with the Marshall Plan and provides for investments; I think he has done well; etc.

1

No opinion:

5
22%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

The very few who deny the usefulness of the Resident Officers bring up a variety of arguments to support their views. The comments are simply listed below, rather than categorized because relatively few cases were involved.

"What, in your opinion, are the reasons that his (KBO) functions are not of much use?"

- "He is not familiar enough with conditions in Germany."
- "He is only interested in American affairs and works in the interest of the Americans."
- "He does not intercede in favor of the 'little man'."
- "We all would prefer to be independent."
- "Because we don't get helped anyway."
- "He is too reserved - he keeps in the background too much."
- "His function could be taken over by a German, this way occupation costs would be reduced."
- "Because he has not so many opportunities."
- "Formerly one had to have his permission for almost every transaction; this doesn't seem to be the case anymore; the Landratsamt decides about everything."
- "In the past we got along without such an officer and we still can do without him."
- "He does not care for us Germans."
- "Our own culture and civilization is much older than the culture of the U.S. and we would be much better off if we were left alone."
- "Because we are in such a bad economic situation that he can't help us."
- "Because we Germans would like to do a lot of things ourselves."
- "We are really not helped anywhere, for instance concerning the taxes."
- "He is only there to cost us money; this is an additional tax burden."
- "The occupation is absolutely unnecessary for us anyway - through centuries we have proved that we can rule ourselves."
- "Because no American will take a special interest in improving our conditions."
- "Because they don't get us fuel."
- "He won't care for us but only for his soldiers."
- "His powers are pretty limited."
- "He doesn't speak our language and does not know about our worries, and in addition to that the Resident Officers change too often."
- "Because the population is convinced that they just want to Americanize us and that isn't good."
- "In spite of his own good will he has no influence on the superior authorities."
- "We are of the opinion that he is not absolutely indispensable, people deal too little with him and don't know about his efforts, the German authorities can run their own administration."

IMPRESSON KRO'S MAKE ON PUBLIC ...

01563

The public is favorably impressed by the Resident Officers, according to most of the respondents who feel able to render an opinion on the matter. But again, "no opinion" is large.

"According to everything you have heard, has the population on the whole a favorable or not so favorable impression of the Kreis Officer of your (city) (county)?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	US ZONE
Favorable	22%	14%	21%	20%
Not so favorable	2	*	1	1
Indifferent	3	5	2	3
No opinion	18	15	16	17
Unaware of KRO's	55	66	60	59
	100%	100%	100%	100%

As a follow-up to the preceding question, respondents were asked to mention both what they had heard people liked about the Resident Officers, and what they did not like.

The friendliness and helpful understanding shown by the KRO's are the characteristics most appreciated by the US Zone public, according to the respondents who feel able to report the public's views.

"From what you have heard, what does the population like about the Resident Officer?"

US ZONE

He is friendly and willing to help - understands the woes and worries of the population: He is a good man, everyone can talk to him; he is very friendly and takes an interest in the personal troubles of every single one; in his way he is objective and treats all Germans equally; he mixes with the people and is interested in their problems; he is very affable and helpful; he is very obliging; he is popular and keeps in contact with the population; etc.

10%

He contributes to the security of the population: In a sense he protects us from possible dangers; he contributes to establishing order and security; etc.

1

He promotes cooperation between German and American authorities: Good cooperation with the German authorities; he acts as a mediator between German and American authorities; etc.

1

He is human and natural: He acts naturally, he is human; social and human attitude; his quiet way as a person; etc.

1

His personal integrity: He is incorruptible; his frank and honest character; etc.

3

He leaves the population in peace, doesn't bother anyone: That in general he leaves them in peace; that he stays in the background; because he never bothers anybody; etc.

*

Other opinions: He speaks German; nothing - nobody appreciates anything about an enemy; can't name any details; people don't know enough about him; etc.

1

No opinion:

25

Unaware of KRO's:

59
101%*

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

Even fewer people (5%) feel in a position to report what the people do not like about the KRO, if anything. Replies of this group are too few for cataloguing, but as the examples listed below indicate, the Resident Officers are sometimes blamed for situations quite beyond their control. Some of the comments are as follows:

- "He permits so many apartments to be requisitioned, even when they are not used."
- "They don't return the ... stadium to the Germans."
- "Indifference to the Germans in regard to requisitioned German property."
- "He didn't stop those assaults last year."
- "His family lives on the taxes we have to pay."
- "People are of the impression that he's to blame for the hunting laws."
- "He pays too little attention to the way American soldiers treat the public."
- "He is somewhat young."
- "He doesn't concern himself enough with the public."
- "People believe his job is unnecessary since the Landrat is here."

KRO'S UNDERSTANDING OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE ...

The dominant opinion of those who feel able to make a judgment is that the KRO understands the German people.

"In your opinion, has the population of your (city) (county) the impression in general that the Kreis Resident Officer shows understanding toward the Germans or does he lack this understanding?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	US ZONE
Understanding	27%	19%	24%	24%
Lacks understanding	1	1	1	1
No opinion	17	14	15	16
Unaware of KRO's	<u>55</u> 100%	<u>66</u> 100%	<u>60</u> 100%	<u>59</u> 100%

Since only one person in 100 claims that the KRO's lack understanding of the Germans, comments do not lend themselves to categorizing. Their tenor is that KRO's are not interested, as indicated in the following examples:

- "If he were understanding, there wouldn't be so much misery."
- "People are of the opinion that the Americans are not in fact much interested in the German problem - they are on their high horses."
- "He has never shown himself around here and doesn't care for our affairs."
- "He doesn't know the German people, the only one he meets is the Buergermeister, but that certainly is his only contact with the Germans."

Helpfulness, approachability and friendliness are mentioned as evidence of the understanding which the KRO's have for the German people.

"In what way does that show itself?" (Asked of those who answered "Understanding" to previous question)

US ZONE

He is helpful and approachable: He is interested in everything that is brought to his attention and helps where he can; he receives simple people too and gives them advice; anyone can see him; he has done a lot of good, particularly about housing; because he keeps an eye on our officials, things would be worse yet if he weren't here; he is very interested and aids youth; etc.

10 1/2

He is friendly (general): His friendliness; his obliging way in dealing with the Germans; he doesn't play any tricks on us; he doesn't make us feel all the time that we have lost the war; from all I hear he seems to be very tactful; when he goes out to hunt he gives away a lot of what he has shot; he is very kind; etc.

5

He participates in all German events: He participates in the events of the tiniest community; he attended several festivities and lectures; he frequently takes part in German affairs; etc.

2

He attends the forum and answers all questions: The governor goes to the forum and answers people's questions or advises them when necessary; when he explained the sense of a forum to us, everyone applauded; he answers every single question brought up at the forum and does the same at the Stammtisch (local round-table); etc.

1

He gets along well with the German authorities: His good cooperation with German authorities; he is on good terms with the Landrat and does not oppress us; etc.

1

Other opinions: Being in the position he is in he must have understanding; people like the fact that he can speak German well; etc.

2

No opinion:

3
24 1/2

INFLUENCE OF RESIDENT OFFICERS ...

Somewhat more US Zone respondents believe that Resident Officers exert considerable local influence than take a contrary view. Again, however, "no opinion" is large.

"In your opinion, does the Kreis Resident Officer have much influence, not so much influence, little influence, or hardly any influence in your (city) (county)?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	US ZONE
Much influence	17%	7%	14%	14%
Not so much influence	7	5	5	6
Little influence	3	1	1	2
Hardly any influence	1	1	1	1
No opinion / Don't know	17	20	19	18
Unaware of KRO's	55	66	60	59
	100%	100%	100%	100%

The people who stated that the Resident Officers exert little or no influence were further asked why they thought this was the case. The most frequent comment was that the KRO could not have much influence because he was seldom seen or heard from. For example, they say:

- "There is no contact between Americans and Germans."
- "People have a completely indifferent attitude toward him because only very few people know him."
- "I only know we never hear of him at all."

Other comments run along these lines:

- "We have our own administration, so he can hardly exercise any influence."
- "He can't interfere - his function is merely that of a supervisor and advisor."
- "People here are very skeptical of anything American."
- "Little by little the administration has been taken over by Germans."
- "He has to act according to the orders of the High Commission and not according to his own free will."

HOW MANY SEEK ADVICE FROM KRO'S? ...

Persons prepared to estimate the number of people who seek advice and aid from the Resident Officers divide between saying "many" and "few or hardly any," go to them for this purpose. Again, almost as large a group is unable to make an estimate.

"Do you have the impression that many, few, or hardly any people go to the Kreis Resident Officer for advice and help?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	US ZONE
Many	12%	5%	9%	10%
Few	10	8	7	9
Hardly any	5	4	3	4
No opinion / Don't know	18	17	21	18
Unaware of KRO's	55	66	60	59
	100%	100%	100%	100%

CONFIDENTIAL

... A variety of reasons are adduced by the group which feels that few or scarcely any people seek advice from KEO's. They say: he is not known, it is useless to do so as nothing comes of it, people prefer to go to German authorities, people are afraid to go to him, and so on.

"Why, do you think, don't more people go to the Resident Officer for advice and help?" (Asked of those who answered "Few" or "Hardly any" to previous question)

US ZONE

The "reis Resident Officer is not well known enough - people are not informed: Because he is not known enough; I didn't even know that I could ask for help and advice there; only very few people know about this possibility, most of the people here are stupid; etc.

4%

People prefer to go to a German authority: The people just go to the Buergermeister and tell him their problems; because everybody prefers to turn to Germans, nobody wants to have anything to do with the Amis; because the chaotic conditions have improved and our own help is better; as long as it is possible to get advice from a German authority, people will always prefer that because it is always easier to talk to a German - only in an emergency case they will consult the Americans; because the gulf between Americans and Germans is still too great (because of the war); etc.

3

It is useless - people are sent home: They will be told to go to German authorities, - "we don't have anything to do with it anymore"; nothing will come of it, it should be the other way around, the Resident Officer should go to see the people; that wouldn't do any good because they will be sent to a German authority; without good connections nobody will be received - at least an ordinary human being won't; because they are not competent to deal with Germans; etc.

3

People don't dare, they are afraid: People don't have the courage, they don't know how they will be received; because from former times people are still too shy in dealing with high authority; because they don't dare, they lack the courage, they believe they won't be received at all; they will only go there if they have to; etc.

2

Other opinions: We don't need so much advice; because only a few wish to get a passport; because they are all content with their present situation; etc.

2

No opinion / No answer:

1
15%

* Some people gave more than one answer.

III. GROUP DIFFERENCES

Since awareness of the existence of the KRO's is so limited, the question arises whether or not knowledge of and favorable attitudes toward the Resident officers are concentrated in any one group within the population - for example, the opinion leading elements. An examination of the following group breakdown tables reveals that only in claims to knowledge of the existence of the KRO's do the better educated, the upper socio-economic levels, and the men appear more frequently than their counterparts. In other more specific matters of knowledge and value judgments, these groups do not show any greater understanding or approval proportionately of the Resident officer function than do those who less frequently claim awareness.

AWARENESS OF EXISTENCE OF KRO'S ...

The better educated, the upper socio-economic and higher income groups, the men, and those in business and white collar occupations are more likely than their opposites to claim to know that Resident Officers are maintained by the High Commission. It will be noted, however, that even among the best educated group only four in ten are sufficiently informed to be familiar both with the name of the incumbent and the position he occupies.

Aware:

	Know name and position	Claim to know when told	Unaware of KRO's	Number of cases:
US ZONE				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	16%	37%	45% ... 100%	716
Women	7	22	71	773
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	9%	26%	63%	1239
High school without graduation	24	36	33	106
High school with gra- duation; University	39	31	30	70
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Lower	8%	21%	71%	754
Middle	15	37	48	680
Upper	32	36	30	60
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Under 199.99 DM	9%	26%	65%	607
200 - 399.99 DM	14	31	55	673
400 DM and more	16	36	48	161
<u>Age:</u>				
15 - 29 years	11%	29%	60%	387
30 - 49 years	12	31	57	633
50 years and over	12	26	60	474
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
CDU/CSU	10%	31%	59%	266
SPD	11	32	57	472
FDP/LIP/DVP/BDV	20	34	46	118
Other parties	18	32	50	151
No party	12	28	60	250
Don't know	8	18	74	230
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professional	27%	40%	33%	60
Businessmen	17	34	49	169
White collar workers	20	35	45	109
Skilled laborers	11	26	63	240
Semi-skilled laborers	9	22	69	214
Farmers	6	33	60	198
Unemployed	7	31	62	94
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	12	22	66	244
<u>City Size:</u>				
Under 4,999 population	9%	29%	62%	616
5,000 - 24,999	16	27	57	241
25,000 - 249,999	20	34	46	251
250,000 and more	8	29	63	164
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	12%	30%	58%	1219
Expellees, Refugees	12	24	64	272

* The column "Unaware of KRO's" gives the proportions within each population group who have no knowledge of the existence of the Resident Officers.

GROUPS WHO HAVE SEEN KRC'S ...

The opinion leading groups are only slightly more likely to say they have seen the Resident Officer than are other groups,

"Have you ever seen the Kreis Resident Officer?"

	Yes	No	Unaware of KRC's
US ZONE			
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	16%	39%	45% ... 100%
Women	5	24	71
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	9%	23%	63%
High school without graduation	15	47	38
High school with graduation; University	14	56	30
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>			
Lower	6%	23%	71%
Middle	14	36	48
Upper	13	57	30
<u>Income (per month):</u>			
Under 199.99 DM	7%	28%	65%
200 - 399.99 DM	12	33	55
400 DM and more	14	38	48
<u>Age:</u>			
15 - 29 years	12%	28%	60%
30 - 49 years	11	32	57
50 years and over	8	32	60
<u>Party Preference:</u>			
CDU/CSU	9%	32%	59%
SPD	11	32	57
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	21	33	46
Other parties	8	42	50
No party	9	31	60
Don't know	6	20	74
<u>Occupation:</u>			
Professional	12%	55%	33%
Businessmen	17	34	49
White collar workers	13	42	45
Skilled laborers	7	30	63
Semi-skilled laborers	10	21	69
Farmers	10	29	61
Unemployed	6	32	62
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	8	28	66
<u>City Size:</u>			
Under 4,999 population	8%	30	62%
5,000 - 24,999	15	28	57
25,000 - 249,999	15	39	46
250,000 and more	8	34	63
<u>Origin:</u>			
Natives	10%	32%	58%
Expellees, Refugees	9	27	64

SOCIAL CONTACTS OF KRO'S ...

Among those in all groups with opinions on the subject, as many say the KRO's mingle frequently with Germans outside office hours as say they see Germans only occasionally. The better educated, upper socio-economic groups more frequently than their counterparts are found in the "no opinion" category.

"As far as you know, does the Resident Officer of your county (Kro frequently, seldom or almost never meet Germans socially outside his office hours?"

	Frequently	Seldom	Almost never	No opinion	Unaware of KRO's
US ZONE					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	10%	7%	1%	37%	45% ... 100%
Women	3	3	-	23	71
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	5%	4%	1%	37%	63%
High school without graduation	14	8	1	39	38
High school with graduation; University	10	10	1	49	30
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower	5%	3%	-	21%	71%
Middle	7	6	1	38	48
Upper	10	10	-	50	30
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Under 199.99 DM	5%	4%	-	26%	65%
200 - 399.99 DM	7	5	1	32	56
400 DM and more	11	5	-	36	48
<u>Age:</u>					
15 - 29 years	6%	6%	1%	27%	60%
30 - 49 years	7	5	-	31	57
50 years and over	6	4	1	29	63
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
CDU/CSU	6%	5%	-	30%	59%
SPD	8	5	-	30	57
FDP/LRP/DVP/BDV	3	8	-	38	46
Other parties	9	8	1	32	50
No party	5	2	1	32	60
Don't know	4	5	1	16	74
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professional	10%	9%	-	40%	33%
Businessmen	8	8	1	34	49
White collar workers	11	7	1	36	45
Skilled laborers	5	3	-	29	63
Semi-skilled laborers	5	3	-	23	69
Farmers	5	5	1	23	61
Unemployed	9	2	1	26	62
None: pensioners, students retired, etc.	4	3	1	26	66
<u>City Size:</u>					
Under 4,999 population	5%	4%	-	29	62
5,000 - 24,999	8	4	-	31	57
25,000 - 249,999	10	9	2	33	48
250,000 and more	7	3	-	37	63
<u>Origins:</u>					
Native	5%	5%	1	30	56
Expellees, Refugees	3	2	-	29	64

MARITAL STATUS OF KRO'S ...

Again, the "don't know" replies are especially frequent among those customarily considered the community opinion leaders. Very few in all groups know whether or not their KRO's are married.

"Do you happen to know whether the Kreis Resident Officer is married?"

	Correct, married	Correct, not married	Incorrect	No opinion	Unaware of KRO's
US ZONE					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	5%	1%	1%	48%	45%.. 100%
Women	3	-	1	25	71
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	4%	-	1%	32%	63%
High school without graduation	9	-	2	51	38
High school with graduation; University	7	-	-	63	30
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower	3%	-	1%	25%	71%
Middle	6	-	2	44	48
Upper	2	2	-	66	30
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Under 199.99 DM	4%	-	1%	30%	65%
200 - 399.99 DM	4	1	1	39	55
400 DM and more	6	-	2	44	48
<u>Age:</u>					
15 - 29 years	5%	-	3%	33%	60%
30 - 49 years	4	1	1	37	57
50 years and over	5	-	1	34	60
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
CDU/CSU	3%	-	1%	37%	59%
SPD	6	-	1	36	57
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	4	1	2	47	46
Other parties	3	-	3	44	50
No party	5	1	-	34	60
Don't know	2	1	-	23	74
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professional	5%	-	-	62%	33%
Businessmen	5	-	2	44	49
White collar workers	9	1	2	48	45
Skilled laborers	2	-	1	34	63
Semi-skilled laborers	3	-	2	26	69
Farmers	2	1	-	36	61
Unemployed	3	-	2	33	62
Non-pensioners, students, retired, etc.	5	-	-	29	66
<u>City Size:</u>					
Under 4,999 population	3%	-	1%	34%	62%
5,000 - 24,999	6	1	1	33	57
25,000 - 249,999	9	-	2	43	46
250,000 and more	3	-	1	33	63
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	4%	-	1%	37%	59%
Expellees, Refugees	4	-	1	31	64

KRO'S USEFUL OR NOT? ...

The predominant opinion among the men, the better educated, and the upper class groups is that the KRO's serve a useful function. But as will be noted, these same groups tend more frequently than their counterparts to take the opposite position - that the Resident Officers' function is not useful. Again "no opinion" replies are very frequent.

"According to everything you have heard, is the general opinion of the people that the function of the Kreis Resident Officer is useful to the Germans or is his work not of much use?"

	Useful	Of no use	No opinion	Unaware of KRO's	
US ZONE					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	30%	5%	30%	45%	... 100%
Women	12	2	15	71	
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	20%	3%	15%	68%	
High school without graduation	27	9	26	38	
High school with graduation; University	26	7	37	30	
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower	16%	1%	13%	71%	
Middle	25	5	22	48	
Upper	30	13	27	30	
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Under 199.99 DM	13%	3%	15%	65%	
200 - 399.99 DM	24	3	18	55	
400 DM and more	25	8	19	48	
<u>Age:</u>					
15 - 29 years	20%	5%	15%	60%	
30 - 49 years	21	3	19	57	
50 years and over	22	2	16	61	
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
CDU/CSU	22%	3%	16%	59%	
SPD	25	2	16	57	
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	22	5	27	46	
Other parties	24	8	16	50	
No party	17	3	20	60	
Don't know	12	1	13	74	
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professional	18%	10%	39%	33%	
Businessmen	28	5	18	49	
White collar workers	25	5	25	45	
Skilled laborers	20	3	14	63	
Semi-skilled laborers	18	-	13	69	
Farmers	16	3	20	61	
Unemployed	23	1	14	62	
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	21	2	11	66	
<u>City Size:</u>					
Under 4,999 population	19%	3%	16%	62%	
5,000 - 24,999	25	2	16	57	
25,000 - 249,999	29	4	21	46	
250,000 and more	13	3	21	63	
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	21%	5%	14%	58%	
Expellees, Refugees	19	2	15	64	

IMPRESSION MADE BY THE KRO'S ...

Of the people willing to assess the impression the KRO's make on the public, the predominant opinion is that it is favorable. Note, however, the tendency for the opinion leading elements also to say they make an indifferent impression, as well as the frequency with which they withhold judgment.

"According to everything you have heard, has the population on the whole a favorable or not so favorable impression of the Kreis Resident Officer of your (city) (county)?"

	Favorable	Not so favorable	Indifferent	No opinion	Unaware of KRO's
US ZONE					
Sex:					
Men	28%	2%	5%	20%	45%..100%
Women	13	-	8	14	71
Education:					
Elementary school	19%	1%	2%	15%	63%
High school without graduation	28	2	4	20	38
High school with graduation; University	24	3	13	30	30
Socio-economic Status:					
Lower	15%	1%	1%	12%	71%
Middle	25	1	4	22	48
Upper	27	2	15	26	30
Income (per month):					
Under 199.99 DM	18%	-	3%	14%	65%
200 - 399.99 DM	22	2	3	18	55
400 DM and more	22	1	5	24	40
Age:					
15 - 29 years	16%	1%	3%	20%	60%
30 - 49 years	20	1	3	19	57
50 years and over	23	-	3	14	60
Party Preference:					
CDU/CSU	23%	-	1%	17%	59%
SPD	23	-	3	17	57
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDP	24	2	5	23	46
Other parties	24	4	4	10	57
No party	14	2	4	20	60
Don't know	13	-	2	11	74
Occupation:					
Professional	24%	2%	13%	26%	33%
Businessmen	27	2	4	18	49
White collar workers	26	1	2	26	45
Skilled laborers	15	1	3	10	63
Semi-skilled laborers	15	-	3	13	69
Farmers	19	1	3	16	61
Unemployed	20	1	3	14	62
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	20	-	2	12	66
City Size:					
Under 4,999 population	16%	1%	3%	16%	62%
5,000 - 24,999	24	-	3	16	57
25,000 - 249,999	27	2	3	22	46
250,000 and more	14	2	4	17	63
Origin:					
Natives	21%	1%	2%	17%	58%
Expellees, Refugees	18	1	2	15	64

- 18 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

KRO'S UNDERSTANDING OF THE GERMANS ...

The weight of opinion among all groups is that the Resident Officers exhibit understanding of the German people. However, the better educated, the men, and the upper social groups, again, very frequently have not made up their minds.

"In your opinion, has the population of your (city) (county) the impression in general that the Kreis Resident Officer shows understanding toward the Germans or does he lack this understanding?"

	Has understanding	Lacks understanding	No opinion	Unaware of KRO's
US ZONE				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	33%	2%	20%	45% ... 100%
Women	15	1	13	71
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	23%	1%	13%	63%
High school without graduation	32	5	25	38
High school with graduation; University	29	1	40	30
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower	18%	-	11%	71%
Middle	30	2	20	48
Upper	35	-	36	30
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Under 199.99 DM	22%	1%	12%	65%
200 - 399.99 DM	26	1	18	55
400 DM and more	27	2	23	48
<u>Age:</u>				
15 - 29 years	23%	2%	15%	60%
30 - 49 years	23	1	19	57
50 years and over	26	1	13	60
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
CDU/CSU	27%	-	14%	59%
SPD	29	-	14	57
FDP/LRP/DVP/BDV	24	3	27	46
Other parties	29	3	18	50
No party	18	2	20	60
Don't know	16	-	10	74
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professional	23%	2%	43%	33%
Businessmen	29	2	20	49
White collar workers	33	3	19	45
Skilled laborers	23	-	14	63
Semi-skilled laborers	18	1	12	69
Farmers	24	-	15	61
Unemployed	25	-	15	62
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	23	2	9	66
<u>City Size:</u>				
Under 4,999 population	22%	1%	15%	62%
5,000 - 24,999	26	2	15	57
25,000 - 249,999	23	2	19	46
250,000 and more	17	1	19	63
<u>Original:</u>				
Natives	23%	1%	16%	59%
Expellees, Refugees	20	2	14	64

CONFIDENTIAL

NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO SEEK ADVICE FROM KRO'S ...

It is the predominant view of the opinion leading elements that few or almost no one goes to the KRO's for advice or aid.

"Do you have the impression that many, few, or hardly any people go to KRO's for advice or help?"

	Many	Few	Hardly any	No opinion	Unaware of KRO's
US ZONE					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	14%	13%	7%	21%	45% ... 100%
Women	5	5	3	15	71
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	10%	7%	4%	16%	63%
High school without graduation	10	16	7	29	38
High school with graduation; University	9	21	16	24	30
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower	9%	5%	3%	13%	71%
Middle	10	11	7	24	48
Upper	8	20	14	28	30
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Under 199.99 DM	11%	5%	4%	15%	65%
200 - 399.99 DM	9	10	6	20	55
400 DM and more	8	16	6	22	48
<u>Age:</u>					
15 - 29 years	9%	11%	5%	15%	60%
30 - 49 years	9	9	5	20	57
50 years and over	11	7	4	18	60
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
CDU/CSU	11%	9%	4%	17%	59%
SPD	12	9	3	19	57
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	11	10	7	26	46
Other parties	13	10	10	17	50
No party	6	8	6	20	60
Don't know	4	8	1	13	74
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professional	9%	10%	15%	33%	33%
Businessmen	9	17	7	18	49
White collar workers	11	17	5	22	45
Skilled laborers	9	4	4	20	63
Semi-skilled laborers	8	4	1	18	69
Farmers	10	6	5	18	61
Unemployed	16	7	6	9	62
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	11	10	2	11	66
<u>City Size:</u>					
Under 4,999 population	8%	8%	6%	16%	62%
5,000 - 24,999	11	12	2	18	57
25,000 - 249,999	16	12	4	22	46
250,000 and more	5	6	5	21	63
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	9%	9%	5%	19%	50%
Expellees, Refugees	11	7	3	15	64

CONFIDENTIAL

ADDENDUM TO THE REPORT ON THE RESIDENT OFFICERS

In a recent report on public awareness of the Kreis Resident Officers in the US Zone,* it was found that even when judged by the most liberal criterion of awareness, the majority (61%) of US Zone Germans were completely ignorant of the existence of the KRO's. To review the figures obtained, they ran as follows:

- ... 12% claimed both to recognize the name of their local KRO when told what it was, and could give some sort of correct designation of his title;
- ... 27% claimed to have heard that there were KRO's when told they were maintained by the High Commission;
- ... 61% were completely unaware, not having heard of the name, or the position or the fact such positions are maintained.

The question has arisen whether this widespread ignorance is simply an example of a general German unawareness of public affairs, reflecting apathy and lack of interest. To test such a hypothesis, RAS, Office of Public Affairs, dICOG, analyzed the extent of knowledge and awareness the above groups exhibited on two other matters of interest to American policy makers - Marshall Plan aid and the Amerika Hauser. As the following tables will show, the hypothesis is controverted by the returns.

The same people who were asked the questions on the KRO's were also queried about the Marshall Plan and the Amerika Hauser,** with the following results for the US Zone:

"Do you know whether a plan exists by which America aids Europe with money and food?"

Yes, there is such a plan	68%
No, there is no such plan	3
Don't know	29
	<u>100%</u>

"Can you tell me what this aid plan is usually called?" (Asked of those who answered "Yes" to above question.)

Correct (Marshall Plan, ERP, ECA)	54%
Incorrect	3
Don't know	11
	<u>68%</u>

* See Report No. 75, Series No. 2, dated May 17, 1951, - US ZONE GERMAN VIEW THE KREIS RESIDENT OFFICERS - Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, dICOG.

** See Report No. 76, Series No. 2, dated April 24, 1951, - CONTINUING TRENDS IN AWARENESS AND PATRONAGE OF AMERIKA HAUSER IN THE US ZONE - Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, dICOG.

CONFIDENTIAL

"Have you heard that in the large cities there is a so-called Amerika Haus, and in smaller cities an American Reading Room?"

Yes
No

74%
26
100%

"Do you know what the public is offered there?"

Correct listings:

e.g. libraries, lectures,
discussions, language courses,
exhibits, etc.

Don't know

44%
30
74%

It is to be noted that the above lines of inquiry were similar to those on the Resident Officers in that they required a test of the claimed awareness. Comparable to the 12 per cent who could give the title after claiming familiarity with the name of the KRO, are the 54 per cent who could specify the name of the American aid plan and the 44 per cent who could name Amerika Haus offerings. The 27 per cent who claimed awareness of the KRO's after having been told they were maintained plus the 12 per cent who could pass the test of giving the title - 39 per cent in all - are comparable to the 68 per cent who said they had heard of the Marshall Plan, and the 74 per cent who said they had heard of the Amerika Hauser.

When more detailed breakdowns are made to ascertain what the group (61%) completely unaware of the existence of the KRO's knows about American aid and the Amerika Hauser it becomes more clearly apparent that the lack of awareness of the KRO's is a specific area of ignorance rather than simply a special case of a more generalized ignorance of American programs.

Of the people completely unaware of the existence of the Kreis Resident Officers:

1. Three-fifths (59%) know there is an American aid plan for Europe.
2. Four in ten (43%) are able to pass the test of applying a correct designation (Marshall Plan, ERP, ECA) to the American aid plan.
3. Two-thirds (65%) are aware that Amerika Hauser and Reading Rooms are maintained.
4. A third (36%) can support their claims to awareness by specifying Amerika Haus offerings.

CONFIDENTIAL

ATTITUDES BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN
A Survey Approach To East German Thinking

III. A Preliminary Exploration Of Attitudes
Among East Zone Male Youth

Report No. 79
Series No. 3
May 17, 1951

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS STAFF

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

SUMMARY

I. JUDGMENTS ON CURRENT EAST ZONE LIVING CONDITIONS

Are General Conditions Good Or Bad At The Present Time? ...
 Are Conditions Likely To Improve? ...
 Implication ...

II. REACTIONS TO CONDITIONS IN THE WEST

Extent Of General Interest In Western Germany ...
 Extent Of Contact With West Berlin Media ...
 Has East Germany Or West Recovered More Economically? ...
 Reactions To Conditions In West Berlin ...

III. OPINIONS ON GERMAN YOUTH QUESTIONS

Are Youth Better Off In East Zone Or West? ...
 What Proportions Of East Zone Youth Have Been Won To Eastern Aims? ...
 A Single Versus Multiple Youth Organizations ...
 Merits And Demerits Of The FDJ ...
 Did The FDJ Whitsuntide Rally Leave A Favorable Impression
 on East Zone Youth? ...
 Extent Of Interest In The Projected Eastern-Sponsored World
 Youth Festival ...

IV. SOME BASIC POLITICAL JUDGMENTS ...

Does The East Zone Government Represent The Popular Will? ...
 Is East Or West Mainly Responsible For Present World Tension? ...
 Do Most East Germans Prefer Neutrality To Siding With East Or West? ...
 Is A War In Europe Likely To Break Out In The Near Future? ...
 For Or Against European Union? ...

V. BRIEF APPRAISAL OF SCHOOL, CHURCH, AND HOME EDUCATION CONDITIONS
IN THE EAST ZONE

Extent Of Satisfaction With East Zone Schools ...
 Equal Opportunity Or Discrimination In School Eligibility? ...
 Does The Church In The East Zone Have The Freedom To Teach
 What She Considers Right? ...
 Do Parents In The East Zone Have The Freedom To Educate Their
 Children In A Way They Consider Right? ...
 Conclusion ...

INTRODUCTION

In pursuing its program of surveying East Zone thinking the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, endeavors to keep abreast of West Berlin events which are likely to attract important elements of the East Berlin and East Zone population. Of course only events which have no direct political bearing are utilized in this respect to minimize as far as possible any political selection factors in the sampling.

In line with the above policy a sports exhibition held in West Berlin between April 7th and 15th was capitalized upon to obtain a sampling of East Zone male youth. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the crucial importance of this particular population element in the East-West struggle for German allegiance.

The surveying was conducted by trained German interviewers under the auspices of the exhibition authorities and was carried on - once East Zone respondents were contacted - in a room set aside for the purpose. These facilities made possible the utilization of a somewhat more extensive questionnaire than RAS has been customarily able to employ in its on-the-street approaches to East Zone opinions.

The one-week interviewing period allowed the gathering of 162 cases of East Zone male youth between the ages of 15 and 24 years. Other population characteristics of the obtained sampling are appended to this report. Approximately one of ten of the East Zone youth contacted was disinclined to be interviewed - a rate of refusal that must be considered rather low amidst the somewhat less than reassuring conditions that mark the divided city of Berlin.

Since the male youth surveyed in the present study derive for the most part from East Berlin and adjacent Brandenburg regions any generalization drawn must be understood as applying most validly to that area.

The final caution should be kept in mind in all East Zone surveying in West Berlin that the individuals who come to visit Berlin may not be entirely representative of those who do not. It will have to be left to experience and corroboration with other sources of East Zone information to see what sort of allowances should be made for such a consideration.

The results of the present survey should be understood as provisional since they are based upon what is in effect a small scale pilot study. For this reason group differences particularly should be looked upon as more suggestive than conclusive. More extensive and, as far as possible, more representative sampling of youth sentiments on the same and associated issues is projected for the near future.

SUMMARY

I. JUDGMENTS ON CURRENT EAST ZONE LIVING CONDITIONS

ARE GENERAL CONDITIONS GOOD OR BAD AT THE PRESENT TIME? ...

- ... The initial questions in the present survey sought to get a picture of the general personal situation of youth in the East Zone today. The results to the first inquiry indicate clearly that the bulk of the male youth sampled are not inclined to term their present personal situation "bad." The preponderant judgment is "fair," and a quarter say "good." Notable also is that unfavorable views of their present personal situation are appreciably less frequent among younger youth than among their older comrades.
- ... The reasons advanced by the respondents who appraise their personal situation as bad to very bad tend to stress either economic impoverishment or ubiquitous political coercions.
- ... Perusal of the reasoning of those who judge their personal situation to be "fair" rather than good or bad reveals that in most instances this characterization is meant to express a degree of disapproval, i.e., that the situation is "only fair" so as to speak. Just as with those who expressed stronger disapproval, however, the principle comments revolve around the financial hardships and the political pressures.
- ... The quarter of the East Zone youth who appraise their personal situation as good to very good mainly indicate satisfaction with their particular economic situation. No one in the entire group was moved to bring up any features of the present East Zone political regime as a basis for saying the situation was good.

ARE CONDITIONS LIKELY TO IMPROVE? ...

- ... As far as their future situation is concerned, the preponderant orientation (46%) among the male youth sampled is that things will improve. A quarter argues that conditions will grow worse, and a quarter is inclined to believe that the situation will remain much the same.
- ... The dominant point advanced by those who anticipate improvements in their personal situation is that they see increasingly favorable opportunities for work and earnings. Only a comparatively small minority express any optimism about political improvements.
- ... On the other hand, respondents who see their personal situation growing worse in the future tend to focus more upon political difficulties which they feel to be growing rather than upon any anticipated deteriorations in the economic situation.

IMPLICATION ...

- ... The fact that (a) a majority of the East Zone youth sampled speak of their personal situation as being fair to good rather than bad, and (b) a preponderance are optimistic about future economic improvements, suggests rather strongly that bread and butter needs are being met to an increasingly adequate extent in the East Zone. It must be assumed that such increasing economic satisfaction will have the effect in many cases of offsetting political dissatisfactions, and hence operate to strengthen the hold of the East Zone regime.

II. REACTIONS TO CONDITIONS IN THE WEST

EXTENT OF GENERAL INTEREST IN WESTERN GERMANY ...

- ... Prior to ascertaining how the East Zone sample reacts to the conditions they encountered in West Berlin, it was deemed of value to obtain some indication from the respondents of whether or not they thought East German youth had any general interest in the West. The answer was overwhelmingly positive from all elements of the sample.
- ... Among the features of the West which were most frequently indicated as of the most interest to East Zone youth were the living conditions and personal freedoms, and the unpolitical sports activities and movies.

EXTENT OF CONTACT WITH WEST BERLIN MEDIA

- ... A more focused approach to East Zone interest in the West was embodied in a query about the respondents' contacts with West Berlin magazines, newspapers, and radio programs. Nine out of ten of the male youth sampled reported listening to West Berlin radio stations, and approximately two-thirds reported occasional reading of West Berlin magazines and papers. To the extent that the present sampling is representative of East Zone youth in the areas adjacent to West Berlin, it thus suggests a considerable penetration of Western media.

HAS EAST GERMANY OR WEST RECOVERED MORE ECONOMICALLY? ...

- ... With interests ascertained, the questioning went on to appraisal of Western conditions. The first generalized inquiry elicited a very widespread opinion that economic recovery in West Germany outdistances that in the East.

REACTIONS TO CONDITIONS IN WEST BERLIN ...

- ... The East Zone respondents were brought down to more concrete evaluations of the West by inquiries as to what they liked best and least about the West Berlin they had had the opportunity to personally examine. The big theme among the likings was the economic boom - the food, the clothes, the shop windows, the cars and the like. But in many respects more significant was the very appreciable emphasis in the answers upon political freedom in West Berlin. Normally youth, especially those between the ages of 15-17, cannot be expected to have any extensive consciousness of their political environment. That in the present instance fully a third of the sample in this age group should focus upon consideration of political freedom as what they "especially liked" in West Berlin, is very suggestive of the extent to which East Zone youth may be reacting to the political constraints to which they have been subjected.
- ... Questioned about dislikes, the preponderance of the youth insisted that they liked everything about West Berlin. Those who would volunteer criticism focus upon a diversity of themes varying from unemployment to alleged unfriendly treatment of East Zone residents in West Berlin. The pattern of returns reveals clearly that to some extent at least anti-West propaganda is registering with East German youth.

III. OPINIONS ON GERMAN YOUTH QUESTIONS

ARE YOUTH BETTER OFF IN EAST ZONE OR WEST? ...

- ... The heavily preponderant opinion among all elements of the East Zone male youth sample is that young people are better off in West Germany than in the East Zone.
- ... The reasons given for the overwhelming pro-Western judgment have already been intimated in previous questions - the basic themes again that living standards are higher in the West and the individual is free of political pressure. Superior educational advantages in the West Zone are also cited by an appreciable number of respondents.

WHAT PROPORTIONS OF EAST ZONE YOUTH HAVE BEEN WON TO EASTERN AIMS? ...

- ... Returns in the present question reveal that in the judgment of the present East Zone sample, far from a negligible proportion of East German youth have been won over to the aims of the East Zone government. Only 19 per cent give estimates in the one to ten per cent category which would be the equivalent of few, and over half of the estimates range upward from 20 per cent. These of course are only estimates, but coming from people so close to the situation they give considerable food for thought.

A SINGLE VERSUS MULTIPLE YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS ...

- ... One of the most distinct differences between the organization of youth in the East Zone and that in the West is that the Communists follow the old Hitler pattern of a single monolithic group whereas the Western powers have encouraged diversity along lines of special interests. It is of particular importance to discover that almost two-thirds of the East Zone male youth sampled in the present study express a preference for the style of organization being promoted in the West.
- ... These results become additionally significant in view of earlier findings on a US Zone sample that 55 per cent of the youth (both male and female) favored a single youth organization, with 32 per cent taking the contrary view and 13 per cent no opinion. The interesting suggestion of course emerges - which is worth further study - that German predilections for a unitary type of youth organization are considerably weakened when they experience the Communist model.
- ... The most frequent argument advanced in support of multiple organizations for youth is that people have different convictions and interests which could not be adequately expressed in a single organization. An appreciable number of respondents, however, specifically bring up the point that a single organization would lend itself to dictatorship and is redolent of the Third Reich.
- ... The minority who argued for the superiority of a single youth organization in the bulk of instances alleged that thereby quarrels and disunity would be prevented.

MERITS AND DEMERITS OF THE FDJ

- ... To obtain specific evaluations of the East Zone youth organization all respondents were asked to indicate what they liked and what they disliked about the FDJ. On the first question a full 60 per cent of the sample answered a vigorous "nothing." The other comments were scattered from approval of the tours and trips down to a liking for FDJ sponsored work teams.
- ... Dislike of the FDJ focused strongly on the political regimentation and Communist indoctrinations inherent in the movement.

DID THE FDJ WHITSUNTIDE RALLY LEAVE A FAVORABLE IMPRESSION ON EAST ZONE YOUTH ...

- ... In regard to the impression left on East Zone youth by the FDJ Whitsuntide rally the preponderance held it to be unfavorable. But despite the adverse attitudes that the present sample of East Zone youth have evidenced in prior questions toward the East in general and the FDJ in particular, as many as three in ten expressed the opinion that a good impression was left by the FDJ convocation.
- ... The reasons advanced by those who felt that the rally left a favorable impression on East Zone youth indicate that the general pageantry, sports events, sight seeing opportunities, and comradeship associated with such affairs are not without considerable appeal for the comparatively underprivileged East German youth. It would be strange if these favorable emotional conditionings did not have some effect in promoting political indoctrination.
- ... Respondents who judged the rally to have left a bad impression focused most frequently on the fact that East-West comparisons were made possible by the meeting which redounded to the disadvantage of the East. Other respondents stressed the political coercions, propaganda and misrepresentations attendant to the rally, as well as alleged poor behavior of the participants.

EXTENT OF INTEREST IN THE PROJECTED EASTERN-SPONSORED WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL ...

- ... Only two respondents in the entire sample were unaware of the fact that a World Youth Festival was scheduled to be held in August in the East sector of Berlin. Queried as to whether or not they would like to participate in the festival almost a third said "Yes."
- ... Bearing out the indications in the prior question, these results reveal that youth rallies have considerable appeal in the East Zone even among youth who may be antagonistic to their sponsorship and their aims. This point is more clearly brought out in cross-comparisons which show that a large proportion of the youth who would like to attend the festival are politically unsympathetic to the East.

IV. SOME BASIC POLITICAL JUDGMENTS

DOES THE EAST ZONE GOVERNMENT REPRESENT THE POPULAR WILL? ...

- ... That the present East Zone regime is unrepresentative of the people is the overwhelming opinion among the German male youth sampled in the present survey. Only one in ten held the contrary view.

IS EAST OR WEST MAINLY RESPONSIBLE FOR PRESENT WORLD TENSION? ...

- ... Results thus far have indicated very widespread antagonism to the East among the East Zone youth sampled. That this is not always equivalent to being pro-West is disclosed in the present findings on major responsibility for East-West tension. Though a preponderance lay the major blame at the door of the East (55%) and only a miniscule proportion say the West, still almost a third say "both" and ten per cent have not made up their minds. So the point is evident that, however overwhelming the dislike for the East may be among East Zone youth, it does not preclude an appreciable amount of a "pox on both your houses" sentiment.

DO MOST EAST GERMANS PREFER NEUTRALITY TO SIDING WITH EAST OR WEST? ...

- ... More than twice as many of the male youth sampled in this study judge that most East Germans would prefer to side with the West in the present East-West struggle as contend that they would prefer to remain neutral. An infinitesimal one per cent holds that they would prefer to side with the East.

IS A WAR IN EUROPE LIKELY TO BREAK OUT IN THE NEAR FUTURE? ...

... Opinion among East Zone male youth is somewhat split over whether or not there is likely to be a war in Europe in the near future, with the negative view somewhat preponderating.

FOR OR AGAINST WEST EUROPEAN UNION? ...

... That the idea of a union of European nations hold a potent attraction for East Zone youth is strongly attested to in the present study with 95 per cent in favor of such a course.

... Both economic and political advantages are prominent among the considerations advanced in support of European union. The comments rather clearly suggest that even the quite young in East Germany are fed up with international controversies and war, and eager to tread the path of cooperation.

V. BRIEF APPRAISAL OF SCHOOL, CHURCH, AND HOME EDUCATION CONDITIONS IN THE EAST ZONE

EXTENT OF SATISFACTION WITH EAST ZONE SCHOOLS ...

... A last series of questions were included in the present study to see to what extent East Zone youth registers awareness and condemnation of Communist encroachments upon freedom of education in schools, in churches, and in home life. Queried first about schools in the East Zone, three quarters of the male youth surveyed reported themselves as dissatisfied.

... What is happening to schools in the East Zone is clearly indicated in the reasons advanced for dissatisfaction. These are replete with the charge that the schools are saturated with politics, with education made merely a handmaiden to political indoctrination.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY OR DISCRIMINATION IN SCHOOL ELIGIBILITY? ...

... Asked further whether students in the East Zone have equal opportunities to attend a gymnasium or a university, 57 per cent of the sample said that they did not. Three out of ten held that they did and the remainder could offer no opinion.

... The suspicion that political discrimination exists in East Zone higher education - which prompted the present question - is amply verified in comments brought forward by the respondents who state that higher educational institutions are not equally open to all. Most prominently mentioned as a prerequisite for eligibility is membership in the FDJ or other Communist organizations.

DOES THE CHURCH IN THE EAST ZONE HAVE THE FREEDOM TO TEACH WHAT SHE CONSIDERS RIGHT? ...

... The second inquiry bearing on the extent of Communist coercion of East Zone educational institutions brought up the question of freedom in Church teachings. On this point six out of ten of those sampled held that the Church today in the East Zone does not have the freedom to teach what she considers right.

... Judgments of political coercion of the Church appear to be at their maximum among the better educated respondents and among students as compared with employed and apprenticed.

DO PARENTS IN THE EAST ZONE HAVE THE FREEDOM TO EDUCATE THEIR CHILDREN IN
A WAY THEY CONSIDER RIGHT? ...

... In regard to parental training just as with Church teaching, the preponderant opinion of the East Zone male youth was that limitations on freedom existed. However, a considerably larger proportion held that parents were still free to teach their children what they considered right than held that the Church was free to do so.

... Judgments of constraints in parental freedom are more frequent among older youth than among the younger. Other group comparisons indicate that the better educated may be more inclined than their less educated counterparts to see a lessening of parental freedom among present East Zone conditions.

CONCLUSION ...

... The results of this last section suggest that the majority of East Zone male youth are sensitive to Communist encroachments on freedom of teaching in the East Zone in schools, churches and homes. But it is well to emphasize at this juncture, that the same figures reveal that far from insignificant proportions evidence no consciousness of political restrictions in these areas. Neither fact should be lost sight of in the general assessment of the effectiveness of Communist operations in the East Zone.

I. JUDGMENTS ON CURRENT EAST ZONE LIVING CONDITIONS

ARE GENERAL CONDITIONS GOOD OR BAD AT THE PRESENT TIME? ...

The initial questions in the present survey sought to get a picture of the general personal situation of youth in the East Zone today. The results to the first inquiry below indicate clearly that the bulk of the male youth sampled are not inclined to term their present personal situation "bad." The preponderant judgment is "fair," and a quarter say "good."

"How do you consider your personal situation in general: good or bad?"

If good: "Good" or "Very good?" If bad: "Bad" or "Very bad?"

	TOTAL EAST			East Berlin	East Zone
	All	15-17	18-24		
Very good	1%	1%	0%	1%	0%
Good	27	29	19	31	19
Fair	49	54	38	51	48
Bad	19	12	36	15	25
Very bad	4	4	5	2	3
No opinion	-	-	-	-	-
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Notable also in the above returns is that unfavorable views of their present personal situation are appreciably less frequent among younger youth than among their older comrades.

Group comparisons among the male youth sampled brings to light the statistically reliable indication despite the limited number of cases involved, that favorable judgments of their present situation are less frequent among better educated youth than among their lesser schooled counterparts. In no group, however, does the judgment bad to very bad preponderate.

"How do you consider your personal situation in general: good or bad?"

If good: "Good" or "Very good?" If bad: "Bad" or "Very bad?"

	Good or Very good	Fair	Bad or Very bad	No opinion	No. of cases:
TOTAL EAST					
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	33%	49%	18%	0% ... 100%	106
Beyond elementary school	16	50	34	-	66
<u>Income (per month):*</u>					
Up to 300 DM	28%	45%	24%	0%	96
300 DM and more	24	52	24	-	62
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Employed (including apprentices)	31%	40%	21%	0%	86
Students	24	56	20	-	70
<u>Membership in Youth Organisations:</u>					
Member	31%	46%	23%	0%	39
Not a member	26	50	24	-	123

* The income denoted here is in many cases family income. The DM's referred to are of course Eastern Deutsche Marks.

The reasons advanced by the respondents who appraise their personal situation as bad to very bad tend to stress either economic impoverishment or ubiquitous political coercions.

"How do you consider your personal situation in general: good or bad?"

If "Bad or Very bad": "Why are you of this opinion?"

	TOTAL EAST			East Berlin	East Zone
	<u>all</u>	<u>15-17</u>	<u>18-24</u>		
<u>Living standard and economic situation are bad in general:</u> Our living standard is low; everything is too expensive; money is very scarce; prices in the HO (Handels-Organisation) are too high; we don't earn enough and good prices are too high; poor living conditions, lack of clothing and food; I never get enough to eat, I am in an orphanage - get four slices of bread a day and soup in the evening; we earn money and can't buy anything for it; etc.	12%	8%	21%	10%	14%
<u>No freedom - only oppression and exploitation:</u> We have no personal freedom; we don't have as much freedom as the youth in the West sector; we are never allowed to speak up - instruction at the professional schools is only political, those who do not go regularly have their ration cards taken away from them; because of the political pressure we don't feel independent; political pressure is too great - they search our homes; we can't express our opinion freely; they are not democratic in the least - we can't say anything and they lie about everything in the West; etc.	7	6	11	5	11
<u>Party membership means preference in everything:</u> I would have to join the FDJ or the SED - which I won't - if I want to get a job in an office; if I want to take up sports I have to join the FDJ; if one is not a member of the FDJ one can't buy anything; I can't get a job as a carpenter because I do not exercise any political activity and can't belong to an organization - politically I am not up to standards; etc.	6	2	13	2	11
<u>Few opportunities for professional training and jobs:</u> I am badly off in regard to a job, I can't find a place as an apprentice; we have few opportunities here to get professional training; my father is unemployed; my father had to give up his company and I am looking for work; etc.	3	2	6	-	8
<u>Other opinions:</u> Because we live in the East; because I am known as a reactionary; because of illness - I have tuberculosis and I am in the hospital - I'm just out for a walk at the moment; etc.	2	3	-	1	3
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	30%	21%	51%	18%	47%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Perusal of the reasoning of those who judge their personal situation to be "fair" rather than good or bad reveals that in most instances this characterization is meant to express a degree of disapproval, i.e. that the situation is "only fair" so as to speak. Just as with those who expressed stronger disapproval, however, the principle comments revolve around the financial hardships and the political pressures.

"How do you consider your personal situation in general: good or bad?"

If "Fair": "Why are you of this opinion?"

TOTAL EAST	East Berlin	East Zone
All 15-17 18-24		

Money is scarce and worth little -- economic difficulties: Because money isn't worth anything; the income of my father is just barely enough -- we can't buy additional things in West Berlin; I am earning my money as a worker and have to provide for my brothers and sisters -- I don't get paid very much; clothing and money is lacking; money is scarce and we can't buy anything for it -- everything we buy is not worth anything; my father only earns East Zone money and one can buy little with that because everything is so expensive; everything is still rationed and prices are high -- my mother just doesn't earn very much; times are hard for us in the East, we can hardly buy anything; etc. 23% 22% 24% 21% 27%

Political pressure is great: Because we can't voice our opinions -- we live under fear; I don't have the right kind of work -- I am employed in a people-owned company and everything is too political there; I am not a member of the party -- they pester me all the time for my reasons for not joining -- I have a hard time; because we would be watched if we'd say anything against the East Zone government; we are not interested in politics, we have to pretend and join the FDJ; because everything is infested with politics; etc. 6 7 4 5 8

Conditions could be worse -- we get by -- neither good nor bad: We get by; my grandmother owns a farm, otherwise we'd be even worse off; we just manage to stay above water; we just try to get along; we get more to eat on our ration cards -- but we can't live as well as the people in the West; it used to be worse, now we have at least enough to eat -- but it is not according to peace time standards yet; etc. 6 7 4 8 3

We have contacts with the West -- that is of advantage as well as disadvantage: Because I go to school in the West and live in the East; we attend school in the West and have to be careful that we aren't caught because it is prohibited; it is very difficult for us in the East -- my mother has to work and I attend a school in West Berlin -- now I received a Wehrungestipendium (scholarship because of the difference in currency); etc. 5 5 4 6 3

(cont'd on next page)

TOTAL EAST

East
Berlin ZoneAll 15-17 18-24

Domestic problems: Because of conditions in the family; my parents are divorced and my mother has to provide for us children; my father is dead and mother has a hard time; I am still learning and my mother is ill; etc.

4% 4% 2% 6% -

Political situation is bad and insecure: The political situation is very bad, spreads over to the schools already; because of the present tensions in the political situation; etc.

1 2 - 2 -

We are fairly well off (no complaints): We live fairly well - my parents earn enough and I do too; I don't know what I should complain about; I am still going to school and I am well off because my father has a job; etc.

1 1 - 1 -

Other opinions: I have heart trouble, I cannot do like boys - not allowed to participate in sports; because of the division of Germany we are not well off yet; I don't enjoy school yet, I don't catch on quickly enough; etc.

5 6 2 4 6

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{1}{52\%}$ $\frac{2}{56\%}$ $\frac{-}{40\%}$ $\frac{-}{53\%}$ $\frac{3}{50\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

The quarter of the East Zone youth who appraise their personal situation as good to very good mainly indicate satisfaction with their particular economic situation. No one in the entire group was moved to bring up any features of the present East Zone political regime as a basis for saying the situation was good.

"How do you consider your personal situation in general: good or bad?"

If "Very good" or "Good": "Why are you of this opinion?"

	TOTAL EAST			East Berlin	East Zone
	All	15-17	18-24		
<u>Respondent or his family have work and income;</u> I am learning, I have a job and I earn some money as well; I am earning enough; I am not badly off - good work - nothing is lacking; I am working, mother is working too - both of us earn money and we are getting along; because at the moment I have a fairly good position as a clerk in a people-owned company; I am satisfied with everything, I have a training place as an apprentice; my parents provide for me and I have a training place as an apprentice; etc.	10%	11%	9%	12%	8%
<u>We have no troubles (general):</u> I can't complain about anything; I am still well off as I am going to school - I have no troubles; I am satisfied with what I have got; I got everything I need; etc.	7	10	-	10	2
<u>Respondent has contact with West:</u> I am attending school in West Berlin and have not had any political difficulties on account of it in the East sector yet; I live in the East sector and work in the West sector, therefore I am quite well off; etc.	4	5	2	5	3
<u>Respondent or his family have independent position or property:</u> We have a farm and thus everything we need for life; my parents have a farm; my father has his own store, thus we always have enough work; because my father is still an independent businessman; we have our own house; etc.	3	3	2	1	5
<u>We have enough to eat:</u> We eat well; we have enough to eat; etc.	2	3	2	2	3
<u>Good opportunities for educational training:</u> Because I have a scholarship as a student; I am attending university in the East and have a scholarship without having to participate in political activities; in regard to school; etc.	1	-	2	1	-
<u>Other opinions:</u> I am still attending school; because there have been some positive results already; I am employed with a private concern and not forced to do anything against my will; etc.	2	3	2	3	1
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	29%	35%	19%	34%	22%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

ARE CONDITIONS LIKELY TO IMPROVE? ...

As far as their future situation is concerned the preponderant orientation (46%) among the male youth sample is that things will improve. A quarter argues that conditions will grow worse and a quarter is inclined to believe that the situation will remain much the same.

"Do you think that your personal situation will improve in the future or grow worse?"

	TOTAL EAST			East Berlin	East Zone
	All	15-17	18-24		
Improve	46%	49%	41%	50%	41%
Grow worse	24	24	23	21	29
Remain same	26	22	34	23	29
No opinion	4	5	2	6	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The only group difference appreciable enough to approach statistical reliability with the small sample involved, is an indication of somewhat greater optimism among students as compared to employed that the future holds improvements in store.

"Do you think that your personal situation will improve in the future or grow worse?"

	Improve	Grow worse	Remain same	No opinion	No. of cases:
TOTAL EAST					
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	43%	26%	26%	5% ... 100%	106
Beyond elementary school	50	21	25	4	56
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Up to 300 DM	47%	23%	24%	6%	96
300 DM and more	45	26	27	2	62
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Employed (including apprentices)	41%	24%	29%	6%	86
Students	56	20	21	3	70
<u>Membership in Youth Organizations:</u>					
Member	51%	18%	28%	3%	39
Not a member	45	26	24	5	123

The dominant point advanced by those who anticipate improvements in their personal situation is that they see increasingly favorable opportunities for work and earnings. Only a comparatively small minority express any optimism about political improvements.

"Do you think that your personal situation will improve in the future or grow worse?"

If "Improve": "Why are you of this opinion?"

	TOTAL EAST	East Berlin	East Zone		
	All 15-17	18-24			
<u>Good opportunities for work and earnings: -</u>					
<u>Improving of the economic situation:</u> Because I earn more money as soon as I have finished my training; I will get a good training place; I have the opportunity to receive training free of charge; if I can keep my job the situation will slowly improve for me - after all, I am slowly getting somewhere; I am counting on bigger profits; because of increased production there will be more jobs and I will be able to earn some money; modern technique is developing so fast that I will have opportunities to get ahead; it is inevitable due to the general economic boom after the war; the start of the five-year plan; because of the decrease of HO (Handels-Organisation) prices I am hoping that they will continue to drop in the future and I'll be able to buy something then; our situation in the East Zone is economically improving after all; we will be able to buy everything free (without ration coupons) and much cheaper than today; etc.					
	31%	33%	26%	37%	21%
<u>A united Germany in the future:</u> East and West Germany will unite sooner or later, then we all will be better off; Germany will become a unity; there must be unification of East and West Germany; I hope that East and West will unite - yet without the East Zone government; that the unification of Berlin and of all of Germany will be realized soon; I hope that we will achieve a peace treaty for all of us, then everything will improve; etc.					
	7	7	6	5	10
<u>Improvement of political conditions in the East Zone:</u> We all count on our liberation but not through the Russians - by that we expect freedom, and a rise in our living standards; something must happen sooner or later - a change or something, so we don't have constant political dictatorship; the occupation has to leave sometime, then we can give our economy a new start; we all have the hope that things will improve and that the pressure will decrease; etc.					
	6	6	4	5	7
<u>Improvements by contacts with West:</u> Because I am going to school in the West now; because I attend a Western school and I learn much more than in the East; I will soon join my father in West Germany; I hope for a scholarship in the Western sector so I can study theology; etc.					
	2	2	4	2	3
<u>Other opinions:</u> I am going to inherit something in West Berlin; I have always been well off so far; etc.					
	2	2	2	2	1
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>					
	1 49%	2 52%	- 43%	1 52%	1 43%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Respondents who see their personal situation growing worse in the future tend to focus more upon political difficulties which they feel to be growing, rather than upon any anticipated deteriorations in the economic situation.

"Do you think that your personal situation will improve in the future or grow worse?"

If "Grow worse": "Why are you of this opinion?"

TOTAL EAST

East East
Berlin Zone

All 15-17 18-24

It is impossible to get anywhere without political connections: I will find no job because I am not a member of an organization and I don't intend to join one; because I don't belong to any organization they'll be after me one of these days; if one is not a member of the FDJ one has disadvantages only; training places for apprentices are getting rarer, only people-owned companies are permitted to employ apprentices; I fear the worst for myself because they say that I favor the West; because I am opposed to Eastern politics and do something against it - I hardly earn anything; because of my social background I'll have difficulties to get into a university; etc.

7% 7% 9% 6% 10%

Pressure and oppression increase: We are being enslaved more and more; because the East Zone government wants to oppress us; the Russians oppress us more and more; political pressure is increasing all the time; private ownership is to be eliminated by the five-year plan - through that we will probably lose our store; the pressure to join organizations increases all the time - all independent activity is thus oppressed; we get more and more the feeling that we are criminals - it gets worse and worse all the time; the pressure increases - it already starts in school; it is impossible to get ahead under Communism; etc.

6 4 9 7 3

Food supplies and economic situation are getting worse: The whole question of food supplies gets worse and worse; the food distributions get worse - we are to get fish instead of meat; the differences in currencies - here we can't buy anything and everything gets more expensive in the West; I am scared because I can't find a job; etc.

6 5 6 5 6

Political conditions in the East Zone are bad (general): I don't like the course of development; because I will not agree to the aims of our politics; because nobody favors the Russians; nobody has real confidence in the government anymore - people have become shy; etc.

4 3 2 3 5

(cont'd on next page)

TOTAL EAST			East Berlin	East Zone
<u>All</u>	<u>15-17</u>	<u>18-24</u>		

The danger of war: It seems as if we are headed for a war; in case of another war I would be drafted and that is bad for me; etc.

2%	3%	-%	2%	2%
----	----	----	----	----

Other opinions: Because the West doesn't do anything for us - they have almost written us off - the Russians use more force all the time and are getting impudent; because we have no unity in Germany; because I can't learn the profession I would like - I wanted to go to the university; etc.

1	4	-	-	4
---	---	---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

<u>26%</u> **	<u>26%</u> **	<u>23%</u> **	<u>23%</u> **	<u>30%</u> **
---------------	---------------	---------------	---------------	---------------

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

IMPLICATION ...

The fact that (a) a majority of the East Zone youth sampled speak of their personal situation as being fair to good rather than bad, and (b) a preponderance are optimistic about future economic improvements, suggests rather strongly that bread and butter needs are being met to an increasingly adequate extent in the East Zone. It must be assumed that such increasing economic satisfactions will have the effect in many cases of offsetting political dissatisfactions, and hence operate to strengthen the hold of the East Zone regime.

II. REACTIONS TO CONDITIONS IN THE WEST

EXTENT OF GENERAL INTEREST IN WESTERN GERMANY ...

Prior to ascertaining how the East Zone sample reacts to the conditions they encountered in West Berlin, it was deemed of value to obtain some indication from the respondents of whether or not they thought East German youth had any general interest in the West. The answer was overwhelmingly positive from all elements of the sample.

"Do you have the impression that in general the youth in the East Zone is interested to learn something about the West, or does the youth have little interest in the West?"

	TOTAL EAST			East Berlin	East Zone
	<u>All</u>	<u>15-17</u>	<u>18-24</u>		
Interested	91%	92%	92%	92%	90%
Little interest	8	8	6	6	10
No opinion	<u>1</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

	Interest	Little interest	No opinion	No. of cases
TOTAL EAST				
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	91%	8%	1% ... 100%	106
Beyond elementary school	93	5	2	56
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Up to 300 DM	93%	6%	1%	96
300 DM and more	89	10	1	62
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Employed (including apprentices)	90%	8%	2%	86
Students	93	7	-	70
<u>Membership in Youth Organizations:</u>				
Member	92%	8%	-	39
Not a member	91	7	2	123

Of more specific pertinence are the types of interest that were indicated. **015**

"Do you have the impression that in general the youth in the East Zone is interested to learn something about the West, or does the youth have little interest in the West?"

If "Interested": "What aspects of the West, do you think of most interest to the youth in the East Zone?"

	TOTAL EAST			East Berlin	East Zone
	All	15-17	18-24		
<u>Sports:</u> Free sports without political activities; the opportunities in sports; primarily sports, because that is the main interest of youth anyway; the sports; especially sports; sports - they do more than we over here; Toto; etc.	36%	35%	38%	35%	35%
<u>The living standard in the West:</u> Because one can buy everything, clothing, sailboats, etc., everything one can't get in the East Zone; the economic conditions - the things people can buy; one can see and buy more - better clothing - prices are lower and one gets better quality; the way living conditions are; how people in the West live and what they can buy for their money; the food - we don't get enough in the East Zone; the living standard; how much the young can earn in the West; living conditions of the working youth; how the young can live there and what clothing they have; etc.	22	22	26	25	16
<u>The movies:</u> We can see better movies in the West sector; movies in the West; Western movies - unpolitical; especially movies; etc.	14	16	9	18	6
<u>About freedom and democracy in the West:</u> That nothing is prohibited in the West; that one can express one's opinion openly; that everything printed in the newspapers is true and that one can speak openly; how the people are treated - one can speak freely; that they can openly be in favor of the government without pressure from above; that the young can develop as they please; etc.	12	12	15	12	14
<u>Political situation and attitudes in the West:</u> The political situation as it develops over there in general; the political situation in West Germany and the attitude of the West toward the Russians; if the Western youth will join us and how they feel about unification; the attitude of the West toward us; etc.	9	11	6	8	13
<u>Cultural matters:</u> Fine literature; exhibitions; "mach mit" in RIAS; music; etc.	9	8	13	11	8
<u>The general situation (without mentioning particular aspects):</u> How well off the youth is in the West; how the general situation is; the whole situation - also the political situation; the conditions; etc.	9	10	6	11	5

(cont'd on next page)

* The position of sports at the head of the list should be heavily discounted in view of the fact that the interviews were conducted at a Sports Exhibition and hence the respondents either through selection or context would feel inordinately impelled to focus upon interest in sports.

	TOTAL EAST			East Berlin	East Zone
	All	15-17	18-24		
<u>Economy and currency in the West:</u> About the economy in the West, so we have basis for comparison; the whole economy in West Berlin; great interest in the exhibitions, in order to get an overall picture of production and whether everything can be delivered; the whole economic system - how it differs from that in the East Zone; the value of the money - East and West Mark; etc.	5%	4%	6%	-%	13%
<u>Youth organizations and youth groups:</u> Especially the youth groups which are organized in a different fashion in the West; about the youth organizations over here - we only have the FDJ in the East; the youth organizations; etc.	4	5	-	4	3
<u>Western opinion on the question of war or peace - their plans and actions in regard to it:</u> The defense preparations in West Germany - they want to know whether they'll be attacked in the East or not; whether there will be a war - the FDJ always talks about war-mongering in the West; whether the West really wants war as they tell us over here; whether there is actual remilitarization in the West; etc.	3	3	2	3	3
<u>Educational and professional opportunities for youth:</u> About school life; they want to know about professional opportunities for the youth here; life at school; the situation of the youth in the West - school life and professional training; professional opportunities in the West; etc.	3	3	2	3	3
<u>About progress and achievements in modern techniques (also in regard to quality):</u> The new technical developments; technical and mechanical inventions; to learn something about the new automobiles and motorcycles; about the technical progress; etc.	1	-	2	-	2
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	<u>6</u> 133%	<u>3</u> 132%	<u>13</u> 136%	<u>5</u> 135%	<u>8</u> 128%

* A number of respondents gave more than one answer.

EXTENT OF CONTACT WITH WEST BERLIN MEDIA ...

A more focused approach to East Zone interest in the West was embodied in a query about the respondents' contacts with West Berlin magazines, newspapers, and radio programs. Nine out of ten of the male youth sampled reported listening to West Berlin radio stations, and approximately two-thirds reported occasional reading of West Berlin magazines and papers. To the extent that the present sampling is representative of East Zone youth in the areas adjacent to West Berlin, it thus suggests a considerable penetration of Western media.

"Do you sometimes read West Berlin newspapers or magazines?
Do you listen to Western or West Berlin radio stations?"

	TOTAL EAST			East Berlin	East Zone
	All	15-17	18-24		
Yes, newspapers	63%	65%	72%	70%	62%
Yes, magazines	64	68	56	67	60
Yes, radio stations	91	92	90	94	88
Neither/Nor	2	2	4	-	6
No opinion	-	-	-	-	-
	225%*	227%*	222%*	231%*	216%*

* Most respondents gave more than one answer.

As might be anticipated, figures for reported newspaper and magazine readership are somewhat higher among the more educated and informed elements of the youth sampled - the better schooled, the better off, and students as contrasted with workers. Western radio listening, however, appears to be rather uniformly high among all youth elements.

"Do you sometimes read West Berlin newspapers or magazines?
Do you listen to Western or West Berlin radio stations?"

	Yes, newspapers	Yes, magazines	Yes, radio stations	Neither/ Nor	No opinion	No. of cases:
TOTAL EAST						
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	61%	59%	93%	3%	-/...216%	106
Beyond elementary school	79	75	89	2	-	245 56
<u>Income (per month):</u>						
Up to 300 DM	61%	59%	91%	3%	-/	214 96
300 DM and more	79	71	92	1	-	243 62
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Employed (including apprentices)	60%	59%	87%	5%	-/	211 86
Students	77	72	95	-	-	245 70
<u>Membership in Youth Organizations:</u>						
Member	64%	56%	92%	8%	-/	220 39
Not a member	68	67	91	1	-	227 123

HAS EAST GERMANY OR WEST RECOVERED MORE ECONOMICALLY? ...

With interests ascertained, the questioning went on to appraisal of Western conditions. The first generalized inquiry elicited a very widespread opinion that economic recovery in West Germany outdistances that in the East.

"According to everything you know which part of Germany has recovered more economically: East Germany or West Germany?"

	TOTAL EAST			East Berlin	East Zone
	<u>All</u>	<u>15-17</u>	<u>18-24</u>		
East Germany	6%	8%	2%	7%	5%
West Germany	86	83	92	87	84
Both the same	6	7	2	3	10
No opinion	2	2	4	3	1
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

There is almost perfect concurrence on the present judgment among the various strata of the East Zone male youth.

"According to everything you know which part of Germany has recovered more economically: East Germany or West Germany?"

	East Germany	West Germany	Both same	No opinion	No. of cases:
TOTAL EAST					
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	8%	84%	7%	1% ... 100%	106
Beyond elementary school	4	89	2	5	56
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Up to 300 DM	5%	85%	7%	3%	96
300 DM and more	6	89	3	2	63
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Employed (including apprentices)	6	87	6	1	86
Students	7	84	6	3	70
<u>Membership in Youth Organizations:</u>					
Member	8%	87%	5%	4%	39
Not a member	6	85	6	3	123

The East Zone respondents were brought down to more concrete evaluations of the West by inquiries as to what they liked best and least about the West Berlin they had had the opportunity to personally examine.

The big theme among the likings was the economic boom - the food, the clothes, the shop windows, the cars and the like. But in many respects more significant was the very appreciable emphasis in the answers upon political freedom in West Berlin. Normally youth, especially those between the ages of 15-17, cannot be expected to have any extensive consciousness of their political environment. That in the present instance fully a third of the sample in this age group should focus upon consideration of political freedom as what they "especially liked" in West Berlin, is very suggestive of the extent to which Eastern youth may be reacting to the political constraints to which they have been subjected.

"What did you especially like in West Berlin?"

	TOTAL EAST			East Berlin	East Zone
	<u>All</u>	<u>15-17</u>	<u>18-24</u>		
<u>The economic boom:</u> Food, clothes, shoes, the whole life, the impression one gets, business-life is much more vivid; that people can buy everything and that they are better off and more content with life; the economic boom; the shop-windows and the fashions; the cars, the filled shops and the illumination; the shops are filled with goods, the quality of clothing material is very good and there is a great choice; the good illumination of the streets, the filled shops, the up-to-date advertisements and the equipment of the shops; the good suits, the material is much better than that we get in the East; in Berlin one can also buy varnish and paint of a good quality, we don't have anything like it; the people here are all neatly dressed; that here everything is cheaper and better; the well-arranged shop-windows and the good quality of things; that everything is off rations here; the general reconstruction; there are no ration cards here; people are better clothed, the city is better tidied up and rebuilt; etc.	55%	58%	49%	55%	57%
<u>The individual and political freedom:</u> The individual freedom of everybody; first of all the freedom; the freedom of speech; that one can talk freely here; that everyone can express his opinion freely, that he can choose freely the youth organization of which he wants to be a member; they live in freedom and security; here they can say everything, but not in the Eastern Zone; here one does not need to be cautious about saying something wrong and be arrested for it; the free life, there is only oppression in the East; the way West Berlin is administrated, the government was elected freely; everyone can act according to his own free will, nobody needs to be afraid; the democracy, there are several political parties who have a word to say; etc.	37	33	49	40	33

(cont'd on next page)

	TOTAL EAST			East Berlin	East Zone
	All	15-17	18-24		

Cultural events (Movies, Theater, America-house, etc.): The movie-theaters and the movies; the movies and the theater; theater; that I can go to the America-houses and learn something; etc.

12%	12%	5%	15%	3%
-----	-----	----	-----	----

The exhibits and fairs: The industrial fair, the "Gruene Woche" (Agrarian fair); the industrial fair where one meets with civilized people; the automobile fair, the industrial fair, the Agrarian fair, the Staedtische Oper, the exhibits, people see the progress that is made in reconstruction; etc.

7	10	2	9	5
---	----	---	---	---

The friendliness of the people: The people are much more friendly here; people are quite different here, they have a different look; everything is much more friendly here, one feels at home; people can buy everything here and they are much more friendly; the politeness and courtesy in the shops; the well-behaved Sturm-police; etc.

2	2	4	1	5
---	---	---	---	---

I like everything: Everything is grand, only the prices are a bit high for East Zone inhabitants; etc.

1	2	-	2	-
---	---	---	---	---

I like nothing: There is nothing that I like especially; etc.

-	1	-	1	*
---	---	---	---	---

Other opinions: The set-up, the advertisements; the active life and the business; that one sees much more than in the East; the whole life is very impressive, much more colorful and vivid; that books are printed here, also ancient poetry that we don't have; better chances to make a go; the parks and recreation-grounds which we also have; especially the school instruction and the good teachers; etc.

4	6	-	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

2	2	2	1	3
120%	126%**	111%**	128%**	111%**

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Questioned about dislikes, the preponderance of the youth insisted that they liked everything about West Berlin. Those who would volunteer criticism focus upon a diversity of themes varying from unemployment to alleged unfriendly treatment of East Zone residents in West Berlin. The pattern of returns reveals clearly that to some extent at least anti-West propaganda is registering with East German youth.

"And what did you not like about West Berlin?"

	TOTAL EAST			East Berlin	East Zone
	All	15-17	18-24		
<u>I liked everything:</u> So far I have liked everything; I like it here - I have nothing to criticize; I have never seen anything bad about it so far; etc.	38%	41%	32%	34%	44%
<u>The unemployment:</u> The unemployment problem; the many unemployed; that there are so many people without a job; etc.	8	6	13	12	-
<u>Bad literature:</u> The booklets and magazines at the newspaper stands - they are not good for the kids around the age of 15; the cheap novels one can buy at the newspaper stands; the gangster novels; etc.	5	4	6	6	3
<u>Unstable economic conditions - high prices:</u> That everything is so expensive; the unstable economy; many people can't buy what they see in the store windows; behind the elegance of the Kurfuerstendamm is naked poverty; etc.	4	3	6	4	5
<u>Bad movies:</u> The Western movies; some of the movies in the theaters; movies which have a bad influence on the young - Westerns - Dritte von Rechts; that the movie theaters in the Western sector show cheap movies; the movies they have here - i.e. the Wild-West movies are not good; etc.	4	4	2	5	2
<u>Reconstruction not far progressed:</u> That they don't put as much pressure behind reconstruction as in the East; that there is still so much rubble in the streets; the clearing away of ruins is not as far advanced as in the East; they could do more to improve the beauty of the city; there is poor illumination in some of the streets; that they don't build so much here, i.e. apartments, etc.; etc.	4	4	2	6	-
<u>Criticism of political conditions in West Germany:</u> All the quarrels they have with each other, as i.e. at the Potsdamer Platz; the blunders of the city administration in the case of the Avus-reconstruction; the squabbles between the parties in the city parliament; the population here is not being made aware of what is going on in the world - I have never seen a poster here that enlightened people on any current problems; they want to divert people from the daily problems through cheap literature, movies and murder mysteries; party policy are frequently put before German interests; all the exaggerations in the Western press concerning political events in the East sector and the East Zone; etc.	4	4	4	4	5

(cont'd on next page)

TOTAL EAST

East
Berlin East
ZoneAll 15-17 18-24Unfavorable rate of exchange - two currencies:

That the exchange rate is so high; the difficulties with the two currencies; that we have two currencies; etc.

3% 3% 4% 3% 3%

Unfriendly treatment of the East Zone population in the West - lack of understanding, etc.: That the people in West Berlin look down on the people in East Berlin - as if it were our fault that we live in the East; that the police and certain other people are very impolite with us and treat us snobbishly; the childish attitude on the part of some of the West Berliners and the political indifference toward the East Zone; that the West Berliners regard us as different and foreign people - they don't want to have anything to do with us; etc.

2 3 - 2 2

Other opinions: That we are not accepted for jobs here; that everything is too expensive for me and that I can't buy anything here; that there are so many newspapers; that the people from West Berlin go shopping at the HO (Handels-Organisation); I am sometimes a little afraid when I pass the Grunewald - why do they have the I.P.F.; the policemen are too severe - if we make some mistake while riding a bicycle we are fined for it; they play too much martial music and are too militaristic; that they produce toy pistols and toy guns for the children so that they get the desire to shoot at people and a desire to fight; their tanks destroy the Grunewald; etc.

9 10 6 9 8

No opinion / No answer:

<u>28</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>23</u>
<u>109%</u>	<u>111%</u>	<u>104%</u>	<u>117%</u>	<u>96%</u>

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

III. OPINIONS ON GERMAN YOUTH QUESTIONS

ARE YOUTH BETTER OFF IN EAST ZONE OR WEST? ...

The heavily preponderant opinion among all elements of the East Zone male youth sample is that young people are better off in West Germany than in the East Zone.

"As far as you can judge, where are the young better off:
in the East Zone or in West Germany?"

	TOTAL EAST			East Berlin	East Zone
	All	15-17	18-24		
East Zone	4%	4%	4%	5%	2%
West Germany	81	79	87	84	76
No opinion	15	18	9	11	22
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

East Zone West Germany No opinion No. of cases:

TOTAL EAST

Education:

Elementary school	2%	83%	15% ... 100%	106
Beyond elementary school	7	77	16	56

Income (per month):

Up to 300 DM	4%	84%	12%	96
300 DM and more	3	81	16	62

Occupation:

Employed (including apprentices)	4	82	14	86
Students	4	77	19	70

Membership in Youth Organizations:

Member	5%	85%	10%	39
Not a member	3	80	17	123

The reasons for the overwhelming pro-Western judgment have already been intimated in previous questions - the basic themes again that living standards are higher in the West and the individual is free of political pressure.

"As far as you can judge, where are the young better off: in the East Zone or in West Germany?"

If "West Germany": "In what respects?"

	TOTAL EAST			East Berlin	East Zone
	11	15-17	18-24		
<u>Higher and better living standard:</u> Money in the West is of more value - they can live better and have better clothes; the financial conditions are better and they can get ahead in their jobs; even if they are unemployed they get a pension and can buy something - prices in the HO are too high even for people without work; there they have everything for reasonable prices - clothing, food, etc. which is much too expensive in the HO; because there are more products on the market; they have more to eat at the moment - we have still a food shortage; they have more advantages concerning clothes, shoes, etc. - here we can only buy them with ration coupons; money is of more worth in the West; etc.	42%	41%	47%	42%	43%
<u>They are free of political pressure:</u> Political pressure is not as great - individual ability decides; they can speak openly in the West - that means everything; they are not oppressed politically - have more freedom; they have political and individual freedom; they have more freedom - we are not allowed to say anything against the East, otherwise we have to expect that we will be thrown out of school; because they can live freely and benefit from Western civilization; because they can freely inform themselves about everything - while we have to do it illegally in the East; etc.	35	33	40	32	40
<u>Better educational opportunities:</u> Education is much better - individual achievements count; they have better instruction and are farther advanced; schools have better teachers; they can learn more in their specialized training schools because they have a basis of comparison with other countries; they receive a better education and know what they are studying for; etc.	11	14	7	12	11
<u>Education without political infiltration:</u> Everything is free there - everybody can learn what he likes without having to join a political organization; everybody can freely choose a profession without having to consider the party; they learn something and don't just receive political instruction; etc.	6	5	9	5	8

(cont'd on next page)

TOTAL EAST

East
Berlin East
ZoneAll 15-17 18-24

No pressure to join any party or political organization: Membership in any political organization is not at all in the West; all the organizations in East Germany are political in contrast to West Germany; they don't have a political oppression and are not forced to join political organizations; the youth in West Germany does not have to join the FDJ - I hate the FDJ; we can't go to any youth hostel in the East if we are not members of the FDJ - more freedom in the West; i.e. sports and trips - we can only partake in those if we are members of the FDJ and we don't have as many as in the West; etc.

5% 8% 2% 7% 5%

Better opportunities for sports: Their sport clubs are better; they have better opportunities in sports; in the organization of their free time; etc.

3 3 2 2 5

Other opinions: They do more for the youth in the West - better youth hostels and kindergartens; they are not watched; etc.

- - 2 * 2

No opinion / No answer:

1 1 2 2 -
104% 105% 111% 102% 114%

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Since so few respondents argued that advantages for youth were greater in the East Zone it is only possible to list some illustrative comments.

"We have sport, we dance too, but not crazy dances like boogie-woogie over there."

"They get apprenticeships and jobs - but nobody knows how far political pressure increases."

"The FDJ-members have all the advantages a state can give to his youth; one has more freedom."

"The order of 45 work-hours weekly given by the law of protecting youth."

"Youth is furthered in every respect."

"There is no unemployment."

WHAT PROPORTIONS OF EAST ZONE YOUTH HAVE BEEN WON TO EASTERN AIMS? ...

Returns . the present question reveal that in the judgment of the present East Zone sample, far from a negligible proportion of East German youth have been won over to the aims of the East Zone government. Only 19 per cent give estimates in the one to ten per cent category which would be the equivalent of few, and over half of the estimates range upward from 20 per cent. These of course are only estimates, but coming from people so close to the situation they give considerable food for thought.

"In your estimation, how large a percentage of the East German youth has been won for the aims of the East Zone government?"

	TOTAL EAST			East Berlin	East Zone
	<u>All</u>	<u>15-17</u>	<u>18-24</u>		
1 - 10%	19%	19%	19%	17%	22%
11 - 20%	19	16	26	21	16
21 - 40%	37	41	28	41	32
41 - 50%	10	10	11	6	16
51 - 60%	7	6	8	7	6
61 - 80%	7	8	6	6	8
81 - 100%	1	-	2	2	-
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Estimates of the extent of Eastern loyalty among East Zone youth tend to run appreciably lower among the better educated respondents and those with higher incomes.

"In your estimation, how large a percentage of the East German youth has been won for the aims of the East Zone government?"

	1-10%	11-20%	21-40%	41-50%	51-60%	61-80%	81-100%	No. of cases
<u>Education:</u>								
Elementary school	14%	16%	39%	13%	9%	7%	2%..100%	106
Beyond elementary school	28	25	34	4	4	5	-	56
<u>Income (per month):</u>								
Up to 300 DM	13%	20%	38%	13%	7%	7%	2%	96
300 DM and more	31	18	35	6	5	5	-	62
<u>Occupation:</u>								
Employed (including apprentices)	18%	14%	40%	9%	8%	9%	2%	86
Students	23	26	31	10	6	4	-	70
<u>Membership in Youth Organizations:</u>								
Member	25%	18%	31%	10%	8%	8%	-	39
Not a member	17	19	39	10	7	6	2	123

A SINGLE VERSUS MULTIPLE YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS ...

One of the most definitive differences between the organization of youth in the East Zone versus that in the West is that the Communists follow the old Hitler pattern of a single monolithic group whereas the Western powers have encouraged diversity along lines of particular interests. It is of importance to discover that almost two thirds of the East Zone male youth sampled in the present study express a preference for the style of organization being promoted in the West.

"What do you consider better: if there was only one single youth organization in a country or several?"

"Do you think then that all other youth organizations should be prohibited or not?" (Asked of those who answered "single youth organizations" to previous question.)

	TOTAL EAST			East Berlin	East Zone
	<u>All</u>	<u>15-17</u>	<u>18-24</u>		
Several youth organizations	63%	58%	74%	62%	65%
Single youth organization	37	42	26	38	35
Others prohibited	(5%)	(6%)	(7%)	(8%)	(3%)
Others not prohibited	(30)	(35)	(19)	(29)	(32)
No opinion	(1)	(1)	(-)	(1)	(-)
No opinion	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

These results become additionally significant in view of earlier findings on a US Zone sample* that 55 per cent of the youth** favored a single youth organization, with 32 per cent taking the contrary view and 13 per cent having no opinion.

The interesting suggestion of course emerges - which is worth further study - that German predilections for a unitary type of youth organization are considerably weakened when they experience the Communist model.

* See Report No. 73, Series No. 2, dated April 13, 1951 - DO GERMANS WANT A SINGLE YOUTH ORGANIZATION IN WEST GERMANY? - Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, HICOG.

**These included both males and females between the ages of 15 and 24 years.

Group comparisons suggest - though the number of cases are too few for statistical conclusiveness - that support for multiple organizations is at its maximum among the more educated and better off elements of East Zone male youth.

"What do you consider better: if there was only one single youth organization in a country or several?"

"Do you think then that all other youth organizations should be prohibited or not?" (Asked of those who answered "single youth organization" to previous question.)

	Several youth organizations	Single youth organization	(Others prohibited)	(Others not prohibited)	(No opinion)	No opin.	No. of cases:
<u>Education:</u>							
Elementary school	59%	41%	(6%	(35%)	(-%)	-	106
Beyond elementary school	71	29	(7)	(22)	(-)	-	56
<u>Income (per month):</u>							
Up to 300 DM	57%	43%	(6%)	(36%)	(1%)	-	96
300 DM and more	71	29	(6)	(23)	(-)	-	62
<u>Occupation:</u>							
Employed (including apprentices)	63%	37%	(7%)	(30%)	(-%)	-	86
Students	63	37	(6)	(30)	(1)	-	70
<u>Membership in Youth Organizations:</u>							
Member	64%	36%	(3%)	(33%)	(-%)	-	39
Not a member	63	37	(7)	(29)	(1)	-	123

The most frequent argument advanced in support of multiple organizations for youth is that people have different convictions and interests which could not be adequately expressed in a single organization. An appreciable number of respondents, however, specifically brought up the point that a single organization would lend itself to dictatorship and is redolent of the Third Reich.

"What would you consider better: if there was only one single youth organization in a country or several?"

If "Several": "Why?"

TOTAL EAST

East East
Berlin Zone

All 15-17 18-24

People have different convictions and interests:

Because people have different opinions; everybody thinks differently; people have different tastes; not all people think alike, therefore they should have the opportunity to represent all interests; because one organization could never satisfy the young because they have different interests; not everybody can be brought under one hood - not everybody needs to have the same opinions; so one can see the differences and join an organization of one's own choice; etc.

43% 37% 57% 42% 46%

One organization would not be democratic - means dictatorship - would be same as during Third Reich: Otherwise there'd be the danger of one-sided political influence; because we have several political parties as well; otherwise it would be a dictatorship; then they have more choice - one alone would be like the Hitler youth; one has more freedom if there are several organizations - otherwise one would be tied down; because unity means political oppression; because they would not be trained in one idea only and can inform themselves about more things - they won't be indoctrinated as much as in the FDJ; etc.

14 9 23 13 14

Competition is useful (exchange of thought, etc.):

So that everybody can profit from the directives of the different organizations; free competition is easier realized in several organizations; there will be more discussions; because of the competition the organizations will be better; so that one organization can learn from the other; etc.

8 9 7 6 11

Differences in religion makes it mandatory:

Because of the various religious beliefs the youth groups could not pursue their aims in one organization only; they will have more opportunities than to concentrate on one thing; perhaps a Protestant person would prefer to join a Protestant group; etc.

5 6 2 6 3

(cont'd on next page)

TOTAL EAST			East Berlin	East Zone
<u>All</u>	<u>15-17</u>	<u>18-24</u>		

Other opinions: Because more and different organizations would exist then; they can be more successful than just one - it would strengthen the youth groups; several organizations will mean a better guarantee of peace than just a single one; etc.

2%	2%	2%	1%	3%
----	----	----	----	----

No opinion / No answer:

-	-	-	-	-
---	---	---	---	---

Versality - Variety: More variety - one would be too uniform; in order to prevent onesidedness; etc.

$\frac{1}{73\%}$ *	$\frac{2}{65\%}$ *	$\frac{-}{91\%}$ *	$\frac{1}{69\%}$ *	$\frac{2}{79\%}$ *
--------------------	--------------------	--------------------	--------------------	--------------------

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

The minority who argued for the superiority of a single youth organization in the bulk of instances alleged that thereby quarrels and disunity would be prevented.

"What would you consider better: if there was only one single youth organization in a country or several?"

If "Single": "Why are you of this opinion?"

TOTAL EAST

East East
Berlin Zone

All 15-17 18-24

Unity prevents disunion and quarrels: The young will be more satisfied - no quarrels; all the young will then have the same opportunities - several organizations will always fight each other; if there are several, there will only be quarrelling; then all of them will have only one aim and won't disagree; each organization has a definite aim - if there is one organization there will be one aim only; because otherwise there would be too many different opinions and that should not be; so that all will have the same opinions and the same aims; then there would be no split and everybody would agree - if that had been the case in the West we would have united long ago; etc.

30% 33% 22% 28% 32%

A uniform organization is simpler - more discipline (easier to lead and to organize): There would be more order; everything can be organized much easier; because one organization is easier to handle; because the leadership would be uniform and by that the interests of the youth would be better presented; only one leadership group would give the orders and nobody else would meddle; etc.

4 4 2 4 3

Better cooperation among the young: It will promote better understanding and cooperation among the young in general; with that the various interests could be furthered - personal contact would increase if they stand in close contact; youth would stick together much more and would prevent the existence of other organizations; because of better cooperation; etc.

2 4 - 4 -

Uniformity is good (general): If everything is unified it would be better; because it is more uniform; etc.

2 3 2 4 -

Other opinions: Because young people should all have one aim - that is peace; etc.

2 1 4 3 -

No opinion / No answer:

40% 45% 30% 43% 35%

MERITS AND DEMERITS OF THE FDJ ...

To obtain specific evaluations of the East Zone youth organization all respondents were asked to indicate what they liked and what they disliked about the FDJ. On the first question a full 60 per cent of the sample answered a vigorous "nothing." The other comments were scattered from approval of the tours and trips down to a liking for FDJ sponsored work teams.

The opportunity should not be overlooked here of possibly capitalizing on the lampoon of the FDJ that one respondent brings up as existent in the East Zone, - i.e., Feind der Jugend (enemy of the youth). This phrase seems catchy enough to provide an effective anti-FDJ slogan for use during the projected Communist world youth festival in East Berlin.

"What do you like about the FDJ?"

	TOTAL EAST			East Berlin	East Zone
	All	15-17	18-24		
<u>Nothing:</u> Nothing, they are just well-drilled dogs; as a matter of fact, nothing; nothing, it is a second Hitler youth; we call the FDJ the "Feind der Jugend" (enemy of the youth); nothing, there is only force; I don't know what I should like; nothing, I am not a member of it; nothing, absolutely nothing; etc.	60%	55%	74%	58%	64%
<u>The tours and trips:</u> Only the trips; for very little money one can go on trips in summer; tours which have the goal of arousing love for the home country; they make wonderful trips; camps; etc.	13	18	2	17	8
<u>Sports:</u> The assistance we got in matters of sports; only sports; that all exercise sports; the sporting activities; the only thing we like is sports; etc.	9	10	9	5	16
<u>The evening meetings and games:</u> The evening meetings where they play games; the evening meetings; the games and the evening meetings; the theater evenings; etc.	4	5	-	4	3
<u>We learn something there:</u> The FDJ stimulates the wish to learn something, even only with regard to politics; the FDJ teaches us something, is very stimulating, for instance with regard to the political and cultural fields; etc.	4	4	4	3	6
<u>The FDJ tries to do something for the youth:</u> They make efforts to do something, one has some free time; that the FDJ does something in the interest of the working youth; etc.	4	1	11	3	5
<u>The "Esprit du Corps":</u> The cooperation; they always help each other and they are very comrade-like; the comradeship; the way they treat every single member, they do it in a comrade-like way but nevertheless strict; etc.	2	2	2	2	2

(cont'd on next page)

TOTAL EAST			East Berlin	East Zone
<u>All</u>	<u>15-17</u>	<u>18-24</u>		

The advantages of membership: This single organization is backed up by the power of the government, that is advantageous for the youth, for instance concerning sports grounds; from the educational point of view the FDJ is a good organization which helps all those who are members of it in the way of a job, they can make things go much easier; the political training which is necessary to make a go of things; etc.

1	1	-	-	2
---	---	---	---	---

Well organized: A good organization; the FDJ is organized in a way that represents a united organization; etc.

1	2	-	2	..
---	---	---	---	----

The work teams: The work teams; the work teams where they do handicraft; etc.

1	1	-	1	-
---	---	---	---	---

Don't know: Don't know the FDJ, I am no member of it; I am no member of the FDJ, can't tell, know too little about it; I can't name anything in particular because I'm no member of it; I'm not a member of the FDJ; etc.

4	4	2	6	-
---	---	---	---	---

No answer:

$\frac{6}{109\%}$	$\frac{8}{111\%}$	$\frac{-}{104\%}$	$\frac{7}{108\%}$	$\frac{3}{109\%}$
-------------------	-------------------	-------------------	-------------------	-------------------

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Dislikes of the FDJ focused strongly on the political regimentation and Communist indoctrinations inherent in the movement.

"What do you not like about the FDJ?"

F'TAL EAST

East East
Berlin Zone

All 15-17 18-24

Too political and too much under the influence of the SED: They are too much in favor of politics; the FDJ is too political, only people without brains join it, for instance the farmers; they only deal with politics and the party, but emphasize that they are independent and unpolitical; that they participate in political actions, as for instance in the matter of Helgoland; too much politics in the evening meetings; it is politics that I don't like about this organization, it is training for Communism; that they burden the six-year old ones with politics, later on they won't be able to form an independent judgment; politics come first, the youth is presented with a pre-fabricated ideology and is not given the chance to form an own opinion; too much emphasis is placed on propaganda; they talk in a very clever way but their actions are not in accordance with their talking; they don't pay any attention to the laws that are laid down in their constitution; they claim for instance that the FDJ is an independent organization, but in reality it is just an appendage of the SED; etc. 38% 39% 38% 36% 44%

Eastern bias and the political intimidation connected with it: The young are trained to have a one-sided view of everything, if that goes on they will become convinced of what they are taught; they only deal with the policy of the East, but never with the Western policy in a sensible way; one is not allowed to say anything unfavorable about the East; the training in the Moskau spirit, which they have to go through; the exaggerated emphasis of the friendship with Stalin; they are not allowed to express their opinion freely because they are not supposed to say anything favorable about the West; etc. 15 15 15 14 11

The coercion and the monopolistic position: They want to force the youth to join the FDJ; too much coercion; there is too much force, and those who don't agree with them will get punished; the force, if I don't join the FDJ they will consider me an outsider; that I have to participate in every meeting; without an FDJ-identification card, one can't make a go anywhere; for entering high school a child has to be a member of the FDJ, it is a political organization; too much force exercised, without FDJ membership one can't get a place for apprenticeship; etc. 14 15 11 15 16

(cont'd on next page)

TOTAL EAST	East	East
	Berlin	Zone
<u>All 15-17 18-24</u>		

The organisation and the activities of the FDJ (demonstrations, evening meetings, collections, etc.): They don't do any sports, they just drink and dance; boys and girls are together; the behavior in the streets which is not as it could be expected of the FDJ; there is a lot of to-do about it; too many demonstrations, they don't have time for their home work; the assemblies; etc.

12%	12%	11%	10%	15%
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

The FDJ is just as bad or worse than organisations of the Nazi time: It is almost the same as the Hitler youth; the boys wear almost the same uniform; because everything is even worse than under Hitler; the young are forced to join the FDJ in order to have advantages; their ideals are those of the time before 1945; it is exactly the same as in the Nazi time, only the color has changed; etc.

10	8	17	12	8
----	---	----	----	---

The military-like behavior, education toward militarism: The militaristic attitude of the youth; education toward militarism; it is all too military-like, political assembling, they are just marching and nobody knows what for; the constant marching; etc.

6	5	8	6	6
---	---	---	---	---

The political instigation and agitation: The political instigation; that already the little "Fioniere" are told about the rottenness of the West and that they are taught propaganda songs about it which they don't understand; they always emphasize that the West lives on loans, that the people are starving and unemployed and here with us it isn't any better; education toward hatred toward other nations; etc.

6	5	6	7	3
---	---	---	---	---

The uniform - the blue shirts: The blue shirts; the uniform; the blue shirts, more I can't say, I am not a member; etc.

4	6	-	5	3
---	---	---	---	---

I don't like anything: I don't like anything; etc.

3	4	-	1	6
---	---	---	---	---

They talk about peace without meaning it: They talk too much about peace and they don't mean it, we know that we want peace; they talk about peace and don't act in accordance with it; in their assemblies they only talk about understanding among the nations, but what they mean is war; etc.

2	3	2	3	2
---	---	---	---	---

I dislike nothing: Nothing; does not interest me; I have nothing to complain about; etc.

4	5	-	3	5
---	---	---	---	---

Other opinions: Because only the uneducated are members of the FDJ and because they are supported by a party which for instance provides for sports equipments, while other organisations have to do without any support; they join the FDJ only because of the girls; there are many spies in the FDJ, one gets suspicious even towards comrades; that the FDJ members denounce their teachers; etc.

4	4	3	5	2
---	---	---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
120%	123%	112%	119%	123%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

DID THE FDJ WHITSUNTIDE RALLY LEAVE A FAVORABLE IMPRESSION ON EAST ZONE YOUTH ...

In regard to the impression left on East Zone youth by the FDJ Whitsuntide rally the preponderance held it to be unfavorable. But despite the adverse attitudes that the present sample of East Zone youth have evidenced in prior questions toward the East in general and the FDJ in particular, as many as three in ten expressed the opinion that a good impression was left by the FDJ convocation.

"Are you of the opinion that the Whitsuntide rally of the FDJ in Berlin in general left a good impression on the youth in the East Zone or did it leave a bad impression?"

	TOTAL EAST			East Berlin	East Zone
	<u>All</u>	<u>15-17</u>	<u>18-24</u>		
Good impression	29%	31%	24%	27%	31%
Bad impression	45	42	55	41	53
No opinion	26	27	21	32	16
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

There is a suggestion above that more of the older youth judged a bad impression to have been left. The indication of an income difference in attitudes below is not easily interpreted and is probably best left to future check.

"Are you of the opinion that the Whitsuntide rally of the FDJ in Berlin in general left a good impression on the youth in the East Zone or did it leave a bad impression?"

	Good impression	Bad impression	No opinion	No. of cases:
TOTAL EAST				
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	30%	46%	24% ... 100%	106
Beyond elementary school	27	46	27	56
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Up to 300 DM	25%	52%	23%	96
300 DM and more	36	37	27	62
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Employed (including apprentices)	31%	47%	22%	86
Students	28	40	32	70
<u>Membership in Youth Organization:</u>				
Member	31%		23%	39
Not a member	29		26	123

The reasons advanced by those who felt the rally left a favorable impression on East Zone youth indicate that the general pageantry, sports events, sight seeing opportunities, and camaraderie associated with such affairs are not without considerable appeal for the comparatively underprivileged East German youth. It would be strange if these favorable emotional conditionings did not have some effect in promoting political indoctrination.

"Are you of the opinion that the Whitsuntide rally of the FDJ in Berlin in general left a good impression on the youth in the East Zone or did it leave a bad impression?"

If "Good impression": "Why are you of this opinion?"

	TOTAL EAST			East Berlin	East Zone
	<u>All</u>	<u>15-17</u>	<u>18-24</u>		

The youth was enthusiastic about the sports events and cultural activities: They could go to the movies without paying, they could participate in sports and have fun; in matters of sports and cultural activities; especially through the sports activities they won a lot of young people; the youth were surprised by movies and other events; that was a sport event which impressed the young people; etc.

8%	9%	2%	6%	11%
----	----	----	----	-----

The set-up, the mass-demonstrations and the marching as well as the discipline left a favorable impression: Young people are always in favor of big demonstrations; through the new set-up and the masses of youth; because they could march; the youth likes demonstrations, they had fun; it left a deep impression, all those young people gathered there; etc.

6	5	10	7	5
---	---	----	---	---

The youth welcomed the meeting with the youth of other countries and the wish for mutual understanding between the nations: Young people of all countries thus manifested their feeling of solidarity; after the lost war youth realized that other nations regained confidence in us and want to work together with us; the youth representatives of the different nations promised freedom and unity for young people of all "Volksdemokratien"; because they got together with representatives of other nations; etc.

4	4	4	3	5
---	---	---	---	---

The youth was impressed by the reception they got, especially by the excellent accommodations and food: The food was good, and partly also the accommodations they had provided for everything; they got good quarters and good food; they received chocolate and cookies; the food and the accommodations were relatively good; etc.

3	3	4	2	5
---	---	---	---	---

The youth was given the chance to see Berlin: Because they all enjoyed seeing Berlin; because the FDJ hadn't seen Berlin before, and they were offered all sort of things that young people like; otherwise they would never have come to see Berlin; they saw a lot of Berlin; because it meant a change for them; to a great part they came from the countryside and were given the opportunity to see something different; etc.

2	3	-	1	3
---	---	---	---	---

Other opinions: The goals which were pointed out to the youth left an impression; that there should be freedom of opinion; etc.

5	6	4	8	1
---	---	---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{1}{29\%}$	$\frac{1}{31\%}$	$\frac{-}{24\%}$	$\frac{-}{27\%}$	$\frac{1}{31\%}$
------------------	------------------	------------------	------------------	------------------

Respondents who judged the rally to have left a bad impression focused most frequently on the fact that East-West comparisons were made possible by the meeting which redounded to the disadvantage of the East. Other respondents stressed the political coercions, propaganda and misrepresentations attendant to the rally, as well as alleged poor behavior of the participants.

"Are you of the opinion that the Whitsuntide rally of the FDJ in Berlin in general left a good impression on the youth in the East Zone or did it leave a bad impression?"

If "Bad impression": "Why are you of this opinion?"

TOTAL EAST

East East
Berlin Zone

All 15-17 18-24

The comparison between East and West Berlin was unfavorable for the East: The youth clearly recognized the better conditions in West Berlin; the accommodations and the organization were poor; they had the opportunity of comparing West and East Berlin and this comparison was unfavorable for the East; many youngsters saw the West for the first time and they could compare it with what they had been told about it; most of them came to see Berlin and later told about it in the East Zone; many of them got lots of presents; in West Berlin they saw much that was unfavorable for the goals of the East; etc.

17% 14% 24% 14% 21%

They used force, the youngsters did not come voluntarily and were not allowed to move about freely: Some of them were forced to participate in the rally, and that was obviously bad; many children had not wanted to participate; most of them did not go voluntarily; the youths were not allowed to move about in Berlin freely; the members of the FDJ were forbidden to enter the Western sectors of Berlin, they put spies on the Eastern stations near the border; etc.

8 9 6 8 8

The FDJ showed bad behavior: Because they didn't behave well in the streets; because it was a rally of rowdies, they didn't learn anything anyway; with regard to morals they really misbehaved; the FDJ misbehaved; the ones that were here did misbehave, they demolished the furniture, they annoyed the people and smoked where it was not permitted; those who are really for it acted in such a way that others were disgusted; the FDJ was not taken seriously by the youth, they are considered ridiculous and are despised; it really was ridiculous; the FDJ, and the ones from Saxony in particular showed bad behavior; etc.

6 5 6 5 7

The propaganda and misrepresentation: It was purely a propaganda affair; because most of the young people notice that everything is a big lie; because the whole rally was nonsense, everything was propaganda; they told lies about so many people being there, everything was propaganda; most children said it was worse than in the Hitler youth; the drums, the banners, marching, the rush and the uselessness of it; they felt that it was just a fake; such propaganda does not work; etc.

6 6 6 3 11

(cont'd on next page)

TOTAL EAST

East
Berlin East
ZoneAll 15-17 18-24The rally was badly organized and useless:

Nothing was organized properly; it was poorly organized and did not work out; everything was badly organized without a real plan; everything that was done was quite useless because of insufficient organization; it all did not work out; etc.

3%	3%	2%	5%	-%
----	----	----	----	----

Insufficient food and poor accomodation: The food was rotten; food and accomodation were a great disappointment; the accomodation was second-rate; girls and boys together in camps; etc.

2	1	6	2	3
---	---	---	---	---

They had expected more and were disappointed:

They had expected more; they believed everyone in East Berlin would give them a terrific welcome which was not the case at all; etc.

2	1	5	1	3
---	---	---	---	---

Other opinions: They were told that in West Berlin the young people were kidnapped; because most of them try to keep away from the FDJ, they are all fed up with it; when they apply for a job they are asked if they are members of the FDJ; etc.

1	2	-	2	-
---	---	---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

-	1	-	1	-
45%	42%	55%	41%	53%

EXTENT OF INTEREST IN THE PROJECTED EASTERN-SPONSORED WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL ...

Only two respondents in the entire sample were unaware of the fact that a World Youth Festival was scheduled to be held in August in the East sector of Berlin. Queried as to whether or not they would like to participate in the festival almost a third said "Yes."

"Would you like to participate in this World Youth Festival or not?"

	TOTAL EAST			East Berlin	East Zone
	<u>All</u>	<u>15-17</u>	<u>18-24</u>		
Yes	31%	33%	28%	28%	35%
No	69	67	72	72	64
No answer	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

	Yes	No	Number of cases:
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	31%	69% ... 100%	106
Beyond elementary school	30	70	56
<u>Income (per month):</u>			
Up to 300 DM	33%	57%	96
300 DM and more	29	71	62
<u>Occupation:</u>			
Employed (including apprentices)	30	70	86
Students	33	67	70
<u>Membership in Youth Organization:</u>			
Member	41%	59%	39
Not a member	28	72	123

Bearing out the indications in the prior question, these results reveal that youth rallies have considerable appeal in the East Zone even among youth who may be antagonistic to their sponsorship and their aims. This point is more clearly brought out in the cross-comparisons below which show that a large proportion of the youth who would like to attend the festival are politically unsympathetic to the East.

"Who is mainly responsible for the present tensions in the world: Russia or the Western powers?"

	West is to blame	Both are to blame	East is to blame	No opinion	No. of cases:
Would like to participate in World Youth Festival	6%	58%	32%	4% ... 100%	50
Would not like to participate	3	19	65	13	112

"What do you think most of the people in East Germany would prefer to do in the present struggle between East and West: to stay out of it all together, to side with the Western powers or to side with Russia?"

	Join with East	Keep out	Join with West	No opinion	No. of cases:
Would like to participate in World Youth Festival	4% 2	46% 23	50% 25	4% ... 100%	50
Would not like to participate	-	23 26	76 85	1 1	112
	2	49	110	1	162
	1%	30%	68%	1%	100%

"In your opinion, does the East German government represent the will of the people in the East Zone or not?"

	Represents	Does not represent	No opinion	No. of cases:
Would like to participate in World Youth Festival	30% = 14	72% = 36	4% ... 100%	50
Would not like to participate	2 = 2	28 = 110	-	112
	16	146		
	10%	90%		

IV. SOME BASIC POLITICAL JUDGMENTS

DOES THE EAST ZONE GOVERNMENT REPRESENT THE POPULAR WILL ? ...

That the present East zone regime is unrepresentative of the people is the overwhelming opinion among the German male youth sampled in the present survey. Only one in ten held the contrary view.

"In your opinion, does the East German government represent the will of the people in the East Zone or not?"

	TOTAL EAST			East Berlin	East Zone
	All	15-17	18-24		
Represents	10%	11%	6%	9%	11%
Does not represent	90	89	94	91	89
No opinion	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

The difference among various youth levels are not large enough to be reliable with the limited sampling, but they tend to suggest that among the more educated and informed only a vanishingly small proportion feel that the East Zone government is based on popular support.

"In your opinion, does the East German government represent the will of the people in the East Zone or not?"

	Represents	Does not represent	Number of cases:
TOTAL EAST			
<u>Educations:</u>			
Elementary school	13%	87% ... 100%	106
Beyond elementary school	4	96	56
<u>Income (per month):</u>			
Up to 300 DM	14%	86%	96
300 DM and more	5	95	62
<u>Occupations:</u>			
Employed (including apprentices)	14%	86%	86
Students	6	94	70
<u>Membership in Youth Organizations:</u>			
Member	15%	85%	39
Not a member	8	92	123

IS EAST OR WEST MAINLY RESPONSIBLE FOR PRESENT WORLD TENSION ? ...

Results thus far have indicated very widespread antagonism to the East among the East Zone youth sampled. That this is not always equivalent to being pro-West is disclosed in the present findings on major responsibility for East-West tension. Though a preponderance lay the major blame at the door of the East (55%) and only a miniscule proportion say the West, still almost a third say "both" and ten per cent have not made up their minds. So the point is evident that, however overwhelming the dislike for the East may be among East Zone youth, it does not preclude an appreciable amount of a "pox on both your houses" sentiment.

"Who is mainly responsible for the present tensions in the world: Russia or the Western powers?"

	TOTAL EAST			East Berlin	East Zone
	All	15-17	18-24		
East	55%	50%	68%	52%	60%
West	4	4	2	3	5
Both	31	35	24	34	27
No opinion	10	11	6	11	8
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Older youth, it should be noted above, are more widely convinced of Eastern responsibility for present world tensions than are their younger compatriots.

There is a suggestion in the group comparisons which is worth further study, that the more educated youth are more widely inclined to lay the responsibility for present world tensions on both East and West.

"Who is mainly responsible for the present tensions in the world: Russia or the Western powers?"

	East	West	Both	No opinion	No. of cases
TOTAL EAST					
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	54%	4%	28%	14% ... 100%	106
Beyond elementary school	57	4	31	2	56
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Up to 300 DM	53%	5%	32%	10%	96
300 DM and more	61	-	31	8	62
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Unemployed (including apprentices)	53%	5%	29%	13%	86
Students	53	3	31	7	70
<u>Membership in Youth Organizations:</u>					
Member	61%	-	31%	8%	39
Not a member	53	5	32	10	123

DO MOST EAST GERMANS PREFER NEUTRALITY OR SIDING WITH EAST OR WEST ? ...

More than twice as many of the male youth sampled in this study judge that most East Germans would prefer to side with the West in the present East-West struggle as contend that they would prefer to remain neutral. An infinitesimal one per cent holds that they would prefer to side with the East.

"What do you think most of the people in East Germany would prefer to do in the present struggle between East and West: to stay out of it altogether, to side with the Western powers or to side with Russia?"

	TOTAL EAST			East Berlin	East Zone
	All	15-17	18-24		
Stay out of it altogether	30%	31%	28%	31%	29%
Side with Western powers	69	67	70	67	70
Side with Russia	1	1	2	2	-
No opinion	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Though the number of cases is too few for conclusiveness, group comparisons suggest that a pro-Western estimate of popular sentiment is most frequent among the more educated and better off youth elements.

"What do you think most of the people in East Germany would prefer to do in the present struggle between East and West: to stay out of it altogether, to side with the Western powers or to side with Russia?"

	Stay out of it altogether	Side with Western powers	Side with Russia	No opinion	No. of cases
TOTAL EAST					
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	33%	64%	2%	1% ... 100%	106
Beyond elementary school	25	75	-	-	56
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Up to 300 DM	34%	65%	-	1%	96
300 DM and more	24	73	3	-	62
<u>Occupations:</u>					
Employed (including apprentices)	28%	69%	2%	1%	86
Students	36	64	-	-	70
<u>Membership in Youth Organizations:</u>					
Member	33%	64%	3%	-	39
Not a member	29	69	1	1	123

IS A WAR IN EUROPE LIKELY TO BREAK OUT IN THE NEAR FUTURE ? ...

Opinion among East Zone male youth is rather divided over whether or not there is likely to be a war in Europe in the near future, with the negative view somewhat preponderating.

"Do you think there will be a war in Europe in the near future?"

	TOTAL EAST			East Berlin	East Zone
	<u>All</u>	<u>15-17</u>	<u>18-24</u>		
Yes	41%	44%	34%	39%	43%
No	56	53	62	57	54
No opinion	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Expectations of war are least among better educated and high income youth, group comparisons reveal.

"Do you think there will be a war in Europe in the near future?"

	Yes	No	No opinion	No. of cases
TOTAL EAST				
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	46%	49%	5%	106
Beyond elementary school	30	68	2	56
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Up to 300 DM	44%	51%	5%	96
300 DM and more	34	65	1	62
<u>Occupations:</u>				
Employed (including apprentices)	42%	56%	3%	86
Students	37	59	4	70
<u>Membership in Youth Organizations:</u>				
Member	33%	59%	8%	39
Not a member	43	54	3	123

Among those who feel that a war is probable in the near future, opinion splits on whether or not East and West Germany would be likely to fight each other.

"Do you think it likely that East Germany and West Germany will fight each other in this case, or do you think this is not likely?" (Asked of those who answered "Yes" to previous question.)

	TOTAL EAST			East Berlin	East Zone
	<u>All</u>	<u>15-17</u>	<u>18-24</u>		
Likely	7%	7%	11%	23%	14%
Not likely	20	17	23	11	24
No opinion	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>
	41%	44%	34%	39%	43%

The results suggest that youth from 15 to 17 years of age are more inclined to accept the likelihood of a "Brüderkrieg" than are their elders.

FOR OR AGAINST EUROPEAN UNION?

That the idea of a union of European nations holds a potent attraction for East Zone youth is strongly attested to in the present study with 95 per cent in favor of such a course.

"Generally speaking, are you in favor of the idea of promoting a union of all the European nations, or are you opposed to it?"

	TOTAL EAST			East Berlin	East Zone
	<u>All</u>	<u>15-17</u>	<u>18-24</u>		
In favor of	95%	94%	94%	96%	93%
Opposed to it	3	4	2	3	3
Qualified replies	1	1	2	1	1
No opinion	1	1	2	-	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

In no elements of the male youth surveyed does opposition rise about the negligible.

"Generally speaking, are you in favor of the idea of promoting a union of all the European nations, or are you opposed to it?"

	In favor of	Opposed to	Qualified replies	No opinion	No. of cases
TOTAL EAST					
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	91%	5%	2%	2% ...100%	106
Beyond elementary school	100	-	-	-	56
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Up to 300 DM	94%	3%	1%	2%	96
300 DM and more	97	2	1	-	62
<u>Occupations:</u>					
Employed (including apprentices)	95%	3%	1%	1%	86
Students	94	3	2	1	70
<u>Membership in Youth Organizations:</u>					
Member	92%	3%	5%	-	39
Not a member	95	3	-	2	123

Both economic and political advantages are prominent among the considerations advanced in support of European union. The comments rather clearly suggest that even the quite young in East Germany are fed up with international controversies and war, and eager to tread the path of cooperation.

Generally speaking, are you in favor of the idea of promoting a union of all the European nations, or are you opposed to it?"

IF "In favor": "Why are you of this opinion?"

	TOTAL EAST			East Berlin	East Zone
	All	15-17	18-24		
<u>It would boost the economy and give the people a higher living standard; It would give trade a big boost; it would be of advantage to Europe economically as well as politically; economic and industrial exchange would be possible; it would mean economic progress if all nations have the same interests; economic cooperation would further the welfare of the nations; the sources of raw material could be made use of; etc.</u>	31%	29%	38%	31%	32%
<u>It would lead to unity and cooperation among all nations concerned; Because of better understanding - exchange of interests; unity strengthens freedom; it is better if all of them cooperate; because there would be fruitful cooperation; so a united Europe will be realized; as for example - the United States of America agree among themselves - if possible it should be as in the USA - it would eliminate controversies and promote understanding of the nations for each other; the example is America - we can see that it works - it would be the ideal solution; etc.</u>	29	31	22	27	32
<u>It would prevent wars; Because all of them would jointly try to prevent war; by that a war could be prevented; because there would be less wars and controversies; peace would be preserved; because all of them want peace; because I see in it the guarantee for peace if all nations would cooperate; if all nations unite war would be impossible; the one nation can't attack the other - that would be especially good for the small nations; etc.</u>	26	24	30	26	25
<u>It would solve quarrels and differences of opinion - eliminate the hatred among nations; Then there won't be any controversies anymore and the nations can be governed easier; the differences of opinion among the nations would stop - the nations would stick together; because the hatred between France and Germany would be eliminated; because Europe belongs together as one continent and the controversies in Europe would be ended by that; etc.</u>	15	17	13	17	13

(Cont'd on next page)

TOTAL EAST

East
Berlin East
ZoneAll 15-17 18-24

Europe would grow into a strong power fortified against any aggression; They would present a strong power against eventual aggression; in order to create a power that can be defended in case of a war - America is a big power and Russia as well; it would be a strong and united power which nobody would dare to attack; in case Europe were attacked she could defend herself better; otherwise the world will never be at ease - of course the interests of all nations concerned would have to be defended; etc.

13% 13% 13% 14% 11%

Other opinions: Then everybody could travel everywhere - as in the past; it might perhaps lead to unification of Germany; because the Western nations have the same culture as Germany and we belong to them; so the misery in the East Zone will end; etc.

4 3 6 2 8

No opinion / No answer:

1 1 1 1 1
119% 118% 122% 118% 121%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

The occasional respondents who opposed a European union voiced comments like the following:

"Because the Schuman Plan is not set up by France but by America, therefore the Americans would have a strong bulwark against the East."

"Every state would have a better point of view when it is left alone and hasn't to ask other states."

"If a war breaks out the Germans then have to fight again."

"We are getting on alone, nobody needs to bother with us."

V. BRIEF APPRAISAL OF SCHOOL, CHURCH, AND HOME EDUCATION
CONDITIONS IN THE EAST ZONE

EXPERT OF SATISFACTION WITH EAST ZONE SCHOOLS ...

A last series of questions was included in the present study to see to what extent East Zone youth registers awareness and condemnations of Communist encroachments upon freedom of education in schools, in churches, and in home life. Queried first about schools in the East zone, three quarters of the male youth surveyed reported themselves as dissatisfied.

"In general, are you satisfied with the schools in the East Zone or not?"

	TOTAL EAST			East Berlin	East Zone
	All	15-17	18-24		
Satisfied	22%	23%	19%	24%	19%
Not satisfied	75	74	79	73	79
No opinion	3	3	2	3	2
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

	Satisfied	Not satisfied	No opinion	No. of cases
TOTAL EAST				
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	25%	72%	3%	106
Beyond elementary school	18	82	-	56
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Up to 300 DM	23%	73%	4%	96
300 DM and more	23	77	-	62
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Employed (including apprentices)	25%	73%	2%	86
Students	22	76	2	70
<u>Membership in Youth Organization:</u>				
Member	28%	69%	3%	39
Not a member	20	77	3	123

What is happening to schools in the East Zone is clearly indicated, in the reasons advanced for dissatisfaction. These are replete with the charge that the schools are saturated with politics, with education made merely a handmaiden to political indoctrination.

"In general, are you satisfied with the schools in the East Zone or not?"

IF "Not satisfied": "In what respects are you not satisfied?"

TOTAL EAST			East Berlin	East Zone
All	15-17	18-24		

Subject matter saturated with politics: We have to write too many papers about the Soviet Union, Stalin and peace; the whole curriculum - they only teach about the present - Stalin, Russia and Piek; because they only teach about the present which consists of the glorification of Eastern politics; they practice too much politics - we have to write political papers constantly - the classrooms are decorated with pictures of Stalin and slogans; youth is trained in the Communist ideals; politics are too much in the foreground - we are being educated as Communists; the pioneers need not do any home-work - they tell us too much about Stalin and Russia - we mostly have to write political papers because the schools are too political and every student is forced to attend the most awful Russian movies; they don't emphasize anything else in school but modern history and membership in the FDJ; the political influence is too strong - if one is not a member of the FDJ one is not admitted to the final examination; in modern history they only talk about Korea, Russia and China; every subject is infiltrated with politics - politics come first - studying second; etc.

57%	55%	62%	54%	62%
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

Incapable teachers: Poor teachers; the young teachers are not trained in their subjects - we don't learn anything; all of them are new - hardly two years older than we are - they don't know much more than we do; the schools are not organized on a scientific basis - not enough means of instruction, textbooks, etc.; we are dissatisfied with the teachers - they are trained within two months and don't know their subjects well enough - the system is poor as well; children don't learn enough from the young teachers - the children in the West sector are farther advanced; etc.

11	11	11	9	14
----	----	----	---	----

No freedom (cannot express opinion freely - no permission to read Western newspapers): Nobody is permitted to contradict, yet everybody wants to do it; that we cannot express our personal opinion because we will be thrown out of school then; in modern history (Gegenwartskunde) the children are questioned as to the attitude of their parents; one either has to join the pioneers or the FDJ - they control the satchels as well to see if

(Cont'd on next page)

TOTAL EAST

East East
Berlin Zone

All 15-17 18-24

the children carry Western newspapers; those who are caught reading Western newspapers are reprimanded and the parents get a letter from the teacher - it's considered sabotage of the people; etc.

6% 6% 4% 7% 3%

Instruction is poor: We don't learn anything - teachers are frequently absent; instruction is poor - discipline is lacking; we don't learn very much in the various subjects; there is lack of teachers - we should have more class-room instruction - we never have classes, we mostly go to exhibitions and films; English and Latin are just minor subjects; etc.

4 5 2 6 1

Russian is a requirement: We are forced to learn Russian; the children do already have to learn Russian and chemistry - that are only subjects for the talented children; Russian is a required subject in professional training schools; etc.

3 3 4 1 6

Teachers are too politically inclined: The teachers instigate against the West and we are forced to believe that nonsense; we can't believe in some of the teachers, because they are true to the "line"; new teachers are only good at politics - that's all; very often we have no classes, because the teachers are "sick" frequently or have to attend conferences at Potsdam; etc.

1 1 - 1 -

Other opinions: Because we have PT (physical training) all the time; everything is supposed to be free of charge yet we have to pay a great deal for our textbooks; because we don't have enough sports; etc.

3 2 6 2 5

No opinion / No answer:

85% 83% 89% 80% 91%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY OR DISCRIMINATION IN SCHOOL ELIGIBILITY? ...

Asked further whether students in the East Zone have equal opportunities to attend a gymnasium or a university 57 per cent of the sample said that they did not. However, three out of ten held that they did, and the remainder could offer no opinion.

"Do you think that today all students in the East Zone have equal opportunities to attend a gymnasium or a university, or do not all of them have equal opportunities?"

	TOTAL EAST			East Berlin	East Zone
	All	15-17	18-24		
Yes, have equal opportunities	29%	37%	11%	32%	24%
No, have not equal opportunities	57	50	74	48	73
No opinion	14	13	15	20	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Among the older youth above only one out of ten go on record as saying that there are equal opportunities for all to attend higher educational institutions. A similar small proportion among the more educated youth elements below take such a stand.

"Do you think that today all students in the East Zone have equal opportunities to attend a gymnasium or a university, or do not all of them have equal opportunities?"

	Yes, have equal opportunities	No, have not equal opportunities	No opinion	No. of cases:
TOTAL EAST				
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	38%	44%	18%...100%	106
Beyond elementary school	13	82	5	56
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Up to 300 DM	38%	52%	10%	96
300 DM and more	16	66	18	62
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Employed (including apprentices)	32%	49%	19%	86
Students	26	66	8	70
<u>Membership in Youth Organizations:</u>				
Member	28%	64%	8%	39
Not a member	29	55	16	123

The suspicion that political discrimination exists in East Zone higher education - which prompted the present question - is amply verified in comments brought forward by the respondents who state that higher educational institutions are not equally open to all. Most prominently mentioned as a prerequisite for eligibility is membership in the FDJ or other Communist organizations.

"Do you think that today all students in the East Zone have equal opportunities to attend a gymnasium or a university, or do not all of them have equal opportunities?"

If "No, do not have equal opportunities": "Why are you of this opinion?"

	TOTAL EAST	East	East
	All	Berlin	Zone
	15-17	18-24	

Only members of the FDJ or other Communist organizations have the opportunities: All important is that they work for the FDJ and are politically indoctrinated - their scholastic achievements don't count; members of the FDJ set the examples for the others - everything depends on politics; one has to be a member of something - FDJ, pioneers, etc.; students who actively participate in politics and belong to the FDJ have preference; non-members in the FDJ can't attend high-school; etc.

21%	32%	30%	30%	35%
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

Only the political attitude counts: Only those who actively participate in politics; because the political attitude of the father is all important; everybody who wants to attend high-school or university has to be politically indoctrinated; only if they are politically on the side of the East; only those who are in favor of the government are permitted to; political attitude is more important than ability - those who do not partake in political activities have disadvantages; etc.

16	10	30	13	19
----	----	----	----	----

The social background decides - children of workers have preference: Only children of workers and farmers are admitted because they can easily be won over to their side; those from the middle class have a harder time; only the social background counts - 80 per cent of them have to be children of farmers and workers, the others have no chance; intellectuals do not have as good an opportunity as children of workers; they only want an intelligentsia that is for their aims - therefore they don't want children of intellectuals because they know that they can't influence those; it depends on the political attitude of the parents - if the father is an engineer the son will flunk the examination; etc.

14	13	17	7	26
----	----	----	---	----

Only the talented have the opportunity: Only the talented children are admitted; only the two top students of the class are permitted to attend the gymnasium because so many schools are destroyed; etc.

1	1	-	1	-
---	---	---	---	---

Other opinions: Only those have the opportunity who write their papers in accordance with the principles of the Free Democratic Republic; if someone does not have any support from home it takes a lot of time and money - otherwise he can't get anywhere; etc.

3	2	6	1	6
---	---	---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

65%	58%	83%	52%	86%
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

DOES THE CHURCH IN THE EAST ZONE HAVE THE FREEDOM TO TEACH WHAT SHE CONSIDERS RIGHT? ...

The second inquiry bearing on the extent of Communist coercion of East Zone institutions brought up the question of freedom in Church teachings. On this point six out of ten of those sampled held that the Church today in the East Zone does not have the freedom to teach what she considers right.

"Do you have the impression that today in the East Zone the Church has the freedom to teach what she considers right, or does she not have this freedom?"

	TOTAL EAST			East Berlin	East Zone
	All	15-17	18-24		
Has the freedom	18%	17%	19%	17%	19%
Does not have the freedom	59	59	60	59	60
No opinion	23	24	21	24	21
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Judgments of political coercion of the Church appear to be at their maximum among the better educated respondents and among students as compared with employed and apprenticed.

"Do you have the impression that today in the East Zone the Church has the freedom to teach what she considers right, or does she not have this freedom?"

	has the freedom	Does not have the freedom	No opinion	No. of cases:
TOTAL EAST				
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	21%	55%	24%...100%	106
Beyond elementary school	12	68	20	56
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Up to 300 DM	23%	51%	16%	96
300 DM and more	10	56	34	62
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Employed (including apprentices)	20%	51%	29%	36
Students	14	69	17	70
<u>Membership in Youth Organizations:</u>				
Member	15%	64%	21%	39
Not a member	19	58	23	123

**DO PARENTS IN THE EAST ZONE HAVE THE FREEDOM TO EDUCATE THEIR CHILDREN
IN A WAY THEY CONSIDER RIGHT? ...**

In regard to parental training just as with church teaching, the preponderant opinion of the East Zone male youth was that education was not free. However, a considerably larger proportion held that parents were free to teach their children what they considered right than held that the church was free to do so.

"Are you of the opinion that today parents in the East Zone are free to educate their children in a way they consider right, or are they not free to do so?"

	TOTAL EAST			East Berlin	East Zone
	<u>All</u>	<u>15-17</u>	<u>18-24</u>		
Are free to educate	43%	47%	32%	47%	35%
Are not free to do so	54	50	64	48	65
No opinion	3	3	4	5	-
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Judgments of constraints on parental freedom are more frequent, it should be noted above, among older youth than among the younger. Other group comparisons below indicate that the better educated may be more inclined than their less educated counterparts to see a lessening of parental freedom among present East Zone conditions.

"Are you of the opinion that today parents in the East Zone are free to educate their children in a way they consider right, or are they not free to do so?"

	Are free to educate	Are not free to do so	No opinion	No. of cases:
TOTAL EAST				
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	45%	50%	5% ... 100%	106
Beyond elementary school	37	63	-	56
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Up to 300 IM	44%	52%	4%	96
300 IM and more	42	56	2	62
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Employed (including apprentices)	41%	54%	5%	86
Students	46	53	1	70
<u>Membership in Youth Organization:</u>				
Member	51%	46%	3%	39
Not a member	40	57	3	123

CONCLUSION ...

The results of this last section suggest that the majority of East Zone male youth are sensitive to Communist encroachments on freedom of teaching in the East Zone in schools, churches and homes. But it is well to emphasize at this juncture that the same figures reveal that far from insignificant proportions evidence no consciousness of political restrictions in these areas. Neither fact should be lost sight of in the general assessment of the effectiveness of Communist operations in the East Zone.

APPENDIX

Population Characteristics of East Zone Sample of Male Youth

	No. of cases: <u>In Sample</u>	% in Obtained Sample <u>East Berlin and East Zone</u>
<u>Origin:</u>		
East Berlin	99	61%
East Zone	63	39
Brandenburg	52	32%
Other Laender	11	7
	<u>162</u>	<u>100%</u>
<u>Age:</u>		
15 - 17 years	115	71%
18 - 24 years	<u>47</u>	<u>29</u>
		<u>100%</u>
<u>Education:</u>		
8 years or less	106	65%
9 years and more	<u>56</u>	<u>35</u>
	<u>162</u>	<u>100%</u>
<u>Income (per month):</u>		
1 - 300 DM	96	59
300 DM and more	62	38
No answer	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
	<u>162</u>	<u>100%</u>
<u>Occupation:</u>		
Employed (including apprentices)	86	53%
Students	70	43
No answer	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>
	<u>162</u>	<u>100%</u>

CURRENT TREND ON DEFENSE PARTICIPATION

With West German Reactions
to the Communist Rehabilitation "Plebiscite"

Report No. 80

Series No. 2

May 28, 1951

CONFIDENTIAL

Classification
by authority of
PUB/RAS.DEFENSE
OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTING ANALYSIS STAFF

CONFIDENTIAL

INTRODUCTION

The present report depicting the current trend of West German opinion on the defense participation issue and reactions in regard to a remilitarization plebiscite is based upon a survey conducted by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, during the period April 30th to May 11th, 1951.

The sample employed was the 800 case stratified probability sample recently established by RAS for rapid coverage on current developments, and unlike the earlier urban "flash" surveys comprises a representative cross-section of the West German population as a whole. As usual the interviews were conducted by the trained German interviewing staff.

It is well to understand that since the present survey ended May 11th the trend results presented on attitudes toward German defense participation are for a period prior to the current debarkation of American troop reinforcements and the apparently highly successful UN counterattack in Korea. Either or both of these developments may of course influence German attitudes on the participation issue.

SUMMARY

I. CURRENT TREND ON DEFENSE PARTICIPATION

APPROVAL NO LONGER PREPONDERATES ...

- ... The latest returns from a full coverage sample of Western Germany reveal that since a prior similar sampling in mid-March, approval of West German participation in an Atlantic Pact army has ceased to be the preponderant orientation among West German citizens and now competes no better than even with disapproval of such a course.
- ... Zonal breakdowns indicate that the overall loss in support for defense participation is almost totally resultant from net decreases in approval and increases in disapproval in the US Zone of occupation over the past two months.
- ... When the latest figures are compared to the earlier extended series of urban surveys, the pattern now seems to emerge - despite extensive fluctuations - of an overall downward trend from a high of two-to-one approval during the latter part of 1950, down to the present low of neck-and-neck approval and disapproval of German defense participation.
- ... Since only the basic trend question was included in the present survey, inferences as to the significance of the recent drop - and the long term trailing off which now seems to be indicated - are best postponed until more detailed study can be made. The findings obviously pose a serious problem for American policy if the trend marks an increase in "hard core" opposition, i.e. disapproval of defense participation regardless of what the Germans are offered by way of "Gleichberechtigung." But it is possible that what has occurred is for the most part only a shift among the large group of West Germans who are interested in the price for German cooperation, and who in the present protracted period of uncertainty and negotiation have changed their emphasis from what was essentially "Yes-but" in answer to the defense participation question, to a "No-unless" position.

- a -

CONFIDENTIAL

C O N F I D E N T I A L

- ... These people may now want more steps toward German equality as the price of participation than they would have been satisfied with months back. But the problem of bringing them into accord with German defense participation is obviously not of the order of difficulty as that of dealing with a die-hard opposition.

GROUP TRENDS ON THE PARTICIPATION ISSUE ...

- ... Consideration of the returns among population sub-groups reveals, firstly, that the overall disappearance of preponderant approval of defense participation has not eliminated the long standing tendency for support to bulk largest among the more educated and informed leadership elements of the West German population - the men, the better schooled and the more affluent.
- ... Secondly, when present sub-group figures are compared with the prior mid-March returns, it is apparent that the current loss in approval of German defense participation is almost wholly concentrated among women and in the age range over forty. Among men, support of participation still preponderates with 53 per cent approving, 42 per cent opposing, and five per cent no opinion.

II. WEST GERMAN VIEWS ON A REMILITARIZATION PLEBISCITE

EXTENT OF AWARENESS OF COMMUNIST REMILITARIZATION "PLEBISCITE" ...

- ... The first objective in this area of questioning was to ascertain to what extent the Communists had succeeded in publicizing their so-called plebiscite on remilitarization among the West German population. As of mid-May when the present survey was completed, the indication was that only a minority had become aware of the existence of such a campaign.
- ... As is to be expected, awareness was at its maximum among the more educated and informed levels of the population. However, in only comparatively few population sub-groups, did ignorance fail to preponderate.
- ... The suggestion is then that, thus far at least, despite the vociferous campaign from the East Zone and the publicity occasioned by West German measures against the plebiscite, the bulk of the West German rank and file have not been affected by the latest Communist propaganda maneuver.

REACTIONS TO COMMUNIST AUSPICES ...

- ... Further questioning established that somewhat more than half of the minority aware of existence of some sort of plebiscite know that the Communists were sponsoring the action.
- ... When those aware of Communist sponsorship were asked whether they welcomed this plebiscite or not, the large preponderance answered in the negative.
- ... Next, all the respondents who were unaware of the existence of a Communist plebiscite and those who were aware of its existence but unaware of its sponsorship, were asked whether they would be for or against a remilitarization plebiscite under Communist sponsorship. The answer was very widely in the negative.

- b -

C O N F I D E N T I A L

CONFIDENTIAL

- ... So in the net, the indication is very clear that the large majority of West Germany react negatively to the idea of a Communist sponsored plebiscite.

WHAT ABOUT A WEST GERMAN PLEBISCITE ON DEFENSE PARTICIPATION? ...

- ... It would be a great mistake, however, to conclude from the findings that the West German population is opposed to the idea of a plebiscite on defense participation. All they oppose are the Communist auspices. A full three quarters, questioning reveals, are fundamentally in favor of a plebiscite on the rearmament of West Germany.
- ... Approval of such a plebiscite strongly preponderates among all population elements though, 'interestingly enough, it is least among respondents of higher education and those with higher incomes.

SOME IMPLICATIONS ...

- ... The widespread West German support for a referendum on the defense participation issue becomes of considerably more than academic interest in view of the fact that, as anticipated, there has been some German reaction to the Communist plebiscite maneuver to the effect that prohibition is a negative approach, and that the only positive answer is a real referendum under West German auspices. Former Minister of the Interior Heinemann in a May 15th press conference proposed that the Bundestag should pass a resolution calling for a non-Communist plebiscite in West Germany to determine the real opinion of the population on concrete questions connected with possible German rearmament.
- ... The dangers that such a plebiscite might pose to the attainment of American policy objectives even if the Atlantic Pact question reveals preponderant approval have already been detailed at length, so need not be repeated here. But now with current returns no longer indicating preponderant approval of West German participation in European defense, the idea of a plebiscite becomes of course even more of a problem.

- 6 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

I. CURRENT TREND ON DEFENSE PARTICIPATION

APPROVAL NO LONGER PREPONDERATES ...

The latest returns from a full coverage sample of Western Germany reveal that since a prior similar sampling in mid-March, approval of West German participation in an Atlantic Pact army has ceased to be the preponderant orientation among West German citizens and now competes no better than even with disapproval of such a course.

"Some time ago, several West European nations and America signed a defense pact, the so-called Atlantic Pact.

Supposing West Germany would join the Atlantic Pact and be asked in connection with it to participate in a European army for the defense of West Europe. Would you then be for or against such participation in a defense army?"

	WEST GERMANY		British Zone		US Zone		French Zone	
	March	April/May	March	April/May	March	April/May	March	April/May
	7-15	30-11	7-15	30-11	7-15	30-11	7-15	30-11
For it	48%	43%	48%	47%	51%	40%	37%	36%
Against it	40	43	39	38	39	48	49	48
No opinion	12	14	13	15	10	12	14	16
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The regional breakdown above indicates that the overall loss in support for defense participation is almost totally resultant from not decreases in approval and increases in disapproval in the US Zone of occupation over the past two months.

When the latest figures are compared to the earlier extended series of urban surveys below, the pattern now seems to emerge - despite extensive fluctuations - of an overall downward trend from a high of two-to-one approval during the latter part of 1950, down to the present low of neck-and-neck approval and disapproval of German defense participation.

WEST GERMANY	Oct-Nov		November		December		January		February	
	31-1	9-10	15-16	27-28	4-5	11-12	18-19	3-4	1-2	26-27
For it	63%	58%	51%	64%	55%	56%	53%	48%	52%	53%
Against it	30	32	41	26	36	35	36	40	34	34
No opinion	7	10	8	10	9	9	11	12	14	13
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

British Zone	Oct-Nov		November		December		January		February	
	31-1	9-10	15-16	27-28	4-5	11-12	18-19	3-4	1-2	26-27
For it	61%	59%	51%	65%	54%	57%	53%	49%	52%	52%
Against it	31	31	39	25	37	33	35	37	34	35
No opinion	8	10	10	10	9	10	12	14	14	13
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

US Zone	Oct-Nov		November		December 1950		January 1951		February	
	31-1	9-10	15-16	27-28	4-5	11-12	18-19	3-4	1-2	26-27
For it	65%	57%	48%	64%	59%	53%	53%	45%	54%	54%
Against it	29	32	45	24	33	41	38	48	35	35
No opinion	6	11	7	12	8	6	9	7	11	11
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

C O N F I D E N T I A L

Since only the basic trend question was included in the present survey, inferences as to the significance of the recent drop - and the long term trailing off which now seems to be indicated - are best postponed until more detailed study can be made. The findings obviously pose a serious problem for American policy if the trend marks an increase in "hard core" opposition, i. e. disapproval of defense participation regardless of what the Germans are offered by way of "Gleichberechtigung." But it is possible that what has occurred is for the most part only a shift among the large group of West Germans who are interested in the price for German cooperation, and who in the present protracted period of uncertainty and negotiation have changed their emphasis from what was essentially "Yes-but" in answer to the defense participation question, to a "No-unless" position.*

These people may now want more steps toward German equality as the price of participation than they would have been satisfied with months back. But the problem of bringing them into accord with German defense participation is obviously not of the order of difficulty as that of dealing with a die-hard opposition.

GROUP TRENDS ON THE PARTICIPATION ISSUE ...

Consideration of the returns among population sub-groups (see following page) reveals, firstly, that the overall disappearance of preponderant approval of defense participation has not eliminated the long standing tendency for support to bulk largest among the more educated and informed leadership elements of the West German population - the men, the better schooled and the more affluent.

Secondly, when present sub-group figures are compared with the prior mid-March returns, it is apparent that the current loss in approval of German defense participation is almost wholly concentrated among women and in the age range over forty. Among men, support of participation still preponderates with 53 per cent approving, 42 per cent opposing, and five per cent no opinion.

Opposition figures among laborers which were notably high in the March survey show indications of coming more closely in line with other occupational groups in the latest sampling.

* For the initial detailed presentation of this "Yes-but" and "No-unless" situation in attitudes toward German defense participation see pages No. 4 to 7 in Report No. 52, Series No. 2, dated December 7, 1950, entitled: "GERMANS VIEW THE REMILITARIZATION ISSUE - New Korean Trend And Further Analysis Of Opposition."

C O N F I D E N T I A L

"Some time ago, several West European nations and America signed a defense pact, the so-called Atlantic Pact.

Supposing West Germany would join the Atlantic Pact and be asked in connection with it to participate in a general army for the defense of Europe. Would you then be for or against such participation in a defense army?"

	For participation		Against participation		No opinion		No. of cases*
	March	April/May	March	April/May	March	April/May	
	7-15	30-11	7-15	30-11	7-15	30-11	
WEST GERMANY							
<u>Sex:</u>							
Men	55%	53%	39%	42%	6%	5%	402
Women	42	33	40	44	18	23	395
<u>Education:</u>							
Elementary school	45%	41%	41%	44%	14%	15%	681
Beyond elementary school	63	55	31	38	6	7	114
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>							
Lower	43%	35%	42%	46%	15%	19%	406
Middle and upper	53	51	37	40	10	9	391
<u>Income (per month):</u>							
0 - 299 DM	47%	40%	40%	45%	13%	15%	567
300 - 399 DM	52	44	38	43	10	13	143
400 DM and more	55	64	36	28	9	8	79
<u>Age:</u>							
Under 40 years	47%	46%	42%	42%	11%	12%	335
40 years and over	49	41	38	43	13	16	461
<u>Party Preference:</u>							
SPD	51%	42%	45%	48%	4%	10%	202
CDU/CSU	57	56	33	33	10	11	181
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	63	62	35	32	2	6	53
Other parties	62	52	33	40	5	8	89
No party	36	24	51	60	13	16	121
Don't know	37	34	34	38	29	28	146
<u>Occupation:</u>							
Professionals**	63%	52%	23%	43%	14%	5%	21
Businessmen	56	51	36	38	8	11	102
White-collar workers	54	50	37	38	9	12	97
Skilled laborers	41	45	49	45	10	10	149
Semi-skilled laborers	32	35	57	51	11	14	121
Farmers	48	42	39	41	13	17	101
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	53	38	30	46	17	16	143
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>							
Yes, self	47%	43%	49%	47%	4%	10%	132
Yes, family member	41	36	49	45	10	19	132
Neither/Nor	50	44	36	42	14	14	547
<u>Religion:</u>							
Catholics	47%	45%	39%	42%	14%	13%	388
Protestants	50	43	39	42	11	15	378
<u>Origin:</u>							
Natives		41%		44%		15%	63
Refugees and Expellees		50		40		10	161

* The number of cases indicated for various population groups in this and other breakdown tables refers specifically to the current survey. They are approximately similar, however, in the prior survey.

** The number of cases in this occupation category are of course far too few to yield anything but the roughest sort of comparison.

• Origin figures were not obtained in the earlier survey.

CONFIDENTIAL

II. WEST GERMAN VIEWS ON A REMILITARIZATION PLEBISCITE

EXTENT OF AWARENESS OF COMMUNIST REMILITARIZATION "PLEBISCITE" ...

The first objective in this area of questioning was to ascertain to what extent the Communists had succeeded in publicizing their so-called plebiscite on remilitarization among the West German population. As of mid-May when the present survey was completed, the indication was that only a minority had become aware of the existence of such a campaign.

"Have you heard whether something like a plebiscite on remilitarization is being carried out in West Germany at the present time?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Yes, have heard	37%	38%	35%	33%
No, have not heard	62	60	65	67
No answer	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>2</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

CONFIDENTIAL

C O N F I D E N T I A L

As is to be expected, awareness was at its maximum among the more educated and informed levels of the population. However, in only comparatively few population sub-groups, did ignorance fail to preponderate.

The suggestion is then that, thus far at least, despite the vociferous campaign from the East Zone and the publicity occasioned by West German measures against the plebiscite, the bulk of the West German rank and file have not been affected by the latest Communist propaganda maneuver.

"Have you heard whether something like a plebiscite on remilitarization is being carried out in West Germany at the present time?"

WEST GERMANY	Yes, have heard	No, have not heard	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	50%	50%	398
Women	24	76	390
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	33%	67%	673
Beyond elementary school	59	41	113
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>			
Lower	31%	69%	401
Middle and upper	43	57	387
<u>Income (per month):</u>			
0 - 299 DM	32%	68%	561
300 - 399 DM	47	53	142
400 DM and more	55	45	79
<u>Age:</u>			
Under 40 years	40	60	333
40 years and over	34	66	454
<u>Party Preference:</u>			
SPD	42%	58%	202
CDU/CSU	31	69	181
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	64	36	53
Other parties	38	62	89
No party	36	64	119
Don't know	27	73	141
<u>Occupation:</u>			
Professionals	76%	24%	21
Businessmen	42	58	98
White-collar workers	50	50	97
Skilled laborers	39	61	147
Semi-skilled laborers	33	67	120
Farmers	26	74	101
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	31	69	142
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>			
Yes, self	54%	46%	131
Yes, family member	29	71	131
Neither/Nor	35	65	545
<u>Religion:</u>			
Catholics	37%	63%	385
Protestants	36	64	373
<u>Origin:</u>			
Natives	38	62	624
Refugees and Expellees	41	59	159

CONFIDENTIAL

REACTIONS TO COMMUNIST AUSPICES ...

Further questioning established that somewhat more than half of the minority aware of existence of some sort of plebiscite knew that the Communists were sponsoring the action.

"Can you perhaps tell me who is sponsoring this plebiscite?" (Asked of those who indicated having heard of it.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Communists, etc.	23%	26%	19%	17%
Others	6	5	8	7
No opinion	8	7	8	9
	<u>37%</u>	<u>38%</u>	<u>35%</u>	<u>33%</u>

When those aware of Communist sponsorship were asked whether they welcome this plebiscite or not, the large preponderance answered in the negative.

"Do you personally welcome this plebiscite or not?" (Asked of those aware of Communist sponsorship.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Welcome	4%	4%	3%	2%
Do not welcome	17	20	15	12
No opinion	2	2	1	3
	<u>23%</u>	<u>26%</u>	<u>19%</u>	<u>17%</u>

Next, all the respondents who were unaware of the existence of a Communist plebiscite and those who were aware of its existence but unaware of its sponsorship, were asked whether they would be for or against a remilitarization plebiscite under Communist sponsorship. The answer was very widely in the negative.

"Suppose you learned such a plebiscite was sponsored by the Communists would you then be for or against this plebiscite?" (Asked of all unaware of plebiscite or if aware, ignorant of Communist sponsorship.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
For it	8%	6%	11%	13%
Against it	59	57	61	57
No opinion	9	9	9	11
	<u>76%</u>	<u>72%</u>	<u>81%</u>	<u>81%</u>

So in the not, the indication is very clear that the large majority of West Germany react negatively to the idea of a Communist sponsored plebiscite.

WHAT ABOUT A WEST GERMAN PLEBISCITE ON DEFENSE PARTICIPATION? ...

It would be a great mistake, however, to conclude from the above findings that the West German population is opposed to the idea of a plebiscite on defense participation. All they oppose are the Communist auspices. A full three quarters, questioning reveals, are fundamentally in favor of a plebiscite on the rearmament of West Germany.

"Are you fundamentally in favor of or opposed to a plebiscite on the rearmament of West Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Favor	76%	72%	81%	80%
Opposed	15	18	14	12
No opinion	9	10	5	8
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

* This question preceded the other plebiscite queries in the order of questioning, so is not to be interpreted as conditioned by the Communist plebiscite questions.

CONFIDENTIAL

Approval of such a plebiscite strongly preponderates among all population elements though, interestingly enough, it is least among respondents of higher education and those with higher incomes.

"Are you fundamentally in favor of or opposed to a plebiscite on the rearmament of West Germany?"

	Favor	Opposed	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	75%	20%	5% ... 100%	402
Women	78	11	11	395
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	78%	13%	9%	681
Beyond elementary school	68	28	4	114
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower	76%	14%	10%	406
Middle and upper	77	17	6	391
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	77%	13%	10%	567
300 - 399 DM	79	18	3	143
400 DM and more	70	29	1	79
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	79%	15%	6%	335
40 years and over	74	16	10	462
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	84%	13%	3%	202
CDU/CSU	77	18	5	181
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	75	23	2	53
Other parties	79	18	3	89
No party	70	16	14	121
Don't know	69	12	19	146
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	76%	24%	-	21
Businessmen	75	19	6	102
White-collar workers	80	15	5	97
Skilled laborers	82	11	7	149
Semi-skilled laborers	79	12	9	121
Farmers	69	20	11	101
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	76	17	7	143
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, self	76	20	4	132
Yes, family member	82	7	11	132
Neither/Nor	75	17	8	547
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	80%	14%	6%	388
Protestants	72	17	11	378
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	78%	15%	7%	631
Refugees and Expellees	71	17	12	161

CONFIDENTIAL

SOME IMPLICATIONS ...

The widespread West German support for a referendum on the defense participation issue becomes of considerably more than academic interest in view of the fact that, as anticipated, there has been some German reaction to the Communist plebiscite maneuver to the effect that prohibition is a negative approach, and that the only positive answer is a real referendum under West German auspices. Former Minister of the Interior Heinemann in a May 15th press conference proposed that the Bundestag should pass a resolution calling for a non-Communist plebiscite in West Germany to determine the real opinion of the population on concrete questions connected with possible German rearmament.

The dangers that such a plebiscite might pose to the attainment of American policy objectives even if the Atlantic Pact question revealed preponderant approval have already been detailed at length, so need not be repeated here.* But now with current returns no longer indicating preponderant approval of West German participation in European defense, the idea of a plebiscite becomes of course even more of a problem.

* See (1) Report No. 47, Series No. 2, dated November 18, 1950, entitled: GERMANS VIEW THE REMILITARIZATION ISSUE - Further Findings and Some Limitations on Majority Approval, pp. 16 - 19, and

(2) Special Report, dated April 2, 1951, entitled: A NOTE ON THE COMMUNIST PROJECTED PLEBISCITE ON WEST GERMAN DEFENSE PARTICIPATION.

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF RECENT INFORMATIONAL EFFORTS
ON THE SCROMAN PLAN

Classification cancelled
by authority of Leop. Grossi
PUB/RAS

Report No. 81

Series No. 2

May 30, 1951

C O N F I D E N T I A L

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

CONFIDENTIAL

INTRODUCTION ...

Because of the importance of the Schuman Plan to American policy in Germany, the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, has established a program of evaluating the effectiveness of the campaign to publicize and secure wider acceptance of the proposal. An initial baseline study was conducted in mid-March the results of which have been previously reported.* The present study is an appraisal of progress over the two months period since the first sounding of reactions. Both surveys utilized a stratified, probability sample of 800 cases, representing a scientific cross-section of the population of the British, US and French zones of West Germany. Interviews were conducted by a trained German staff, and the analysis was made in the Frankfurt headquarters of the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, HICOG.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT ...

Efforts to publicize the Schuman Plan since its initialling in Paris on March 19th, did not have the effect of increasing the proportion of the public aware of the plan in West Germany, but did make somewhat more of those already aware informed as to its details. The information program also appears to have lessened opposition to the projected coal and iron pool, though few new adherents have been won over - disagreement has rather tended to shift into uncertainty.

The fact that even before March 19th as many as seven in ten had heard of the Schuman Plan may mean that the saturation point for public awareness on an issue of this kind had been reached prior to the post-initialling publicity, and no further increase could be expected. However, the real effectiveness of an information campaign must be judged by more than the extent of simple recognition.

A better test is the extent to which the campaign acquaints the public with the details of the issue at stake. And the best test of all is of course the extent to which the campaign increases favorable and reduces unfavorable reactions. On both counts gains have been made, though much more remains to be done. A ten point rise occurred between mid-March and early May in the number knowing some details of the Schuman Plan. This means that 36% of the West German public rather than 26%, are now informed. However, a third still know nothing about the Schuman Plan but its name, and another third have never heard of it.

During the same two months period outright rejection of the proposed coal and steel union has declined six per cent, but since respondents shifted mostly to "no opinion," approval has not correspondingly risen. But now as before approval is the preponderant sentiment. However more than the 44 per cent endorsement that now obtains would seem to be desirable if the plan is to weather the difficult period ahead.

The drop in disapproval of the Schuman Plan, which has accompanied the informational efforts of the past two months, attains increased significance when it is noted that it has occurred to its maximum extent among particularly important target groups - trade union members, (this was before the Federation of German Trade Unions endorsed the plan in principle), SPD adherents and people under 40. The result is that trade union members and SPD sympathisers now fall in line with other West German population elements in according more widespread approval than disapproval to the Schuman Plan.

- 2 -

CONFIDENTIAL

Emphasis of proponents of the Schuman Plan is on its contribution to international cooperation, with the political aspects of this cooperation outweighing in total frequency of mention the purely economic aspects. Opponents continue to stress the exploitation of Germany as the alleged purpose or result of the plan.

Opinions on the Adenauer government have an indirect bearing on attitudes pro and con the Schuman Plan. No one brings up the plan or international economic policy as a reason for dissatisfaction with Bonn's conduct of economic affairs, but persons who are dissatisfied - the preponderant opinion - much more frequently than those who are satisfied, oppose the Schuman Plan. Thus, Chancellor Adenauer could very probably count on those who approve of his government's management of domestic economic matters to go along with him on the Schuman Plan. He would have a harder time winning this support from the predominating critical group.

Half of the public does not know of Dr. Schumacher's stand on the Schuman Plan. Those who do have an opinion are for the most part correctly informed that he is opposed. Knowledge of the Schumacher position does not seem to be accompanied by any greater amount of opposition to the plan so appears in itself not to be an important element in differentiating attitudes. However the opponents of the Schuman Plan who are aware of Schumacher's stand believe more frequently than do supporters that the SPD's opposition mainly results from concern with Germany's welfare rather than from purely political motivations.

EXTENT OF AWARENESS OF SCHUMAN PLAN HAS NOT CHANGED ...

No increase in awareness of the Schuman Plan occurred among the West German public from mid-March to early May, but as is indicated below, information as to its nature gained ten points among those who had heard of it.

The fact that in mid-March 68% in West Germany had already claimed awareness helps to explain the lack of increase in recognition of the plan. This figure represents quite widespread coverage, and may well approach the saturation point for public awareness on such an issue. For example, no larger proportion now knows of the American economic aid to Europe, although the Marshall Plan has been widely publicized for a much longer period than has the Schuman Plan.

"Have you heard of the Schuman Plan?"

	WEST GERMANY		British Zone		US Zone		French Zone	
	Mar	May	Mar	May	Mar	May	Mar	May
	15-20	2-9	15-20	2-9	15-20	2-9	15-20	2-9
Yes	68%	68%	68%	69%	69%	68%	63%	69%
No	32	32	32	31	31	32	37	31
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

BUT INFORMATION ABOUT IT HAS INCREASED ...

On a matter requiring popular support, as with the plan to pool coal and steel in West Europe, the measure of effectiveness of an information campaign is not how many people claim awareness but how many can support these claims with some information about the issue under consideration. In this respect, publicity on the Schuman Plan has been rather effective, though the proportion of West Germans who can meet the required test of describing the nature of the plan continues to be considerably less than that claiming to have heard of it.

In May, 36% of the West German public could correctly describe it in general terms in contrast to 26%, two months previously. Thus the information campaign, though it did not extend awareness of the plan, apparently did contribute to a more detailed knowledge among those already aware. This gain seems to be especially marked in the French Zone, as will be noted in the following table.

"Can you tell me anything about the nature of this plan?"
(Asked of those who answered "Yes" to previous question)

	WEST GERMANY		British Zone		US Zone		French Zone	
	Mar	May	Mar	May	Mar	May	Mar	May
	15-20	2-9	15-20	2-9	15-20	2-9	15-20	2-9
Correct replies	26%	36%	29%	37%	23%	31%	22%	44%
Incorrect replies	13	5	13	5	11	6	13	6
Don't know	30	27	26	27	35	31	28	19
	68%	68%	68%	69%	69%	68%	63%	69%

TRENDS IN AWARENESS AMONG POPULATION GROUPS ...

No important gains in awareness occurred in the two months' period in any population group. Now as previously the better educated, the upper income groups, the upper socio-economic levels are among those most frequently aware. Proportionately a large number of trade union members have heard of the plan.

"Have you heard of the Schuman Plan?"

	Yes		No		No. of cases:
	March 15-20	May 2-9	March 15-20	May 2-9	
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	83%	51%	13%	13%	402
Women	43	50	51	50	395
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	53%	65%	37%	35%	681
Beyond elementary school	39	90	11	10	114
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower	54%	57%	46%	43%	406
Middle & upper	81	80	19	20	391
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Under 150 DM	52%	56%	48%	44%	216
150 DM - 299 DM	71	69	29	31	351
300 DM and more	80	81	20	19	222
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	70%	69%	30%	31%	385
40 years and over	36	68	34	32	461
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	78%	73%	22%	27%	202
CDU/CSU	71	72	29	28	181
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV*	73	89	22	11	53
Other parties*	75	66	25	34	89
No party	56	63	44	37	121
Don't know	57	57	43	43	146
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professional*	85%	100%	15%	-	21
Businessmen	77	76	23	24	102
White collar workers	87	87	13	13	97
Skilled laborers	71	73	29	27	149
Semi-skilled laborers	59	60	41	40	121
Farmers	66	58	34	42	101
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	53	64	47	36	143
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, self	89%	82%	11%	18%	132
Yes, family member	53	56	47	44	132
Neither/nor	66	68	34	32	547
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	67%	68%	33%	32%	388
Protestants	67	68	33	32	378
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	67%	71%	33%	29%	631
Refugees, Expellees	71	60	29	40	161

* All percentages based on fewer than 100 cases should be cautiously interpreted. This caution applies to findings in subsequent tables also.

TRENDS IN INFORMATION AMONG VARIOUS GROUPS ...

In May, more people in all population groups were able to describe the nature of the Schuman Plan than could do so in March, with the opinion leading groups continuing to be best informed. Gains in information occurred among followers of SPD - but not, it will be noted, more than among CDU sympathizers, as well as among trade union members (and particularly among their families). It is noteworthy that half of the trade union members now know some details of the plan.

"Can you tell me anything about the nature of this plan?"
(Asked of those who answered "Yes" to previous question)

	Correct replies		Incorrect replies		No opinion		Not asked (Haven't heard of plan)		No. of cases:
	March 15-20	May 2-9	March 15-20	May 2-9	March 15-20	May 2-9	March 15-20	May 2-9	
WEST GERMANY									
<u>Sex:</u>									
Men	44%	55%	16%	7%	27%	25%	13%	13%	402
Women	9	16	8	4	31	30	52	50	395
<u>Education:</u>									
Elementary school	22%	30%	12%	7%	29%	28%	37%	35%	681
Beyond elementary school	44	66	15	-	31	24	10	10	114
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>									
Lower	15%	22%	10%	7%	29%	28%	46%	43%	406
Middle & upper	32	50	14	4	30	26	24	20	391
<u>Income (per month):</u>									
Under 150 DM	15%	19%	9%	7%	28%	30%	48%	44%	216
150 - 299 DM	26	36	15	6	30	27	29	31	351
300 DM and more	37	52	12	3	30	27	21	18	222
<u>Age:</u>									
Under 40 years	24%	34%	15%	7%	31%	28%	30%	31%	335
40 years and over	27	37	11	4	28	27	34	32	461
<u>Party Preference:</u>									
SPD	30%	43%	15%	7%	33%	23%	22%	27%	202
CDU/CSU	20	38	12	4	38	30	30	28	181
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	39	53	12	4	27	32	22	11	53
Other parties	27	24	20	8	28	34	25	34	89
No party	24	31	10	7	23	25	43	37	121
Don't know	24	28	8	3	25	26	43	43	146
<u>Profession:</u>									
Professional	53%	90%	21%	-	12%	10%	14%	-	31
Businessmen	30	44	12	7	35	25	23	24	102
White collar workers	47	55	12	5	28	27	13	13	97
Skilled laborers	23	34	19	4	29	35	29	27	147
Semi-skilled laborers	18	32	13	7	29	21	42	40	121
Farmers	19	22	8	3	39	33	34	42	101
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	18	27	10	6	26	31	46	36	142
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>									
Yes, self	43%	55%	17%	4%	29%	23%	11%	18%	132
Yes, family member	9	26	7	7	37	23	47	44	132
Neither/nor	25	33	12	6	30	29	33	32	547
<u>Religion:</u>									
Catholics	25%	35%	13%	7%	29%	26%	33%	32%	388
Protestants	26	35	12	4	30	29	32	32	378
<u>Origin:</u>									
Natives	26%	38%	11%	5%	29%	28%	34%	29%	631
Refugees, Expellees	26	28	15	7	30	25	29	40	161

CONFIDENTIAL

DISAGREEMENT WITH THE PLAN APPEARS DECLINING ...

Outright rejection of the Schuman Plan has declined to the extent that agreement with it now outweighs disagreement by a two to one preponderance. Meanwhile, however, agreement has not correspondingly increased, but remains at about the mid-March level. What seems to have happened is that many of the people who formerly were opposed to the plan have been thrown into uncertainty. The information campaign, it might be hazarded, has in a sense shaken the opposition though it has not, as yet, won any appreciable number of new converts.

"This plan by the French foreign minister Schuman proposes the pooling of the heavy industries of France, West Germany, and other West European nations with the aim of economic cooperation of West Europe."

"Do you, on the whole, agree with this plan or not?"

	WEST GERMANY		British Zone		US Zone		French Zone	
	Mar 15-20	May 2-9	Mar 15-20	May 2-9	Mar 15-20	May 2-9	Mar 15-20	May 2-9
Yes, agree	42%	44%	39%	44%	46%	44%	46%	43%
No, do not agree	25	19	27	22	23	16	21	16
No opinion	33	37	34	34	31	40	33	41
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON ACCEPTANCE ...

The overall decline in opposition to the Schuman Plan attains increased significance when it is noted that it has been particularly marked among trade union members, SPD adherents, and younger (under 40) as compared to older people (see following page). Since these are all important target groups the indication emerges that the information campaign has been most effective in breaking up opposition among the population elements where effectiveness is most needed. The drop in unfavorable attitudes among trade union members took place, it should be noted, before the Federation of German Trade Unions came out for the Schuman Plan on May 8th. Within all population groups, approval of the plan outweighs disapproval, though no real gains in approval have occurred in any segments. Disapproval appears in general to be going into uncertainty.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

"This plan by the French foreign minister Schuman proposes the pooling of the heavy industries of France, West Germany, and other West European nations with the aim of economic cooperation of West Europe."

"Do you, on the whole, agree with this plan or not?"

	Yes, agree		No, do not agree		No opinion		No. of cases:
	Mar 15-20	May 2-9	Mar 15-20	May 2-9	Mar 15-20	May 2-9	
WEST GERMANY							
<u>Sex:</u>							
Men	49%	52%	34%	24%	17%	24%	402
Women	36	36	17	13	47	51	395
<u>Education:</u>							
Elementary school	38%	42%	25%	18%	37%	40%	681
Beyond elementary school	60	55	25	22	15	23	114
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>							
Lower	36%	38%	25%	18%	39%	44%	406
Middle & upper	48	51	25	20	27	29	391
<u>Income (per month):</u>							
Under 150 DM	31%	35%	24%	17%	45%	47%	216
150 - 299 DM	43	45	26	18	31	37	315
300 DM and more	51	51	26	23	23	26	222
<u>Age:</u>							
Under 40 years	43%	47%	30%	18%	27%	35%	335
40 years and over	41	41	21	20	38	39	461
<u>Party Preference:</u>							
SPD	42%	46%	37%	24%	21%	30%	202
CDU/CSU	55	58	15	12	30	30	181
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	64	62	18	19	18	19	53
Other parties	48	38	32	20	20	42	89
No party	33	35	27	20	40	45	121
Don't know	31	29	13	18	56	53	146
<u>Occupation:</u>							
Professional	67%	67%	18%	9%	15%	24%	21
Businessmen	49	48	24	21	27	31	102
White collar workers	48	53	23	19	29	28	97
Skilled laborers	48	47	29	23	23	30	149
Semi-skilled laborers	36	38	27	19	37	43	121
Farmers	31	41	24	15	45	44	101
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	38	39	21	20	41	41	143
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>							
Yes, self	49%	49%	41%	26%	10%	25%	132
Yes, family member	40	36	20	20	40	44	132
Neither/nor	41	44	23	17	36	39	547
<u>Religion:</u>							
Catholics	41%	46%	23%	15%	36%	39%	388
Protestants	42	43	27	21	31	36	378
<u>Origin:</u>							
Natives	42%	44%	24%	21%	34%	35%	631
Refugees, Expellees	4	45	27	11	29	44	161

CONFIDENTIAL

REASONS FOR APPROVING THE PLAN ...

The main emphasis of those who approve the Schuman Plan is on its contribution to international cooperation with the political aspects of this cooperation outweighing in total frequency of mention the purely economic aspects.

"Do you, on the whole, agree with this plan or not?"

If "Agree": "For what reasons?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

EMPHASIS ON ADVANTAGES OF INTERNATIONAL
COOPERATION

Promotes economic welfare: We cannot make economic progress by ourselves, if we belong together, then one country would have certain goods, another country others, which would lead to an exchange; it would benefit trade and exchange of goods; it is of benefit to the nations if the production is distributed on a fair basis; by that we would have a fairer distribution; etc.

9%	9%	10%	8%
----	----	-----	----

Promotes peace and understanding among nations: Because peace could never be achieved unless they cooperate; because it's proof that the nations want to live in peace - words were finally replaced by actions; it could contribute to our always living in peace with these nations; because I want peace; for security reasons - would prevent war; because it guarantees that the heavy industries will not be used for war preparations; it is a step forward on the way to understanding among nations; etc.

7	7	8	6
---	---	---	---

Will lead to a United Europe: I count on a European union through it; means the unification of Europe; this plan paves the way to a United Europe, which is necessary; it could lead to a united and a unified Europe; etc.

6	6	6	8
---	---	---	---

Unity and cooperation is a good thing: If all nations concerned cooperate it is an advantage; because all concerned will benefit by true unity; if the Western nations cooperate each single country will profit by it; it is the beginning of further cooperation; because the cooperation among nations will be of advantage to all of us; if we'll make it stick and everything works out as planned, then there will be unity everywhere; etc.

5	3	8	4
---	---	---	---

Plan is generally good idea: Because the final aim is a good one - it might be, that Germany would have to put up with certain disadvantages at first, yet in spite of that, one has to say "yes" to this plan; because this plan could be of general advantage; because it will promote the welfare of the whole nation; I just think that it is good; etc.

4	4	3	4
---	---	---	---

(cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

WEST British US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

Leads to agreement and understanding between France and West Germany: So that there will finally be agreement between France and Germany and the eternal hatred will subside; because France and Germany will learn to understand each other and the old hatred will be eliminated; in order to settle the animosity between the two nations - perhaps we will also profit by that; etc.

4% 4% 3% 3%

EMPHASIS ON ADVANTAGES TO GERMANY

Will profit economically: Perhaps then we will get cheap raw-materials from abroad; because a better distribution of iron and coal will be possible in Germany; so far we never got anything because everything was exported; German economy will improve through the Schuman Plan; it might prove to be of economic advantage for us if we cooperate with the other countries; we would supplement our raw-materials by exchange with foreign countries; etc.

9 10 6 10

Will benefit politically: We are on the way to equality; by that we have regained contact with the other West European nations; because it is of greater advantage to us, if we progress within the framework of West European cooperation; etc.

2 2 2 3

Aids settlement of unemployment problem: I consider it very desirable, especially for giving the unemployed work; the unemployment rate would decrease; I think that unemployment would decrease by that; etc.

1 1 1 1

OTHER REASONS:

1 1 1 2

NO OPINION:

$\frac{1}{49\%}$ $\frac{1}{48\%}$ $\frac{1}{49\%}$ $\frac{1}{49\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

REASONS FOR DISAGREEMENT WITH PLAN ...

Fear that West Germany will be exploited is the theme of most of the comments of those who express disagreement with the international pooling of iron and coal. Scattered mentions are made of the relation of the plan to the Saar issue, to war preparations, and to monopoly.

"Do you, on the whole, agree with this plan or not?"

If "Not agree": "For what reasons?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

German raw-materials will be exploited: I am of the opinion that through this plan Germany will lose raw-materials which we need badly ourselves; if we give our coal away we'll be cheated -- in this exchange the other countries only want to make profits; because Germany is the country that produces the largest quantity of coal -- through this plan we'll only be exploited; because we won't get enough coal then; because German economy will be weakened by it; it is wrong if other nations exploit our raw-materials and profit by it; etc.

8%	10%	7%	4%
----	-----	----	----

Germany will be exploited (general): They would still consider West Germany the losing nation and act accordingly; that is surely another one of those plans where they want to take something away from us Germans; they will impoverish Germany completely by it; because the Germans will be the dumb ones; because we'll only be cheated anyway; I suspect that there is something false behind it all -- their talk is quite different from their doings later on; because so far only the stupid Germans make concessions, but the others?; in the past we were able to work by ourselves and those times were good -- the others only want to keep us down; I don't have the impression that the Germans have complete equality; etc.

4	4	3	5
---	---	---	---

France will exploit plan: The French won't do it for nothing -- they seek their own advantage because they hope to profit; I am afraid that we don't have equal rights and will be exploited, especially by France; because even in school children in France are indoctrinated against us and learn to hate us; France would gain the most by it, though most of the coal should rightfully belong to us; there is no honest agreement possible with the French -- we have already seen it -- first they dismantle everything and now all of a sudden we should work with them; because France will reserve the right to control most of it; the French will get the better of us for sure; etc.

4	4	4	7
---	---	---	---

Because of the Saar issue: Because the Saar district is too much under the influence of France -- we should have more to say; this plan cannot be brought into accord with France's policy on the Saar issue; because the final annexation of the Saar district is connected with it; etc.

1	1	1	2
---	---	---	---

(cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

The plan is connected with war preparations:

I find that everything is leading toward a new war; I see in it the possibility of rearmament; etc.

1%	1%	1%	-
----	----	----	---

We'll get farther by ourselves: Because it's our business; to each his own; that is always the best - then nobody can meddle; etc.

1	1	1	-
---	---	---	---

Leads to concentration of economic power: Because it results indirectly in the establishment of a Trust (monopoly) .. competition is necessary; the whole thing smells too much of monopoly; etc.

*	*	*	-
---	---	---	---

Other opinions: I am an old SPD follower and our party is opposed to it; because then German men would have to work in foreign countries, as the arms production would be transferred to the West; why would it happen anyway; we should be able to run our own industries - besides the people should be consulted first before Adenauer goes to Paris; etc.

$\frac{1}{20\%}^{**}$	$\frac{1}{22\%}^{**}$	$\frac{*}{17\%}^{**}$	$\frac{**}{18\%}^{**}$
-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	------------------------

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHUMAN PLAN AS RELATED TO GOVERNMENT'S ECONOMIC POLICY ...

as a means of ascertaining whether opinions pro and con the economic policies of the Adenauer government have a bearing on attitudes toward the Schuman Plan, respondents were asked if they were satisfied or dissatisfied with what the Federal government is doing about economic matters, and, if they expressed dissatisfaction, to give their reasons.

Dissatisfaction predominates (56%), over satisfaction (33%), it will be noted in the table below, with three in ten going so far as to say they are very dissatisfied with the government's economic program.

It appears from the comments of the dissatisfied group that the source of discontent lies without exception in the treatment of domestic economic affairs. High prices, the alleged failure to meet the pressing needs of specific groups, inadequate reconstruction, etc. are the complaints most frequently mentioned. Not a single mention is made of the international or foreign economic policies of the government as a reason for dissatisfaction. The Adenauer government's advocacy of the Schuman Plan does not, therefore, appear to come readily to mind as a reason for dissatisfaction with the state of the economy.

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with what the West German Federal government has done for the economy during the past six months?"

If "Satisfied" ("Very satisfied" or "Fairly satisfied")

If "Dissatisfied" ("Somewhat dissatisfied" or "Very dissatisfied")

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Very satisfied	4%	3%	7%	4%
Fairly satisfied	29	28	28	34
Somewhat dissatisfied	28	29	30	22
Very dissatisfied	28	30	26	30
Neither / Nor	3	2	3	3
No opinion	8	8	6	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%

REASONS FOR DISSATISFACTION ...

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with what the West German Federal government has done for the economy during the past six months?"

If "Dissatisfied": "Why?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

General price raise - taxes too high compared with low wages: Prices rise higher and higher and even people with a good income can't keep up with them, they can't buy anything; the wages have remained the same but the prices have risen, we can hardly exist; people have no money and can't buy anything; therefore we businessmen will never make a go; because everything is so expensive; taxes are far too high, everything is so expensive, and prices are rising higher and higher, the government only makes promises which are never kept; prices are out of comparison with wages, the government should do something about it; we can work ourselves to death and the government looks out of the window; etc.

35%	36%	35%	28%
-----	-----	-----	-----

Failure to solve problems of special groups: Too little is done for the little men, therefore embittering and disappointment among the population; the little people have to bear all the burdens; the applications for raising of the pensions have always been refused up to now, 86 M a month are not enough to get along with because everything is so expensive; my son came back after 5 years of war prison and still has no income, nothing is done for those people; etc.

12	13	9	14
----	----	---	----

General dissatisfaction with economic situation: Insufficient opportunity for economic development; the uncertainty of the economy puts a stop to further planning, everything is just temporary; the economic policy of Erhard is misleading for the entire economic life, his promise that everything would be cheaper within three months, created a sort of a buyers' strike which resulted in an unfavorable development of prices; the entire economic policy is wrong, superfluous goods are imported; too little is done for the construction of houses; etc.

7	9	5	7
---	---	---	---

Failure to solve unemployment: Because unemployment has not yet been overcome; the unemployment rate has got to decrease; because there are so many unemployed; unemployment and social misery are still too great; etc.

5	5	5	3
---	---	---	---

(cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

Little done for the refugees: Because we refugees don't get anything, they don't give us any support; the present government doesn't do anything for the refugees; very little has been done for us refugees, we have small flats and little money and we can't buy anything; the government should provide for flats, too many refugees still live in camps; they don't do anything for us refugees, I have to live on 40 Marks and every day the goods get more expensive; etc.

4%	6%	2%	-
----	----	----	---

Agriculture not helped: Taxes are too high in agriculture; we have to sell our goods for too low a price, but all the necessary equipment has become more expensive; because the prices for agricultural products have sunk but in general the prices are higher everywhere; nothing is done for the farmers, too much is imported, and therefore the prices for our own agricultural goods are too low; etc.

4	3	5	4
---	---	---	---

Wast and extravagance on the part of the government: Because the Federal government and the constant building cost us too much money, they should save on the expense of the taxes; because it is a known fact that the government can't save money; through their extravagant state they present a burden for the German tax-payers; etc.

2	3	1	4
---	---	---	---

Too much attention is given to certain groups, e.g. refugees, and not for the people in general: Because the government does not take the interests of the entire people into consideration, but favors certain groups in economic sanctions; for instance: the refugees are preferred to the bombed-out people, although those are just as badly off; the house-owners have to pay for the damage themselves, but the refugees receive assistance and support everywhere, even in house-building, we have to pay landtax for our ruins that are worthless, that is economy; etc.

1	1	1	1
---	---	---	---

Other opinions: The Federal government can't act as she pleases, the occupation presents an obstacle; the government parties can't help us, and I understand that, but why the opposition and especially the SPD doesn't do something, I don't understand; measures taken by the government against criminals and corruption are not strong enough; the party struggles in the government exercise an unfavorable effect economically; etc.

$\frac{2}{72\%}$	$\frac{3}{79\%}$	$\frac{2}{65\%}$	$\frac{3}{64\%}$
------------------	------------------	------------------	------------------

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

DISSATISFACTION RELATED TO DISAGREEMENT WITH PLAN ...

But attitudes toward the Schuman Plan are not unrelated to opinions on the Bonn government's conduct of economic affairs, even though the subject is not brought up as a source of dissatisfaction. There is in fact a close correlation between satisfaction with the way Bonn manages economic affairs and agreement with the iron and coal pool; conversely, the greater the dissatisfaction with the management of economic matters, the more frequent the rejection of the Schuman Plan. As shown in the following table, twice as many supporters as critics of the government's economic policy agree with the Schuman Plan; in contrast, three times as many severe critics as supporters disagree with it.

	Schuman Plan:		
	Agree	Disagree	No opinion
Government's economic policy:			
Satisfied	62%	8%	30% ... 100%
Very dissatisfied	31	30	39

These findings suggest that people who are satisfied with Adenauer's conduct of domestic economic affairs will tend to go along with his international economic program, but that he may have more difficulty convincing those who find fault with the way his government has dealt with the national economy. And the latter group, it should be recalled, predominates in Western Germany.

CONFIDENTIAL

OPINIONS ON ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AMONG POPULATION GROUPS ...

Only among people who prefer the Christian Democratic party does satisfaction with the Federal government's handling of economic affairs outweigh dissatisfaction. In all other population segments, predominant opinions range from "somewhat" to "very" dissatisfied. Social Democrats are especially inclined to this view which is also pronounced among trade union members.

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with what the West German Federal government has done for the economy during the past six months?"

If "Satisfied" ("Very satisfied" or "Fairly satisfied")

If "Dissatisfied" ("Somewhat dissatisfied" or "Very dissatisfied")

	Very satis- fied or fair- ly satisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied or very dissatisfied	Neither/ Nor	No op- inion	No. c cas
WEST GERMANY					
X:					
Men	35%	59%	2%	4.100%	402
Women	32	53	3	12	395
Education:					
Elementary school	32%	57%	3%	8%	681
Beyond elementary school	40	55	2	3	114
Socio-economic Status:					
Lower	32%	57%	3%	8%	406
Middle and upper	34	56	3	7	391
Income (per month):					
Under 150 DM	32%	57%	3%	8%	216
150 - 299 DM	32	57	4	7	351
300 DM and more	36	55	1	8	222
Age:					
Under 40 years	33%	56%	3%	8%	335
40 years and over	33	57	3	7	461
Party Preference:					
SPD	25%	68%	1%	6%	202
CDU/CSU	52	40	2	6	181
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	36	58	6	-	53
Other parties	30	62	2	6	89
No party	21	64	5	10	121
Don't know	32	50	3	15	146
Occupation:					
Professional	43%	57%	-	-	7
Businessmen	30	62	1	7	10
White collar workers	39	53	3	5	97
Skilled laborers	30	58	5	7	149
Semi-skilled laborers	31	57	3	9	121
Farmers	34	51	3	12	101
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	36	56	2	6	143
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, self	31%	58%	2%	9%	132
Yes family member	30	57	4	9	132
Neither/nor	35	55	3	7	547
Religion:					
Catholics	39%	53%	2%	6%	388
Protestants	28	59	3	10	378
Origin:					
Natives	33%	56%	3%	8%	631
Refugees, Expellees	33	58	3	6	161

HALF UNINFORMED OF SCHUMACHER'S OPPOSITION ...

Though Dr. Schumacher, the SPD leader, has been the most active and articulate opponent of West German participation in the Schuman Plan, half of the West German public do not know whether he favors or opposes it. Among those ready to express an opinion, the correct view that the head of the Social Democratic party opposes the plan strongly predominates.

"Can you tell me whether the SPD political leader Dr. Schumacher in general favors or opposes the Schuman Plan?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Favors	4%	2%	5%	3%
Opposes	40	45	34	43
No opinion	56	53	61	54
	100%	100%	100%	100%

MIXED VIEWS ON SCHUMACHER'S MOTIVES ...

Opinions divide among those who know the position Schumacher takes on whether his motives are mainly political or arise primarily from his concern for West Germany's welfare.

"What do you think is the reason for Schumacher's opposition to the Schuman Plan: mainly his own political interests or mainly his concern for the welfare of West Germany?" (Asked of those who answered "Oppose" to previous question)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Political interests	15%	17%	11%	18%
Concern for the welfare of West Germany	18	18	18	17
Qualified answers	2	3	2	1
No opinion	5	7	3	7
	40%	45%	34%	43%

Knowing that Dr. Schumacher opposes the Schuman Plan apparently bears little relation to pro and con attitudes toward it. Just as many who agree as disagree with are aware of his opposition. Also, among the opponents of the plan, almost half are uninformed or misinformed of the Schumacher position.

Think Schumacher:

Favors Plan	Opposes Plan	Don't know
-------------	--------------	------------

Attitudes toward plan:

Agree	4%	52%	44% ... 100%
Disagree	7	55	38

The interpretation placed on Schumacher's opposition, however, varies considerably with attitudes toward the plan. Whether this difference is causal or consequential cannot be determined, but the view that Schumacher's opposition is largely based on regard for Germany's welfare predominates among opponents of the plan, whereas political motives are more frequently seen by adherents of the proposed pool.

This is the way the two groups divide on reasons for Schumacher's opposition:

	Favor Plan	Oppose Plan
Schumacher mainly motivated by:		
Political reasons	26%	8%
Concern for German welfare	15	43
Qualified	3	3
No opinion	8	1
	52%	55%

KNOWLEDGE OF SCHUMACHER'S STAND AMONG POPULATION GROUPS ...

The groups customarily better informed - the men, the better educated, upper socio-economic levels - more frequently than others say that Dr. Schumacher opposes the Schumann plan. Trade union members also express this view more often than non-members. It should be noted that sympathizers with the Social Democratic party are not markedly better informed on the views of their party leader than other political groups.

"Can you tell me whether the SPD political leader Dr. Schumacher in general favors or opposes the Schumann plan?"

WEST GERMANY	Favors	Opposes	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	5%	59%	36% ... 100%	402
Women	2	21	77	395
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	3%	36%	61%	681
Beyond elementary school	3	67	30	114
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower	3%	28%	69%	406
Middle and upper	4	53	43	391
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Under 150 DM	3%	26%	71%	216
150 - 299 DM	3	39	58	351
300 DM and more	5	56	39	222
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	3%	38%	59%	335
40 years and over	4	42	54	461
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	5%	48%	47%	202
CDU/CSU	2	40	58	181
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	6	62	32	53
Other parties	4	33	63	89
No party	3	36	61	121
Don't know	1	30	69	146
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	7%	31%	19%	21
Businessmen	7	50	43	102
White-collar workers	2	61	37	97
Skilled laborers	3	39	58	149
Semi-skilled laborers	3	38	59	121
Farmers	2	28	70	101
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	3	33	64	143
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, self	7%	60%	40%	132
Yes, family member	4	29	67	132
Neither/Nor	4	38	58	547
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	3%	38%	59%	388
Protestants	4	41	55	378
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	3%	42%	55%	631
Refugees & Expellees	4	33	63	161

SCHUMACHER'S MOTIVES AS SEEN BY POPULATION GROUPS ...

No clear-cut pattern in observable as regards opinions of various groups on Schumacher's motives in opposing the Schumann plan. Political motives are seen by the preponderance of the better educated, the upper income groups, professional and business groups, and followers of CDU and FDP among political party groups. It is to be noted that among adherents of SPD and trade union affiliates, the predominant opinion is that Schumacher is motivated mainly by regard for German welfare. Among the remaining, the tendency for opinions to divide on selection of motives is apparent.

"What do you think is the reason for Schumacher's opposition to the Schumann plan: mainly his own political interests or mainly concern for the welfare of West Germany?" (Asked of those who answered "opposes" to previous question.)

WEST GERMANY	Political interests	Concern for the welfare of West Germany	qualified replies	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	22%	26%	4%	7%	41%	100%
Women	7	10	-	4	79	395
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	12%	17%	2%	5%	64%	681
Beyond elementary school	34	22	5	6	33	114
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>						
Lower	9%	13%	1%	5%	72%	406
Middle and upper	20	23	4	6	47	391
<u>Income (per month):</u>						
Under 150 DM	8%	15%	1%	2%	74%	216
150 - 299 DM	11	18	2	8	61	351
300 DM and more	26	22	3	5	44	222
<u>Age:</u>						
Under 40 years	15%	16%	2%	5%	62%	335
40 years and over	15	19	2	6	58	465
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	9%	31%	3%	5%	52%	205
CDU/CSU	20	10	2	8	60	185
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	37	19	4	2	38	55
Other parties	14	14	3	2	67	85
No party	13	14	-	9	64	125
Don't know	10	16	1	3	70	15
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	48%	19%	9%	5%	19%	5
Businessmen	29	17	1	3	50	105
White-collar workers	23	25	4	9	39	95
Skilled laborers	12	18	3	6	61	145
Semi-skilled laborers	11	18	1	8	62	125
Farmers	7	14	2	5	72	105
Nonos: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	11	18	1	3	67	145
<u>Trade Union Memberships:</u>						
Yes, self	18%	34%	2%	6%	40%	135
Yes, family member	6	17	2	4	71	135
Neither/Nor	16	15	2	5	62	547
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	16%	15%	2%	5%	62%	385
Protestants	13	20	2	6	59	375
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	15%	19%	2%	6%	58%	635
Refugees & Expellees	14	16	1	2	67	161

Classification cancelled
by authority of Leo J. Crespi
PUB/RAS.

DOES EAST OR WEST REALLY WANT A FOUR POWER CONFERENCE
THE GERMAN VIEW -

Report No. 82
Series No. 2
May 11, 1951

C O N F I D E N T I A L

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

CONFIDENTIAL

INTRODUCTION ...

The present report on West German reactions to the proposed four power conference is based on a survey made May 2nd through 9th, by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, AICOG. Findings of a study made in mid-March are also included for comparative purposes. The sample used was a stratified, probability one of 800 cases representing a scientific cross-section of the population in the British, U.S. and French zones of Germany. Interviewing was conducted by a trained German staff, and the analysis made in the Frankfurt headquarters of RAS.

SOME HIGHLIGHTS ...

The major finding is that the Russian effort to place responsibility on the United States for the lack of progress at the Paris Deputy Foreign Ministers' meeting has failed to impress the West German public.

- ... Almost a two-third majority believes that the Americans really want to hold a Big Four conference.
- ... In contrast, it is the preponderant view that Soviet Russia does not want such a meeting.
- ... And the fraction (13%) believing that the Russians do desire a conference mainly ascribe ulterior purposes to them. Only a very few (3%) claim the Soviet Union's intentions are to try to maintain peace.
- ... The very few (4%) suspecting that the U.S. does not really wish to hold a Big Four meeting generally express anti-American sentiments that closely follow the Communist line.
- ... But the predominant view is that the Americans want a conference because they wish to reach a peaceful settlement of differences.

A majority of West Germans are aware that the preliminary negotiations are continuing in Paris, but awareness has declined somewhat since mid-March. A drop of this kind is infrequent in survey findings, and when it does occur usually reflects lagging public interest in an issue with a consequent decline in awareness among the marginal group who had some inkling of the issue when it was receiving more publicity.

- 2 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

AWARENESS OF THE DEPUTIES MEETING HAS DECLINED ...

Somewhat fewer West Germans were aware in early May than in mid-March that the Deputy Foreign Ministers were meeting in Paris to plan the agenda for a four-power conference.

"Have you heard of preliminary negotiations in Paris for a four power conference in which the problem of Germany is also to be discussed?"

	WEST GERMANY		British Zone		US Zone		French Zone	
	Mar	May	Mar	May	Mar	May	Mar	May
	15-20	2-9	15-20	2-9	15-20	2-9	15-20	2-9
Yes	68%	61%	72%	63%	68%	57%	59%	65%
No	32	39	28	37	32	43	41	35
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

A drop of this kind is not frequent in survey findings, and when it does occur usually reflects a lag in public interest in an issue with a consequent decline in awareness among the marginal group who had had some inkling of the issue when it was receiving more publicity.

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN AWARENESS ...

The groups generally better informed on current affairs - the better educated, upper socio-economic and income groups - continue to be more frequently aware that preliminary negotiations are going on, but among them as well most other groups there has been some falling off in the proportion saying they have heard of the negotiations. Trade union members are one of the few population groups in which awareness has increased in the two months' period.

"Have you heard of preliminary negotiations in Paris for a four power conference in which the problem of Germany is also to be discussed?"

WEST GERMANY	Yes		No		No. of CASES:
	Mar 15-20	May 2-9	Mar 15-20	May 2-9	
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	86%	78%	14%	22%	400
Women	52	45	48	55	393
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	63%	57%	37%	43%	678
Beyond elementary school	91	88	9	12	113
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower	54%	49%	46%	51%	405
Middle and upper	81	75	19	25	338
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Under 300 DM	64%	56%	36%	44%	565
300 .. 399 DM	83	74	17	26	142
400 DM and more	71	81	29	19	79
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	71%	63%	29%	37%	334
40 years and over	66	61	34	39	458
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	73%	69%	27%	31%	202
CDU/CSU	71	59	29	41	181
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	88	83	12	17	53
Other parties	77	54	23	46	89
No party	57	63	43	37	119
Don't know	60	49	40	51	144
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	88%	86%	12%	14%	21
Businessmen	82	71	18	29	102
White-collar workers	84	85	16	15	97
Skilled laborers	68	70	32	30	149
Semi-skilled laborers	55	50	45	50	121
Farmers	70	48	30	52	101
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	57	51	43	49	140
<u>Trade Union Memberships</u>					
Yes, self	79%	83%	21	17	132
Yes, family member	56	49	44	51	132
Neither/Nor	68	60	32	40	543
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	65%	59%	35%	41%	386
Protestants	69	63	31	37	376
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	66%	62%	34%	38%	628
Refugees and Expellees	75	61	25	39	160

CONFIDENTIAL

THE U.S. IS SEEN AS DESIRING A CONFERENCE ...

The Russian effort to put responsibility on the United States for the failure to arrive at the agenda for the four power conference apparently has failed to impress the West German people. Two-thirds say they believe that the U.S. really desires a foreign ministers' conference. Only 4 per cent think that the Americans do not want one; and the remainder have no opinion on the matter.

"And do you have the impression that the Americans really want a four power conference or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Want four power conference	64%	63%	66%	59%
Do not want four power conference	4	6	3	2
No opinion	$\frac{32}{100\%}$	$\frac{31}{100\%}$	$\frac{31}{100\%}$	$\frac{39}{100\%}$

PREPONDERANCE DOUBTS RUSSIA WANTS A CONFERENCE ...

Further indication that the Russian propaganda line regarding the foreign ministers' conference has not gained much headway among the West German people is the fact that the preponderance of the public think that Russia does not want the meeting to take place. And, as will be subsequently seen, few of those who believe the Russians do desire such a meeting place much faith in Russian intentions.

"Do you have the impression that the Russians really want a four power conference?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Want four power conference	13%	14%	13%	15%
Do not want four power conference	50	52	51	40
No opinion	$\frac{37}{100\%}$	$\frac{34}{100\%}$	$\frac{36}{100\%}$	$\frac{45}{100\%}$

CONFIDENTIAL

REASONS WHY AMERICA WANTS A CONFERENCE ...

The theme of most comments made to support the view that the U.S. seriously desires a four power conference is that the Americans wish a peaceful settlement of the differences.

"And do you have the impression that the Americans really want a four power conference or not?"

If "Want four power conference": "Why?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>In order to reach peaceful agreement through negotiations:</u> So as to come to an agreement peacefully; they believe that they could get somewhere through negotiations; the Americans are still of the opinion that one can reach understanding with the Russians; to find a basis for negotiations; in order to reach an agreement with the Russians; etc.	19%	16%	19%	17%
<u>In order to preserve peace:</u> They want peace; so there will finally be peace; in order to preserve the peace; so as to bring peace to all nations; because they want peace, they always talk about it; etc.	12	14	14	10
<u>In order to avoid armed conflict:</u> So as to prevent a third world war; they see in it a possibility to avoid war; because they have invested too much in West Germany and don't want to lose that in a war; so they can keep the Russians from attacking other countries; they hope to avoid a European war through negotiations and bring everything to a good end; because they desire the conference in order to avoid war; etc.	7	8	8	11
<u>In order to eliminate East-West tensions:</u> They want to solve the East-West tensions; in order to fight unrest in the world; they desire the elimination to world-wide tensions; because they work at it to establish peace at tension points like Iran and Korea; so as to settle the East-West conflict on this basis; so as to be able to live in peace and not be under the constant menace of war; etc.	6	5	6	11
<u>In order to solve the German problems (peace treaty, unification, etc.):</u> They want a peaceful solution of German problems; in order to conclude a peace treaty and to eliminate the division of Germany; because they want the unification of Germany; the Americans want to approach the Russians this way and reunite Germany; they need Germany as a partner for trade and therefore they want to conclude a peace treaty; because they promote elections for all of Germany; in order to help the German people; etc.	4	5	4	2

(cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>In order to settle turbulent conditions in Europe:</u>				
Because they want to establish order in Europe; because the Americans want to satisfy Europe and keep Communism at bay; because they are interested in finding a solution to the European problem in the sense of the United Nations; etc.	2%	2%	1%	1%
<u>In order to learn the Russian plans: So they can learn what the Russian has up his sleeve; in order to find out whether Russia is inclined to reach an agreement and to find out how far Russia would actually dare to go; etc.</u>	2	3	1	1
<u>In order to win time - postpone war: In order to win time and boost Western strength; in order to postpone a war until they are ready for it; in order to win time until they have rearmed enough and can do with- out the other nations; they use it as a camouflage for their true aims; in order to prevent armed conflict through negotiations; in order to postpone a war as long as possible; etc.</u>	2	2	4	3
<u>In order to prove their good will: They want to prove to the world that they have peaceful intentions - they want to bring the Russians to change their Far Eastern policy; the Americans want to give a proof that they use every available means to reach their final goal by way of negotiating; etc.</u>	2	1	2	1
<u>Indefinite answers: Because they won't have patience much longer with the Russians; the Americans have always intended to hold a conference; if it weren't the case they would never have asked the Russians to participate in a conference; etc.</u>	2	2	1	2
<u>Other opinions: Because they want to counteract the Communists; in order to show the Russians that they are powerful enough to keep them at bay; because the free Western world desires it; the Americans are con- cerned with the welfare of the individual; in order to clarify their views to the others; so that the Marshall plan will gain greater influence; because I believe that they want to be honest for once and that something good will come of it; because the Americans would only gain economically and militarily by such a conference; etc.</u>	6	6	6	2
<u>No opinion/No answer:</u>	2 66%	2 66%	1 67%	2 63%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

WHY THE U.S. DOES NOT WANT A CONFERENCE ...

Only 4 per cent assert that the Americans do not want a Big Four conference. Since the number of cases on hand was insufficient for categorizing, comments are listed below. It will be noted that most of the arguments are definitely anti-American in tone, frequently following the Communist line.

"And do you have the impression that the Americans really want a four power conference or not?"

If "Do not want a four power conference": "Why?"

"They are the strongest power in the world and therefore don't need to negotiate - that's what they think anyway."

"Because they are stubborn - if they want an agreement they should leave Germany, that would bring peace for sure."

"Because Jossup always sabotages Gromyko's practical proposals."

"They want to continue selling war equipment and profit by it."

"The Americans want the rearmament of Germany."

"If the Western powers would show their good will toward the Eastern nations they could have reached a positive agreement long ago."

"They are afraid to give up advantages if they negotiate."

"Then they couldn't do as they please anymore."

"The Jews want to take revenge and they don't want peace."

"Because then they couldn't act as independently any more."

"They want to rule the world; any real agreement with other countries would destroy their aims."

"Because they are not interested in a strong Europe."

"The Americans as well as the others know that nothing will come of such a conference; they just act as if they wanted one, in reality none of them wants a conference."

"They seek their own advantage as well; they want to rule the world with capitalism while the Russians want to rule the world with Communism."

"Because the Americans know that it is of no use in negotiating with the Russians."

"The Western powers want to settle the differences peacefully."

"America doesn't trust the Russians and therefore does not want to negotiate with them."

"None of them wants to follow any directives."

"Because America is powerful enough - therefore she is not dependent on it."

"Because none of them can make their view points clear - therefore any conference is useless."

CONFIDENTIAL

REASONS WHY RUSSIA DOES NOT WANT A CONFERENCE ...

The three leading arguments of those who believe Russia does not want a four power conference are (1) Russia is not interested in a peaceful settlement; (2) this is simply a delaying action; and (3) the Russians wish to pursue a unilateral policy.

"Do you have the impression that the Russians really want a four power conference or not?"

If "Do not want a four power conference": "Why?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>They are not interested in a peaceful settlement:</u> Their final aim is everything but agreement or even a settling of issues at the negotiating table; because the Russians won't have anything to do with the Western powers politically anyway - therefore they don't want a four power conference on Germany; they already know what they want to do; because of their old well known tactics of negotiating which renders understanding fundamentally impossible; because the Russians aren't interested in peaceful negotiations; because they are interested in disunity; because they don't want peace; etc.	12%	13%	11%	12%
<u>Simply following delaying action:</u> They have always managed to stop every single conference so far - they probably want to win time; because they are not interested in negotiations with the West - they only want to keep the West hoping until they have re-armed sufficiently; the Russians want to act according to their own plans which is the intention of postponing a final decision; they only want to win time - they just act in order to prevent the West from rearming Germany; so far they have always tried to postpone everything so as not to aggravate the Americans and provoke them into war; because they are not strong enough for a war yet; etc.	10	13	7	9
<u>They want to pursue a unilateral policy:</u> Because the Russians want to do everything in their own way; the Russians won't ever agree to any proposals - they have their own ideas; they want to dominate the world alone and not obey any directives; because they consider themselves stronger, they really don't want a conference; the Russians rather want to remain by themselves, because they want the power; etc.	9	7	11	5
<u>They will not give in:</u> Because the other powers could not exert any pressure on Russia at such a conference and the Russians don't want to give in; because they fear that an agreement could be reached and that the Russians would have to give in - they don't want to do that in any case - the Russians only try to plant the seed of disagreement among the Western powers; they are afraid to give up advantages at a conference; because the Russians won't agree to any plan that wasn't of advantage to them; because they are afraid that they will be cheated out of something; because they won't give in and they'll have to then; etc.	6	6	6	4

(cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

They desire world power: Because they want to dominate the world; they want world power and don't want to negotiate; because they only pursue the aim of world Communism and don't have the will to negotiate - one can see that by their eternal "NOJET"; because the Russian wants to dominate the world and would never agree to anything that would prevent him from realizing this intention; the Russians won't give up their idea for world conquest; because the Russian system can only then succeed in bringing about world revolution, if they prevent world peace; etc.

5%	5%	6%	3%
----	----	----	----

They don't want to lay their cards on the table:
They don't want to show their cards either; Russia pursues a policy with the purpose of preventing the Western powers knowing their real intentions; etc.

3	3	4	1
---	---	---	---

They do not want to give up their position in Germany:

The Russians don't want to change their position, neither in Berlin nor any other place in the world; they want to keep Germany down and therefore no unification for us; because they don't want peace with us as long as they can still exploit us; because the Russians mainly want to see Germany disunited and don't want any peace yet; etc.

2	3	1	-
---	---	---	---

Answers that show that respondent favors the Russians:

Because they only want peace; if the Western powers would only show a little more leniency toward the Eastern nations - they could have reached a positive result long ago; because they don't need it - they know that their strength lies in their unity and that they can achieve their aims in a different way; the negotiations in Paris show that so far they can't find the way to understanding in spite of their love for peace; because the very useful proposals by Gromyko are always sabotaged by Jessup; etc.

*	1	*	-
---	---	---	---

Other opinions: They want to fish in troubled waters; because they oppose the Americans, therefore they wouldn't want to negotiate with them; why, I don't know, but the Russians always have to be begged until they agree to anything; because many conferences were in vain with the Russians; the pre-conference hasn't led to anything yet, why don't they go home; they are not interested in Germany; etc.

4	3	4	5
---	---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{3}{54\%}$ **	$\frac{2}{56\%}$ **	$\frac{4}{54\%}$ **	$\frac{2}{41\%}$ **
---------------------	---------------------	---------------------	---------------------

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

MAY RUSSIA WANT A CONFERENCE ...

Only a few (3%) of the people who think that the Soviets want a four power conference argue that Russia desires to preserve peace. It will be recalled that about the same proportion is of the opinion that the Americans do not wish a conference. But Russia's motives for holding a conference are mainly seen as insincere efforts to use it to gain time, or win advantage of one kind or another.

"Do you have the impression that the Russians really want a four power conference or not?"

If "Want a four power conference": "Why?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>They play for time:</u> They want to lull the Western powers in security and thus win time; they want a conference, yes, but only to win time, God knows for what other deviltries; because by that they'd win time to prepare for war; in order to draw it out and thus win time for their own rearmament; they want to postpone a conflict by using their well known diplomatic tactics until the right moment for them comes and they have better weapons than the Western powers; in order to postpone an armed conflict and to win time; etc.	4%	4%	4%	6%
<u>They want to preserve peace:</u> Because the Russians want peace; they want to settle the existing conflicts by negotiating and try peaceful means to the very last; they don't want a war; because they don't want a war as long as they are busy with their own reconstruction; in order to reach an agreement with the Western powers; they want to show that they always try to get along with the Western powers - they desire peace; they want an agreement under their own terms, because they are opposed to a war; etc.	3	4	2	1
<u>They expect success and advantages from it:</u> In order to book further advantages; because they hope that in the end they will get their wishes accepted if they stay tough - that's why they drag out the negotiations; it might be of advantage to them if they don't put themselves first for a change; etc.	2	2	1	2
<u>They want to get more information on their opponents:</u> They want to get more information out of the Western powers, but secretly they step up their own rearmament plans; they collect information on the other nations and make their plans accordingly; because that way they keep up contact with the West - if they stand away from negotiations they would not get the informations anymore which they eventually need; etc.	1	1	1	1
<u>They do it for propaganda purposes:</u> In order to convince the well-meaning and unpolitical people of their will of peace, in that they use skillful and diplomatic manners of negotiating; for propaganda reasons; etc.	1	1	1	3

(cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>They want to clarify the German issue: Because they want to reach a conclusion on Germany; because they want to clarify the German situation; etc.</u>	1%	*	1%	1%
<u>They want to prevent the remilitarization of West Germany: In order to prevent the remilitarization of West Germany; they fear that West Germany will be rearmed; etc.</u>	*	1	*	-
<u>Other opinions: Because they don't want the situation to change; in order to establish political contacts with the Western powers; in order to realize the idea of world Communism, that is their final goal; etc.</u>	1	1	2	1
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	$\frac{1}{14\%}^{**}$	$\frac{*}{14\%}$	$\frac{1}{13\%}$	$\frac{2}{17\%}^{**}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.
** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON U.S. INTENTIONS ...

The view that the United States wishes a four power conference strongly outweighs negative opinions in all population segments. The opinion leading elements - the better educated, upper income and social levels - are particularly inclined to take such a position.

"And do you have the impression that the Americans really want a four power conference or not?"

	Want four power confer- ence	Do not want four power conference	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	77%	6%	17%	402
Women	51	3	46	395
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	61%	5%	34%	681
Beyond elementary school	82	2	16	114
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower	55%	4%	41%	406
Middle and upper	72	5	23	391
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Under 300 DM	62%	3%	35%	567
300 - 399 DM	69	6	25	143
400 DM and more	72	9	19	79
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	64%	5%	31%	335
40 years and over	64	4	32	462
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	70%	7%	23%	202
CDU/CSU	71	1	28	181
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	89	4	7	53
Other parties	66	3	31	89
No party/	60	8	32	121
Don't know	41	4	55	146
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	95%	5%	5%	21
Businessmen	73	2	25	102
White-collar workers	70	6	24	97
Skilled laborers	66	7	27	149
Semi-skilled laborers	56	6	38	121
Farmers	60	5	35	101
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	57	2	41	143
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, self	70%	7%	23%	132
Yes, family member	53	6	41	132
Neither/Nor	65	4	31	547
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	63%	5%	32%	388
Protestants	64	3	33	378
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	63%	5%	32%	631
Refugees, and Expellees	65	4	31	161

CONFIDENTIAL

OPINIONS ON RUSSIAN INTENTIONS AMONG VARIOUS GROUPS ...

The weight of opinion in all population groups leans heavily toward the view that the Soviets do not want a four power conference -- with the better educated, upper status and higher income bracket groups more inclined than their opposites to hold this view. However, relatively more people in these segments of the population also tend to believe that the Russians want a conference. People with less education and with lower socio-economic status more frequently have no opinion on the matter.

"Do you have the impression that the Russians really want a four power conference or not?"

	Want four power confer- ence	Do not want four power conference	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	20%	57%	23% ... 100%	402
Women	7	43	50	395
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	12%	49%	39%	681
Beyond elementary school	20	62	18	114
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower	10%	44%	46%	406
Middle and upper	17	57	26	391
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Under 300 DM	12%	47%	41%	567
300 - 399 DM	16	57	27	143
400 DM and more	20	61	19	79
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	14%	51%	35%	335
40 years and over	13	50	37	461
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	15%	55%	30%	202
CDU/CSU	10	57	33	181
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	23	70	7	53
Other parties	10	61	29	89
No party	17	44	39	121
Don't know	11	29	60	146
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	24%	62%	14%	21
Businessmen	16	57	27	102
White-collar workers	20	49	31	97
Skilled laborers	14	57	29	149
Semi-skilled laborers	13	41	46	121
Farmers	13	48	39	101
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	8	49	43	143
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, self	18%	53%	29%	132
Yes, family member	8	46	46	132
Neither/Nor	13	51	36	547
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	12%	51%	37%	388
Protestants	13	50	37	378
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	14%	50%	36%	631
Refugees & Expellees	13	50	37	161

THE PRESENT STATE OF WEST GERMAN
CONFIDENCE IN THE WEST

With Reactions To General MacArthur's Recall

Classification cancelled
by authority of Leo P. Crespi
PUB/RAS.

Report No. 83

Series No. 2

June 12, 1951

C O N F I D E N T I A L

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

CONFIDENTIAL

INTRODUCTION

As part of a larger study made from May 2-9, 1951, the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, HICOG, queried the West German public on reactions to the recall of General MacArthur with a view to measuring the repercussions of his recall on confidence in the Western powers generally and the U.S. specifically. The sample used in the survey was a stratified, probability one with 800 cases drawn from the adult populations of the U.S., British and French zones of Western Germany, representing a scientific cross-section of the population in these areas. Interviewing was done by trained German interviewers. The analysis of results was made in the Frankfurt headquarters of the Reactions Analysis Staff.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

The recall of General MacArthur and the ensuing debate on foreign policy in the United States have not had the effect - as of the first two weeks in May - of shaking West German confidences either in the firmness of American policy toward the Communist powers or in American intentions regarding efforts toward West German defense. Nor have these developments tended to lessen confidence in the broader aspects of the relative strength of the Western powers vis-a-vis the Communist powers.

West German attitudes on these issues are based on a relatively widespread awareness of General MacArthur's dismissal, which is known to two-thirds of the public.

- ... On the issue of the justice of the General's dismissal, the weight of West German opinions is tipped slightly in his favor - 25 per cent think it was wrong to relieve him of his command, 19 per cent think it was right. The large remainder (56%), however, is not prepared to express an opinion.
- ... General MacArthur's experience and competence as a military and Far Eastern expert are most frequently mentioned by those who deplore his recall. Very few bring up his recommendations on military strategy as a point in his favor.
- ... Fear that another world war might have occurred had MacArthur remained in command is most frequently adduced as an argument favoring his dismissal.
- ... But though the West German public is quite well aware of General MacArthur's recommendations implying a broadening of the arena of battle as a way of ending the Korean fighting, only a minority is prepared to go along with him on those suggestions. The majority (59%) favors limiting the fighting to Korea, and only a fifth (20%) agrees with MacArthur's suggestions, as briefly stated: bringing in of Nationalist China and bombing Red China as a means of ending the Korean conflict. The remainder expresses no opinion. Even among those who think it was wrong to dismiss MacArthur as many reject the more aggressive strategy as recommend it.

- 2 -

CONFIDENTIAL

Considered in the context of the MacArthur dismissal confidence in the U.S. is high.

- ... Opinions are almost evenly divided as to whether the Americans will now pursue a firmer policy toward the Communists or whether the policy will remain unchanged with a slight edge given to a firmer policy. Only a fraction (9%) anticipates a more conciliatory line.
- ... Nor has the focusing on the Far East in the current debate in the U.S. on foreign policy led the West Germans on the whole to doubt American intentions regarding West German defense. The current American effort in this regard tends to be considered strong rather than weak. More important is the fact that accelerated measures by the U.S. are the preponderate anticipation. Even those who regard present efforts as inadequate expect American endeavors to be stepped-up in the near future, as do all other groups.
- ... Also, indications are that confidence is increasing among the West German public on the strength of the Western powers vis-a-vis the Communist powers. Five months ago the Communist powers were currently considered the stronger. Now the West is given the advantage.
- ... Also revealing of gains in confidence in the West is the finding that somewhat more West Germans now estimate the West rather than the Communists to have been more successful in the past year. This marks a considerable shift in thinking since the beginning of the year. At that time the majority view was that the Communists had achieved the greater successes.
- ... Finally, two-thirds expect that the West will in the end win over the Communists - again a rise in confidence in comparison to former figures.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

I. REACTIONS TO THE MacARTHUR DISMISSAL

MANY KNOW OF GENERAL MacARTHUR'S RECALL ...

General MacArthur's recall is well known among the West German public. Two-thirds are aware that he is no longer in command of the United Nations forces in Korea.

"As far as you know, has there recently been a change in the Supreme Command of the UN forces in Korea or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Yes, right (MacArthur's dismissal)	66%	69%	63%	65%
Wrong answer, no change	33	31	37	33
No opinion	<u>1</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>2</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

MORE THINK DISMISSAL WRONG THAN RIGHT ...

Respondents unaware of the General's recall were than advised of the fact, following which everyone was queried as to their views on the dismissal. Over half are not prepared to judge whether it was correct to dismiss the General. Among those with opinions, the view that the action was wrong is held somewhat more frequently than that it was right.

"Do you think it was right or wrong to dismiss General MacArthur?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Right	19%	21%	17%	16%
Wrong	25	27	24	26
No opinion	<u>56</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>59</u>	<u>58</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON KNOWLEDGE OF MacARTHUR'S DISMISSAL ...

Persons in the group customarily better informed - the better educated, higher socio-economic and income levels, and the men - are aware more frequently than others of MacArthur's dismissal. Trade union members as well as SPD adherents are also better informed than the bulk of the population.

"As far as you know, has there recently been a change in the Supreme Command of the UN forces in Korea or not?"

	Yes, right (MacArthur's dismissal)	Wrong answer No change No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY			
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	86%	14% ... 100%	400
Women	47	53	393
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	62%	38%	678
Beyond elementary school	95	5	113
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>			
Lower	54%	46%	45
Middle and upper	80	20	388
<u>Income (per month):</u>			
0 - 299 DM	61%	39%	565
300 - 399 DM	79	21	142
400 DM and more	86	14	79
<u>Age:</u>			
Under 40 years	67%	33%	334
40 years and over	67	33	458
<u>Party Preference:</u>			
SPD	75%	25%	202
CDU/CSU	66	34	181
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	94	6	53
Other parties	55	45	89
No party	61	39	119
Don't know	56	44	144
<u>Occupation:</u>			
Professional	100%	-%	21
Businessmen	79	21	99
White collar workers	87	13	97
Skilled laborers	68	32	148
Semi-skilled laborers	61	39	121
Farmers	51	49	101
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	62	38	143
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>			
Yes, self	80%	20%	132
Yes, family member	63	37	132
Neither/nor	64	36	543
<u>Religion:</u>			
Catholics	65%	35%	386
Protestants	68	32	376
<u>Origin:</u>			
Natives	68%	32%	628
Refugees, Expellees	62	38	160

CONFIDENTIAL

OPINIONS ON CORRECTNESS OF DISMISSAL AMONG POPULATION GROUPS ...

"No opinion" on the justness of MacArthur's removal bulks large in all groups in the population. But people in all groups when they have made up their minds lean toward the view that it was the wrong thing to do.

"Do you consider the dismissal of MacArthur right or wrong?"

	Right	Wrong	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	26%	33%	41% ... 100%	402
Women	11	18	71	395
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	19%	23%	58%	681
Beyond elementary school	21	40	39	114
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower	15%	22%	63%	406
Middle and upper	23	30	47	391
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	18%	23%	59%	567
300 - 399 DM	20	31	49	143
400 DM and more	24	37	39	79
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	20%	26%	54%	335
40 years and over	18	25	57	461
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	26%	31%	43%	202
CDU/CSU	16	26	58	181
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	26	34	40	53
Other parties	18	26	56	89
No party	19	21	60	121
Don't know	10	19	71	146
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professional	29%	38%	33%	21
Businessmen	25	27	48	102
White collar workers	26	35	39	97
Skilled laborers	21	29	50	149
Semi-skilled laborers	14	22	64	121
Farmers	12	16	72	101
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	16	22	62	143
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, self	24%	30%	46%	132
Yes, family member	19	26	55	132
Neither/nor	18	24	58	547
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	16	26	58	388
Protestants	20	26	54	378
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	19%	26%	55%	631
Refugees, Expellees	19	23	58	161

MACARTHUR'S EXPERIENCE ARGUMENT AGAINST DISMISSAL ...

Arguments of the group considering General MacArthur's removal wrong are mainly concerned with his experience and ability as a general. Only a few (3%), as will be seen from the comments which follow, bring up his ideas on the strategy of the Korean war as a point in his favor.

"Do you consider the dismissal of MacArthur right or wrong?"

If "Wrong": "Why do you consider his dismissal wrong?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

He was a good, capable soldier and would have brought the war to a good end: This man acted with great perseverance in every regard, he was a soldier to the back-bone; he was a good experienced leader; was a well-informed and tested man and soldier; in my opinion MacArthur was a capable general; MacArthur is a soldier, he would have done the right thing and would have got through with it; if they would have left him his free will, the Korean war might already have ended; etc.

8%	9%	7%	9%
----	----	----	----

MacArthur's Far East experience is outstanding: MacArthur was a great expert on the East; because MacArthur had exact knowledge of the Far East from peace times; he knew Korea very well; MacArthur was a capable general with a lot of experience in the East; etc.

6	6	6	6
---	---	---	---

He personally merits better treatment: An old respected soldier should not be removed as suddenly as that, he did not deserve it; he has much merit and great success, they should have chosen a more diplomatic way; it always shows that efficient people get the sack if the big shots are pleased to do so; MacArthur was the best soldier available in America, but he got just as little support as Rommel got in Africa; etc.

4	4	4	3
---	---	---	---

He was not afraid of the Communists: MacArthur was not intimidated by Russians and Chinese, he knew and knows their vulnerable points; it would have been better if MacArthur had stayed on, because his attitude towards Communism was very determined; the removed general was the right man to fight Communism; etc.

3	3	4	3
---	---	---	---

His idea of Attacking Red China is right: Because MacArthur had the idea of destroying the hinterland and the supply bases of the Communists - it would have been the only chance to finish the Korean war; because the Korean war can be won only by attacking the core of the Chinese and North Koreans and that was his intention; because the Chinese are completely free to rearm without disturbance as long as their country is not attacked by air, it would have been better if they had listened to MacArthur; he wanted the National Chinese to interfere and this would have been right; because MacArthur was right, it is an impossible situation that the Red Chinese pilots start from Chinese bases which cannot be attacked by UN pilots; etc.

3	3	2	3
---	---	---	---

(cont'd on next page).

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

MacArthur's successor is inexperienced: One had more confidence in MacArthur and does not know yet if the new man will succeed; MacArthur was not bad and knew his business, and I wonder if the new man knows as much; the new man has to gain experiences and has to get acquainted with the soldiers; etc.

1%	1%	*	1%
----	----	---	----

Other opinions: Because they have shied away from an inevitable decision; it is wrong from the viewpoint of American domestic politics because MacArthur has a large number of adherents; because MacArthur was more a diplomat whereas the new general is nothing but a soldier like Rommel, only interested in war; etc.

3	3	2	2
---	---	---	---

No opinion:

* 28%**	1 30%**	- 25%**	2 29%**
------------	------------	------------	------------

MACARTHUR'S VIEWS ON WAR ARGUMENT FOR DISMISSAL ...

Fear that MacArthur's course of action might have led to another world war is the reason most frequently brought up by those who think it was right to dismiss him, but the view that he mixed military matters with politics is mentioned just about as often.

"Do you consider the dismissal of MacArthur right or wrong?"

If "Right": "Why do you consider his dismissal right?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

MacArthur was too aggressive - might have led to a new world war: Because he was too radical, a new world war might easily have resulted; he would have made the mistake in the end to attack China, and a new world war would have been started; to prevent a third world war; his plans in respect to Formosa and Red China would have aggravated the danger of a world war; because he wanted the Korean war to be extended; his attitude in the Korean war was too aggressive; because he displayed too much energy in Korea; etc.

9%	10%	8%	10%
----	-----	----	-----

MacArthur exceeded his power, he acted too arbitrarily: He exceeded his powers too far; he was a soldier and not a politician; he acted too arbitrarily, also a general must know to obey; he muddled too much in politics and is nothing but a soldier; because a soldier must not mix in politics, he should leave this to the politicians; he pursued too much his own policy; because he acted too independently; etc.

7	8	7	5
---	---	---	---

The American government should know why it dismissed him: I trust it is right what the big shots in the government do; the American government will know why they do it; as far as I know he acted against Truman's orders; Truman knows the reasons why, perhaps the new commander will get further in the Korean war; etc.

1	1	1	-
---	---	---	---

Other opinions: Because he threatened the population with atom bombs; because they wanted Manchuria to be bombed; because this man was far too old; he did not know the conditions and has made many mistakes; etc.

2 10%	2 21%	2 18%**	2 17%**
----------	----------	------------	------------

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

EXTENSION OF CONFLICT BEYOND KOREA OPPOSED ...

But a policy along the lines recommended by MacArthur is not favored by a majority of West Germans. Six in ten think the conflict should be confined to Korea lest the chances of another world war be increased. Only a fifth advocate measures such as bombing Red China and use of Nationalist Chinese troops as the only means of ending the fighting.

"Which of these two possibilities would you consider the better policy for the United Nations in Korea?" (CARD)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
A. Broader measures should be taken, such as bombing Red China, and giving Nationalist China permission to attack Red China, because it is the only way to end the war in Korea;	20%	21%	21%	21%
B. Measures, such as the bombing of Red China or any attack on Red China should not be undertaken; the Korean conflict must be limited to Korea, otherwise the danger of a new world war would become too great;	59%	57%	63%	52%
No opinion	$\frac{21}{100}$	$\frac{22}{100}$	$\frac{16}{100}$	$\frac{27}{100}$

Support for broader measures such as bombing Red China and the entry of Nationalist China comes mainly from the group which feels it was wrong to dismiss General MacArthur. However, it will be noted in the comparative table below that not by any means all of those who deplore the General's dismissal recommend extension of the conflict. As many of them advocate continuance of a limited conflict as recommend the broader strategy.

Those selecting:

	Alternative A Broader measures should be under- taken	Alternative B Broader measures should not be undertaken
MacArthur's dismissal		
Right	2%	17%
Wrong	11	14
No opinion	$\frac{7}{20}$	$\frac{28}{59}$

MACARTHUR'S RECOMMENDATIONS KNOWN ...

That General MacArthur has proposed a Korean strategy along the lines of the first alternative is largely recognized, both by those who favor it and those who recommend confining the conflict to Korea.

"Do you, by any chance, know which of these two opinions is represented by MacArthur?" (Asked of those who selected alternative "A" in the initial question.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
A. Broader measures should be taken, such as bombing Red China, and giving Nationalist China permission to attack Red China, because it is the only way to end the war in Korea	13%	15%	12%	14%
B. Measures, such as the bombing of Red China and an attack on Red China should not be undertaken; the Korean conflict must be limited to Korea, otherwise the danger of a new world war would become too great	1	1	1	1
No opinion	$\frac{7}{21\%}$	$\frac{5}{21\%}$	$\frac{8}{21\%}$	$\frac{6}{21\%}$

"Do you, by any chance, know which of these two opinions is represented by MacArthur?" (Asked of those who selected alternative "B" in the initial question.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
A. Broader measures should be taken, such as bombing Red China, and giving Nationalist China permission to attack Red China, because it is the only way to end the war in Korea	31%	31%	32%	28%
B. Measures, such as the bombing of Red China and an attack on Red China should not be undertaken; the Korean conflict must be limited to Korea, otherwise the danger of a new world war would become too great	4	3	4	5
No opinion	$\frac{24}{59\%}$	$\frac{23}{57\%}$	$\frac{27}{63\%}$	$\frac{19}{52\%}$

PREPONDERANCE OF ALL GROUPS FOR LIMITED KOREAN CONFLICT ...

The preponderant attitude of all segments of the public is that the Korean conflict should remain limited to Korea.

"Which of these two possibilities would you consider the better policy of the United Nations in Korea?"

	Alternative A Broader measures should be under- taken	Alternative B Broader measures should not be undertaken	No opinion	No. of cases!
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	27%	60%	13% ... 100%	402
Women	14	57	29	395
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	20%	58%	22%	681
Beyond elementary school	27	63	10	114
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Lower	20%	53%	27%	406
Middle and upper	21	64	15	391
<u>Income:</u>				
0 - 299 DM	21%	56%	23%	567
300 - 399 DM	18	68	14	143
400 DM and more	22	67	11	79
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	23%	60%	17%	335
40 years and over	19	58	23	461
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	19%	70%	11%	202
CDU/CSU	25	59	16	181
FDP/LDP/DVP/EDV	41	55	4	53
Other parties	23	58	19	89
No party	19	54	27	121
Don't know	9	51	40	146
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professional	28%	67%	5%	21
Businessmen	28	59	13	102
White Collar workers	22	66	12	97
Skilled laborers	21	63	16	149
Semi-skilled laborers	17	59	24	121
Farmers	21	52	27	101
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	16	59	25	143
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, self	20%	66%	14%	132
Yes, family member	20	54	26	132
Neither-nor	20	59	21	547
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	22%	58%	20%	388
Protestants	21	57	22	378
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	20%	60	20%	611
Refugees and expellees	20	56	24	161

CONFIDENTIAL

II. OPINIONS ON U.S. POLICY

FEW SEE ANY APPROACHMENT OF COMMUNISTS BY THE U.S. ...

The American debate on foreign policy ensuing from the recall of General MacArthur appears - as of the first two weeks in May - not to have raised many doubts in West German minds regarding the firmness of the policy of the U.S. toward the Communists or of its intentions regarding Germany.

Considered in the context of the MacArthur dismissal, few of the West German people see indications of a trend toward American approachment of the Communist powers. On the contrary, three in ten expect the U.S. now to follow a firmer policy towards the Reds, and another three in ten anticipate no change in policy. Only one in ten foresees a more conciliatory line in the near future.

"Do you think that America will follow a firmer or a more conciliatory policy toward the Communist powers in the near future, or will American policy remain unchanged in this respect?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Firmer policy	30%	31%	32%	24%
More conciliatory	9	6	11	16
No change	32	31	34	32
No opinion	29	32	23	28
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

REASONS FOR JOINT US POLICY TOWARD COMMUNISTS ...

Arguments of those foreseeing a firmer American policy toward the Communist powers appear for the most part to be based on a belief that a firm hand is needed rather than on evidence of the fact of a firm policy. Thus, the most frequently mentioned statement is that the Americans are to be firmer because it is necessary for them to be so.

"Do you think that America will follow a firmer or a more conciliatory policy toward the Communist powers in the near future or will American policy remain unchanged in this respect?"

If "Firmer policy": "Why do you think so?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

Firmness is necessary: Because there is no other alternative left in the world against Communism; because America will have to oppose Communism more drastically, as Communism aims at ruling over all people; America does not want Bolshevism, but if they don't fight it with more determination, one day Bolshevism will be in their own country; because one cannot negotiate with Russia, it is necessary to tell them; up to here and not any further; because one must answer Russia by a determined attitude, as soon as we indulge we shall lose; because Communism is growing stronger and America must not allow it; etc. 16% 17% 17% 13%

Example of Korea: I don't believe the Americans will yield, otherwise they would have given up Korea already; the development in Korea has proved that one does not get anywhere by yielding to the Communists; you can see that in Korea how hard the fights are; I think Communism shall soon be defeated in Korea, and then America will use her influence everywhere to control Communism; etc. 3 3 4 1

To teach the Russians respect (frighten them): To frighten the Russians; the Russians only respect power; because they are intensifying rearmament and showing their teeth to the Communists; if America pursues a lenient policy toward the East it might be considered as weakness; etc. 3 3 2 3

Because America is against Communism and fights it: As I heard from my brother in America, the Americans are much against Communism; because the Americans don't want Communism at all; because they want to fight Communism, which is only possible if they adopt a more determined attitude; etc. 2 2 4 3

Other opinions: It is a question of pull, America does not want to leave it to the Russians; because they don't want to give up their position as a world power; they will never come to an agreement; because America does no longer trust the Russians; they have kept quiet long enough; because America has learned from MacArthur's experiences and has changed her policy accordingly; etc. 6 5 7 3

No opinion: 1/31% 1/31% 1/34% 1/34%

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

REASONS WHY US EXPECTED TO BE MORE CONCILIATORY ...

The small group which expects the US to adopt a more conciliatory policy toward the Communist powers reasons that the US seeks to avoid a war, "the Americans are afraid of a war with Russia," or points to MacArthur's dismissal as proof of their contention.

"Do you think that America will follow a firmer or a more conciliatory policy toward the Communist powers in the near future, or will American policy remain unchanged in this respect?"

If "More conciliatory": "Why do you think so?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

In order to avoid war and to preserve peace:
Their policy is to avoid war as long as possible; because that is more advantageous in order to preserve peace; they want to avoid a war; in case the Americans overdo it, the Russians will attack; etc.

3%	3%	3%	3%
----	----	----	----

Because America fears a war with Russia: Because America is forced into that attitude, how else can they deal with the Russians?; America fears a war against Russia; America is well aware of the fact that the Soviet Union is strong enough to get a grip on Europe in the case of a war; the American soldiers are not yet strong enough and are too much afraid of a Communist offensive; etc.

2	2	2	3
---	---	---	---

Because MacArthur has been dismissed: MacArthur has been dismissed and therefore their policy is not firm enough anymore; because the Americans have dismissed a general who wanted to do away with Communism; etc.

2	1	2	2
---	---	---	---

The Russians are smarter: Stalin is wiser and quicker, he is too dangerous for them, so they hold back; the Americans won't beat the Communists, the Russians are more clever; etc.

*	*	1	-
---	---	---	---

Other opinions: Because it is the nature of American policy always to give in; America will have to give in to the Communist methods, they can't keep on demanding; because America will have to remain on good terms with England and England wants to act as mediator; they will give economic support to the Eastern nations in order to get them away from Communism; etc.

$\frac{2}{9\%}$	$\frac{*}{6\%}$	$\frac{3}{11\%}$	$\frac{8}{16\%}$
-----------------	-----------------	------------------	------------------

* Less than one half of one per cent.

U.S. POLICY TOWARD THE COMMUNISTS AS SEEN BY POPULATION GROUPS ...

That the U.S. will follow a more conciliatory policy toward the Communist powers is the minority view in all segments of the population. A firmer line or no change in policy are the predominant views. However, in this as well as in other subsequent group differences there are some indications of a more skeptical or negative view on the part of the better educated, upper socio-economic levels, and the men, but the differences are not generally great enough to be reliably beyond chance.

"Do you think that America will follow a firmer or a more conciliatory policy toward the Communist powers in the near future or will American policy remain unchanged in this respect?"

	Firmer policy	More concilia- tory policy	No change	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	37%	11%	37%	15%...100%	402
Women	24	7	27	42	395
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	30%	8%	32%	30%	681
Beyond elementary school	36	14	32	18	114
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower	26%	7%	34%	33%	406
Middle and upper	35	12	30	23	391
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	28%	9%	31%	32%	567
300 - 399 DM	34	11	36	19	143
400 DM and more	46	8	30	16	79
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	30%	10%	36%	24%	335
40 years and over	31	9	29	31	462
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	35%	10%	38%	17%	202
CDU/CSU	36	7	34	23	181
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	41	4	36	19	53
Other parties	35	13	26	26	89
No party	19	15	26	40	121
Don't know	19	7	29	45	146
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professional	29%	19%	43%	9%	21
Businessmen	36	12	33	19	102
White-collar workers	34	14	31	21	97
Skilled laborers	26	9	41	24	149
Semi-skilled laborers	32	5	37	26	121
Farmers	31	4	29	36	101
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	30	9	22	39	143
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, self	36%	7%	36%	21%	132
Yes, family member	25	7	40	28	132
Neither/Nor	30	10	30	30	547
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	31%	10%	32%	27%	338
Protestants	31	8	32	29	378
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	30%	9%	33%	28%	631
Refugees, Expellees	32	10	30	28	161

CONFIDENTIAL

OPINIONS ON PRESENT AMERICAN EFFORTS AMONG POPULATION GROUPS ...

In all population groups except one, the view that the Americans are making a strong effort to defend West Germany outweighs the contrary view that the endeavor is weak. The exception occurs among the better educated where as many characterize US attempts as weak as say they are strong.

"Do you consider the present American efforts for the defense of West Germany to be strong or weak?"

If "Strong": ("Very strong" or "Strong")

If "Weak": ("Very weak" or "Weak")

	Very strong or strong	Moderate	Weak or very weak	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY					
<u>ex:</u>					
Men	40%	19%	27%	14% ... 100%	402
Women	34	10	19	37	395
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	38%	13%	22%	27%	681
Beyond elementary school	32	23	35	10	114
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower	33%	14%	21%	32%	406
Middle and upper	42	14	24	20	391
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	34%	13%	23%	30%	567
300 - 399 DM	50	13	20	17	143
400 DM and more	33	25	28	14	79
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	35%	16%	25%	24%	335
40 years and over	38	13	21	28	461
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	37%	17%	25%	21%	202
CDU/CSU	39	17	21	23	181
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	41	19	28	12	53
Other parties	47	8	21	24	89
No party	34	7	26	33	121
Don't know	29	14	21	36	146
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professional	33%	29%	38%	-	2
Businessmen	41	10	31	18	102
White collar workers	37	20	27	16	97
Skilled laborers	38	14	23	25	149
Semi-skilled laborers	40	12	19	29	121
Farmers	34	20	11	35	101
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	36	11	21	32	143
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, self	40%	18%	22%	20%	132
Yes, family member	39	7	23	31	132
Neither/hor	36	15	23	26	547
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	39%	13%	23%	25%	388
Protestants	35	15	22	28	378
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	37%	18%	22%	25%	631
Refugees, Expellees	39	11	25	25	161

CONFIDENTIAL

OPINIONS ON FUTURE AMERICAN EFFORTS AMONG POPULATION GROUPS ...

The predominant opinion in all groups is that American efforts for West German defense will increase within the coming half year.

"And do you think that the American efforts for the defense of West Germany will increase or decrease in the next six months?"

If "Increase": ("Increase a little" or "Increase very much")

If "Decrease": ("Decrease a little" or "Decrease very much")

	Increase very much or a little	Remain the same	Decrease a little or very much	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	53%	19%	6%	22% ... 100%	402
Women	33	12	5	50	395
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	43%	15%	5%	37%	68
Beyond elementary school	47	21	7	25	114
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower	40%	15%	4%	41%	406
Middle and upper	47	17	6	30	391
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	41%	15%	5%	39%	567
300 - 399 DM	50	16	6	28	143
400 DM and more	53	19	6	22	79
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	45%	17%	4%	34%	335
40 years and over	42	15	6	37	461
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	46%	18%	5%	31%	202
CDU/CSU	45	15	6	34	181
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	56	17	6	21	53
Other parties	50	17	3	30	89
No party	39	17	8	36	121
Don't know	33	12	3	52	146
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professional	33%	29%	14%	24%	21
Businessmen	49	18	4	29	102
White collar workers	51	12	8	29	97
Skilled laborers	44	17	6	33	149
Semi-skilled laborers	46	15	3	36	12
Farmers	38	13	5	44	11
None: pensioners, students retired, etc.	35	15	5	45	143
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, self	49%	13%	8%	30%	132
Yes, family member	40	15	5	40	133
Neither/nor	43	17	4	36	547
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	44%	16%	4%	36%	388
Protestants	42	16	6	36	378
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	42%	16%	6%	36%	631
Refugees, Expellees	47	16	2	35	161

CONFIDENTIAL

REASONS WHY INCREASED AMERICAN EFFORT EXPECTED ...

Few West Germans apparently believe that an increased American effort to defend West Germany is based on altruism. The reasoning is rather that the United States has a growing recognition of the danger of Communist aggression and a consequent awareness of the importance of West Germany in the scheme of American defense.

"And do you think that the American efforts for the defense of West Germany will increase or decrease in the next six months?"

If "Increase": ("Increase a little" or "Increase very much")

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

because the danger of Eastern aggression increases and the political situation between East and West is growing worse: Because the Russians are arming and the Americans want to protect themselves; because America wants to establish a base in West Germany at all costs as a safeguard against aggression from the East; because they are threatened more and more by the East; because otherwise the Communists will get wise; because they have to confront their enemy No. 1 - Russia - right here; because one doesn't know what the Russians are up to and one is afraid that there might be a war with Russia; so Russia won't risk attacking West Europe; because they are scared of Bolshevism; because America fears a Russian attack on West Germany; etc.

20%	17%	25%	18%
-----	-----	-----	-----

Because America needs West Germany as an ally:

Because we would be quite useful to the Americans as allies; they will realize that they can't succeed without a military contribution from Germany - Europe could never be defended without German help; so they have a helper in us against the Russians; for military reasons - America needs West Germany and especially her soldiers in order to have some chance of success; because they'll need us - if they leave here Europe will be lost; etc.

6	6	7	8
---	---	---	---

In their own interest - if Europe (West Germany) is lost - America will be lost too: In the interest of America - she won't leave West Europe to the Russians; because they would serve their own interest best by that; the Americans finally have come to the realization that they are defending their own country by defending Germany; because America is lost if the Western nations lose; because their own well-being depends on that; etc.

6	6	6	6
---	---	---	---

(cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

Because they have to help us so that the Russians won't occupy all of Germany: America does not want Russia to take possession of Germany; they haven't left us in the lurch so far and I think that they will continue to help us; because they are rearming constantly in the East Zone and the Americans have to do something against it if they want to protect us; their efforts should increase, otherwise we'll be completely lost in West Germany; etc.

5%	5%	5%	4%
----	----	----	----

Because America needs Germany for economic reasons: America depends on us for trade; because America would be able to do better trade with Europe and West Germany; they will continue to help us economically in order to prove to the people that they are not indifferent to West Germany - they want to keep the sympathies of the Western hemisphere; because they need Germany as a market - if war should break out Germany would fall into the hands of the Russians; etc.

3	2	2	2
---	---	---	---

Other opinions: Because Germany will probably join the Atlantic Pact; because they want to send more troops over here; because they are arming over there as well as over here, there is already a shortage in iron and copper again; it happens within the framework of the American rearmament program; etc.

4	5	4	2
---	---	---	---

No opinion:

$\frac{1}{45\%}$	$\frac{1}{42\%}$	$\frac{1}{50\%}$	$\frac{1}{41\%}$
------------------	------------------	------------------	------------------

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

REASONS WHY DECREASED AMERICAN EFFORTS EXPECTED ...

The fraction anticipating decreased American efforts in behalf of West German defense give scattered arguments to support their views: the US must use all its strength in the Far East; West Germany would first have to do something about arming; the US has no liking for the Germans and vice versa.

"Do you think that the American efforts for the defense of West Germany will increase or decrease in the next six months?"

If "Decrease": ("Decrease a little" or "Decrease very much")

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

US must concentrate on Far East; strength in the Far East (Korea) more urgent than in Europe:

Because they must concentrate more on the Far East problem and need their strength there during the near future; because they need their men more urgently in Korea, otherwise they shall lose; etc.

2%	3%	2%	2%
----	----	----	----

General distrust of US: We would perish first if there were a war; they don't take an interest in us; because America fought Germany twice, and I don't trust America in the future to defend us; I don't like the Americans, they certainly won't defend us and take trouble on our behalf; etc.

1	1	2	1
---	---	---	---

West Germany would have to arm first: Because they wish that we do something ourselves; the Americans will not help if we Germans don't form a part of the army; because we Germans don't really want it; etc.

1	1	*	1
---	---	---	---

Other opinions: Because the American soldiers want to go home; etc.

$\frac{1}{5\%}$	$\frac{1}{6\%}$	$\frac{*}{4\%}$	$\frac{1}{5\%}$
-----------------	-----------------	-----------------	-----------------

* Less than one half of one per cent.

III. OPINIONS ON RELATIVE STRENGTH OF WESTERN AND COMMUNIST POWERS

Indications are that confidence is also growing among the West German public as to the strength of the Western powers vis-a-vis the Communist powers.

PREPONDERANCE HOLDS WEST NOW STRONGER THAN EAST ...

Considering the present situation, a plurality of West Germans regard the Western powers as stronger than the Communist powers.

"And which appears to you, all things considered, to be stronger at the moment: the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Communist powers	19%	18%	21%	20%
Western powers	45	47	44	38
Both the same	14	12	16	16
No opinion	22	23	19	26
	100%	100%	100%	100%

... Comparison with an earlier study suggests a decided shift in opinions on this score, but because of differences in the two samples the comparison should be considered only an approximate one.* Attitudes of urban West Germans as of May compare as follows with a sampling of urban West Germans made last January when the UN fortunes in Korea were at their lowest ebb.

	Urban West Germany	
	Jan '51	May '51
Stronger at the moment:		
Communist powers	46%	19%
Western powers	24	45
Both the same	15	14
No opinion	15	22
	100%	100%

* The January 1951 sample was an urban quota sample of residents of West German cities of 50,000 population and over. Figures given in the comparative table for May are for West German cities of 25,000 and over and are taken from the stratified, probability sample now utilized by R&S. However, the shift in opinion is so marked that it probably overrides any sampling differences.

REASONS WHY WEST CONSIDERED STRONGER NOW ...

The superiority of the West in weapons and economic and technical matters are largely adduced as the reasons for the greater power of the West.

"And who appears to you, all things considered, to be stronger at the moment: The Communist powers or the Western powers?"

If "Western powers": "Why do you think so?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>The Western powers have better weapons:</u> Because the Western powers can produce more arms than Russia; the Western powers have the strongest air force in the world and that is the most important thing; the Western powers have a larger air force, a good navy, and a capable army - they have strategic bases all around the Soviet Union; they have more material - airplanes etc.; they have the greater arma-ment potential; because America has the best and largest number of arms; because they've got the atom bomb, more and better airplanes, and better equipped troops; etc.	14%	15%	14%	11%
<u>The Western powers are technically and econo-mically superior:</u> They are technically further advanced than the Russians; the Western powers have economic and technical superiority; the economic potential of the Western powers is on the long run considerably larger than that of the Communist powers; America is stronger be-cause the country was not damaged by war and their industries can work full scale; because their economic potential is inexhaustible; they have more and better materials than the Russians; etc.	14	15	13	14
<u>The Western powers have more manpower:</u> Because more and more nations side with the Western powers and prepare against Communist aggression; because the Western powers are much stronger - even the Atlantic Pact nations are strong enough by themselves to confront the Russians; because the Communists have no followers; be-cause the Western powers are superior to the Communist powers considering the size of their population; because the Western Nations are larger in number; most countries are on the side of the West; etc.	9	9	9	11
<u>The Western powers are more intelligent and morally better people:</u> Because the Russians are intellectually not as far advanced as the people in the West - therefore their research in modern weapons lags behind; be-cause America is more intelligent; they are better humans than the Russians; etc.	3	2	4	4

(Cont'd on next page)

WEST British US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

The Western powers are stronger because they are free nations: The Russian people await the moment for insurrection against their government; Communism is too blunt - exercises its power with pressure and enslavement - that results in disadvantages; France, England, and America are big and free countries - they should be able to keep the Russians at bay, if they don't succeed in that it'd be pitiful; etc.

2 3 2 1

The wise fathers tho thought: Because the Western powers are stronger - that is my hope - otherwise God could not exist; I say that from the hope that we would be invaded by the Communists; etc.

2 3 1 -

General indefinable comments: Because Communism can't get anywhere in the West; because they repel the Communists; what the East zone can offer us is not exactly beneficiary - just let us think of the hungry people in the East zone - the Americans are concerned with the welfare of the people; we know enough about American politics and economics in order to judge them - yet we know nothing about the Russians and can't judge them therefore; etc.

2 2 1 1

Other reasons: They have tamped down in the East zone - from that I conclude, that the Russians aren't so sure of themselves anymore; because I believe that after all the Americans were successful with their policy; etc.

4 4 4 1

No opinion

$\frac{3}{53\%}$ $\frac{4}{57\%}$ $\frac{3}{51\%}$ $\frac{3}{46\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

REASONS WHY COMMUNISTS CONSIDERED STRONGER NOW ...

A variety of reasons are given for considering the Communist powers to be stronger at present than the Western powers. Among them are the views that the Communists have the stronger military forces, have more manpower, and operate more skillfully in the political arena.

"And who appears to you, all things considered, to be stronger at the moment: the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

If "Communist powers": "Why do you think so?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

They have a stronger military force (they used the time to rearm): Because the Communist powers worked ceaselessly on their rearmament; because the Communist powers have rearmed ever since the end of the last war; the Communists could march into Europe at any time without meeting resistance - we've got nothing to defend ourselves; they are far ahead of us with their armament; etc.

5%	5%	4%	5%
----	----	----	----

Politically more skillful and strong (agitation etc.): Because the number of Communists in all countries is increasing constantly - they try to undermine the governments everywhere; half of the world is occupied by Communists - they exercise a policy of force, while the Americans give in all the time; the Western powers support Communism by their stupid policy; because of their awkward policy they are far inferior to the Communists; because they always cook up something first, and then the Western powers have to change their policy accordingly; etc.

5	5	7	2
---	---	---	---

More manpower, more raw materials, greater reserves: Because they have a larger number of people including China; their geographical position - the unexploited sources of raw-material - their boundless manpower guarantee the superiority of the Communist powers; too many countries are behind them - Red China, Poland, etc.; Russia has expanded so much - they have Hungary, half of Germany, and they conquered a lot of other nations too; because the Communists have larger reserves in manpower; etc.

4	4	4	7
---	---	---	---

Because of the events in Asia: Because they regain everything in Korea; see Korea; since MacArthur left the UN forces are retreating; because the Western powers didn't get anywhere in Korea and have constant setbacks; we read it everywhere that the Communists are overrunning the Americans in Korea; because of the successes in Asia and in Persia too; etc.

3	2	3	3
---	---	---	---

(Cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

They are more unified: They agree more with each other; the Russians at the moment, because they are more agreed among each other; because they stand united and act according to one single plan and have one aim, while the Western powers can't agree and thus are to weak to make big decisions; etc.

14	14	14	24
----	----	----	----

They are close-mouthed - we don't know what they are up to: Because we don't have exact information on their military potentials; because they are quiet - America always boasts what the West can throw in the scales - the Russians have rearmed secretly ever since the war ended; the Russians work under cover - one does not know anything about their plans; etc.

1	1	1	1
---	---	---	---

Other opinions: Because they are more successful; because they are marching against the Americans; because one is more afraid of Communism, therefore they seem to be stronger; etc.

2	1	2	1
---	---	---	---

No opinion

$\frac{1}{22\%}$	$\frac{1}{20\%}$	$\frac{1}{23\%}$	$\frac{1}{22\%}$
------------------	------------------	------------------	------------------

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

I. POPULATION GROUPS GIVE ADVANTAGE TO THE WEST ...

No appreciable differences occur among the various population groups on the relative strength of the Communist and Western powers at present, with all groups giving the advantage to the West.

"And who appears to you all things considered, to be stronger at the moment: the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

	Communist powers	Western powers	Both the same	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY					
Sex:					
Men	21%	47%	18%	14%	402
Women	18	43	9	30	395
Education:					
Elementary school	18%	45%	14%	23%	681
Beyond elementary school	26	44	12	18	114
Socio-Economic Status:					
Lower	16%	43%	14%	27%	406
Middle and upper	22	48	14	16	391
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	19%	44%	14%	23%	567
300 - 399 DM	22	44	15	19	14
400 DM and more	19	54	13	14	1
Age:					
Under 40 years	20%	45%	14%	21%	335
40 years and over	18	45	14	23	462
Party Preference:					
SPD	18%	54%	13%	15%	202
CDU/CSU	16	53	11	20	181
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	23	57	9	11	53
Other parties	23	52	8	17	89
No party	23	31	19	27	121
Don't know	18	27	18	37	146
Occupation:					
Professional	24%	62%	5%	9%	21
Businessmen	21	44	14	21	102
White Collar workers	25	40	15	20	97
Skilled laborers	20	50	15	15	149
Semi-skilled laborers	17	44	13	26	121
Farmers	18	37	18	27	101
None: pensioners, students retired, etc.	15	48	14	23	147
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, self	17%	52%	17%	14%	132
Yes, family member	20	45	10	25	132
Neither/nor	20	43	14	23	547
Religion:					
Catholics	19%	47%	13%	21%	3
Protestants	20	43	14	23	1
Origin:					
Natives	19%	44%	14%	23%	63
Refugees and expellees	22	46	13	19	161

CONFIDENTIAL

VIEW THAT WEST HAS SCORED MORE SUCCESS THAN COMMUNISTS APPEARS TO BE GROWING ...

Asked to review the relative success of the Western and Communist powers during the past year, the weight of opinion as revealed in the replies is slightly in favor of the West.

"If you look at the political situation in the world as a whole, which side has had the more success during the past year: the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Communist powers	31%	29%	31%	36%
Western powers	37	36	42	28
Both the same	14	14	13	19
No opinion	<u>13</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>17</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Though the Western powers do not score very much more highly than the Communists, here too indications are that West German confidence in the West is increasing. Comparison with urban opinions as of January suggests that the direction of the trend is strongly toward greater appreciation of Western strength.*

Urban West Germany

Jan '51

May '51

More success:

Communist powers	63%	32%
Western powers	14	38
Both the same	11	17
No opinion	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>
	100%	100%

* See footnote on page 19 for precautionary note on sample differences.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

MAJORITY EXPECT FINAL VICTORY TO GO TO THE WEST ...

Finally, about two-thirds (64%) of the West German public expect that the Western powers will in the end win the upper hand in the East-West struggle.

"According to your view, who has the better chance finally to win the upper hand in the East-West struggle, the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

WEST GERMANY				
	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	
Communist powers	8%	6%	9%	10%
Western powers	64	65	65	55
Both the same	8	7	7	13
No opinion	20	22	19	22
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Again, a rough comparison of urban opinion indicates increasing confidence in the West vis-a-vis the Communists, though as the comparative table reveals, the predominant view was previously also strongly inclined toward the ultimate victory of the West.

Urban West Germany:

Jan '51

May '51

Will finally win upper hand:

Communist powers	13%	8%
Western powers	55	62
Both the same	8	10
No opinion	24	20
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

CONFIDENTIAL

OPINION LEADERS TEND TO GIVE EDGE TO COMMUNISTS AS MORE SUCCESSFUL ...

The better educated, the upper income, and the higher socio-economic levels, that is the opinion leading elements, tend to give the edge to the Communists rather than the Western powers. Other groups generally are of the opinion that the West has had more success than the Reds during the past year.

"If you look at the political situation in the world as a whole, which side has had the more success during the past year: the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

	Communist powers	Western powers	Both the same	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	38%	37%	16%	9%...100%	402
Women	23	37	12	28	395
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	28%	38%	14%	20%	681
Beyond elementary school	47	28	18	7	114
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower	26%	41%	11%	22%	406
Middle and upper	36	33	17	14	391
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	29%	38%	13%	20%	567
300 - 399 DM	35	36	14	15	143
400 DM and more	33	34	23	10	79
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	29%	37%	17%	17%	335
40 years and over	32	37	12	19	462
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	31%	46%	11%	12%	202
CDU/CSU	28	43	15	14	181
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	30	40	23	7	53
Other parties	38	41	7	14	89
No party	34	30	15	21	121
Don't know	27	22	17	34	146
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	52%	29%	19%	-	21
Businessmen	38	33	15	14	102
White-collar workers	36	32	19	13	97
Skilled laborers	26	42	15	17	149
Semi-skilled laborers	26	42	12	20	121
Farmers	32	29	18	21	101
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.,	29	40	8	23	143
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, self	28%	47%	14%	11%	132
Yes, family member	23	37	14	26	132
Neither/Nor	33	35	14	18	547
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	29%	38%	15%	18%	388
Protestants	32	36	14	18	378
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	30%	35%	17%	18%	631
Refugees & Expellees	36	44	4	16	161

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

BUT OPINION LEADERS MORE CONFIDENT THAN OTHERS OF FINAL WESTERN SUCCESS ...

Majorities in all population groups estimate that the final victory will go to the West in the East-West struggle.

"According to your view, who has the better chance to finally win the upper hand in the East-West struggle: the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

	Communist powers	Western powers	Both the same	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	8%	68%	10%	14%	402
Women	8	59	5	28	395
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	8%	63%	7%	22%	681
Beyond elementary school	5	68	11	16	114
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower	8%	60%	7%	25%	406
Middle and upper	7	67	9	17	391
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	7%	62%	8%	23%	567
300 - 399 DM	11	66	7	16	143
400 DM and more	5	75	5	15	79
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	10%	66%	7%	17%	335
40 years and over	6	62	8	24	40
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	7%	72%	9%	12%	202
CDU/CSU	7	70	4	19	181
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	6	70	4	20	53
Other parties	7	74	7	12	89
No party	11	49	14	26	121
Don't know	8	48	7	37	146
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professional	10%	71%	5%	14%	21
Businessmen	8	63	10	19	102
White collar workers	7	66	8	19	97
Skilled laborers	12	63	8	17	149
Semi-skilled laborers	4	68	9	19	121
Farmers	5	58	11	26	101
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	6	66	3	25	143
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, self	8%	68%	7%	17%	132
Yes, family member	10	63	2	23	132
Neither/nor	7	63	9	21	54
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	8	66	7	19	386
Protestants	7	62	8	23	378
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	8%	63%	8%	22%	611
Refugees, expellees	8	68	5	19	123

GUNS OR BUTTER?

West German Opinions on the Use of Marshall Plan Funds

Classification cancelled
by authority of Leo P. Crespi
PUB/RAS.

Report No. 84
Series No. 2
June 14, 1951

CONFIDENTIAL

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

CONFIDENTIAL

INTRODUCTION ...

This report on West German reactions to allocation of Marshall Plan funds for defense is based on a survey made by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, HICOG, from May 2-9, 1951. The sample used in the study was a stratified probability one with 900 cases drawn from the British, US, and French zones of West Germany and represents a scientific cross-section of the populations in these areas. Interviewing was done by trained German interviewers and the analysis was made in the Frankfurt headquarters of RAS.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT ...

The costs of a defense program pose difficult choices for the people of Western Europe most of whom are still heavily pressed to pay for the last war. In order to assay reactions to this problem, the West German public was queried regarding its views on the use of Marshall Plan funds for West German defense.

The preponderant anticipation (61%) is that ERP money will be used partly for defense in the coming year rather than solely for economic support as heretofore. However, if the larger segment of the West German public could have its way, the funds would be used for butter, not for guns.

About a third (36%) approve a partial allocation of the funds for defense, but nearly half (45%) want all the money used for the West German economy. An economic collapse or another war are envisaged by most of those who oppose using the funds for defense purposes.

The large preponderance of those who would agree to using Marshall Plan funds for defense recommend that only half or less be used for this purpose.

The opinion leading elements - the better educated, upper socio-economic levels, and the men - are not only more frequently of the opinion that Marshall Plan aid is to be used for defense purposes in the coming year, but also more often recommend such an allocation. A noteworthy finding is the relatively greater opposition to such an allocation among SPD adherents and trade union members.

- 2 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

INTENDED ALLOCATION OF FUNDS GENERALLY KNOWN ...

The majority opinion, (61%) in West Germany is that part of the Marshall Plan funds for West Germany will be diverted to defense purposes during the coming year. Only one in ten expects the aid to continue solely for economic support, but almost three in ten do not know what is to be done.

"As you know, America has supported West Germany under the Marshall Plan with money and goods during the past years.

"In your opinion, will America use the Marshall Plan funds for the next year solely for the economic support of West Germany as she has done so far, or will part of the funds be designated for the defense of West Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Solely for economic support	11%	10%	13%	13%
Part of it for defense	61	62	60	53
No opinion	28	28	27	34
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

BUT BUTTER, NOT GUNS PREFERRED ...

Preferences as to the allocation of ERP funds diverge from expectations, however. The preponderant sentiment (45%) is that it would be better if the aid should continue in the future as in the past to be used only for economic support of West Germany. About a third (36%) recommend allocation of funds for defense purposes.

"Which do you think is better: should the Marshall Plan funds for the next year be used solely for the economic support of West Germany, or should part of the funds be used for the defense of West Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Solely for economic support	45%	45%	45%	46%
Part of it for defense	36	35	39	35
No opinion	19	20	16	19
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

CONFIDENTIAL

POVERTY OR WAR SEEN IF FUNDS USED FOR DEFENSE ...

Almost a quarter declares that an economic collapse would result if the funds were used for defense rather than for the West German economy. About as many (19%) stress the obverse; that such expenditures would lead to war.

"Why shouldn't part of it be used for the defense of West Germany?" (Asked of those who said, funds should be used solely for economic support)

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

That would lead to a complete breakdown of the weak German economy and to the pauperization of the German people: Because we are economically so badly off, the money spent for defense purposes will be lost; I can't understand that at all, first of all they should build houses and then talk about rearmament; because these means are needed badly for re-construction; the Germans should be helped to stand on their own feet; the economic support is more important for us, without it we can't exist; because it is meant to be a support for trade and economy and not for rearmament; the money spent for defense measures will be needed to avoid starvation of the people; first of all Germany has to be helped economically, otherwise we will have Communism in the country; etc.

23%	24%	22%	19%
-----	-----	-----	-----

That would lead to military and thus to a new war: We wish to live and work in peace, in case we would have soldiers again and have our factories manufacture arms, we certainly will be entangled in a new war; that would mean the beginning of a new war, they should leave the poor beaten German people out of the play, we want peace and we want to do useful work; we have been in two wars and that certainly is enough; a defense army wouldn't be all, it would lead to war; they should not play with arms, that leads to a new war sooner or later; etc.

18	18	17	21
----	----	----	----

The defense of Western Germany should be paid for by the Americans (Western powers): The financial means for the defense should be raised by the Americans themselves, it is for their own advantage; America should provide for what is necessary for the defense some other way, since they have to reap what they have sown; as long as we have to pay for the occupation costs, the Western powers should do their own account about it; etc.

2	1	2	2
---	---	---	---

Western Germany should remain neutral by all means: I am in favor of an absolute neutrality of Germany -- as long as Germany is merely an object for bargaining between the two victorious powers, it should neither side with the East nor the West; West Germany should under all circumstances maintain her neutral stand and keep out of international disagreements; Western Germany can contribute her share in other ways; etc.

1	1	1	1
---	---	---	---

(cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

Western Germany is at present too weak to defend herself: Because we can't defend ourselves against the Russians as we are too weak; we can't defend ourselves since we are too weak and our Western neighbors can't be trusted; etc.

1	-	1	2
---	---	---	---

In case of war we would have to fight for the Americans: Because I am opposed to it that the Americans play soldiers with us; because I consider it unnecessary that we should fight for the Americans who have taken everything away from us; etc.

1	1	*	1
---	---	---	---

Other opinions: I don't see why Germany should build up a defense with Marshall Plan funds, that would mean a burden for us tax-payers; the whole Marshall Plan aid should be stopped; we have done our part already during the years of '39-'45, fighting against the East; that is unnecessary; nobody threatens us Germans anyway; if the living standard in Western Germany sinks any lower, there won't be any need for defending her, what should we fight for?; etc.

$\frac{2}{48\%}$ **	$\frac{3}{48\%}$ **	$\frac{3}{46\%}$ **	$\frac{4}{50\%}$ **
---------------------	---------------------	---------------------	---------------------

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

- 3 -

CONFIDENTIAL

ONLY HALF OR LESS SHOULD BE SPENT FOR DEFENSE ...

And the large preponderance of those who would agree to using Marshall Plan funds for defense purposes recommend that only half or less of this money be used for this purpose.

"Approximately how much do you think should be used for the defense of West Germany; almost all of it, most of it, about half, less than half, or only very little?" (Asked of those who answered "Part of it for defense" to previous question)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Almost all of it	1%	-%	-%	1%
Most of it	2	3	2	2
About half	14	14	17	11
Less than half	12	10	13	15
Only very little	2	4	1	1
No opinion	5	4	6	5
	36%	35%	39%	35%

The desired allocation of expenditures varies, as is seen in the following tables:

"Approximately how much do you think should be used for the defense of West Germany; almost all of it, most of it, about half, less than half, or only very little?"

If "About half": "Which expenditures for the defense do you consider the most important? (Could you name some examples?)"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
--------------	--------------	---------	-------------

For tanks and planes (Air Force; without specifications): Completion of an air force; planes, modern tanks; for planes and tanks; the main thing is to build air planes; etc.

4%	4%	4%	2%
----	----	----	----

For arms and production of arms (without any specifications): For arms, that modern arms are manufactured; good technical arms; ammunition; etc.

3	4	3	4
---	---	---	---

For the establishment of a German army, their equipment and training: Establishment of an army ready for battle; equipping and establishing of German troops; establish a German army; for a German army and the necessary equipment; training of German soldiers; etc.

2	2	3	1
---	---	---	---

General troop reinforcements (without specifications): For ground troops as counterpoise against the Russians; ground and air troops; etc.

1	1	2	1
---	---	---	---

For aerial defense: For air defense; for defense against air raids, the situation is desperate since the Allies have blown up our bunkers; etc.

1	2	*	-
---	---	---	---

For reinforcement of American and Allied forces: Reinforcement of the American troops in Western Germany; etc.

1	*	1	1
---	---	---	---

Other opinions: Build an East wall against the Russians and the Eastern zone; etc.

3	2	3	3
---	---	---	---

No opinion/No answer:

2 17%**	2 17%**	4 20%**	- 12%**
------------	------------	------------	------------

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

"Approximately how much do you think should be used for the defense of West Germany, almost all of it, most of it, about half, less than half, or only very little?"

If "Less than half": "Which expenditures for the defense do you consider the most important?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>For equipment with modern arms: Provision of modern arms; for equipment of the troops with arms; etc.</u>	2%	2%	2%	4%
<u>For establishment of an army (without any specifications): For a standing army; establishment of an army with all kinds of arms; have well-equipped soldiers with good arms ready; etc.</u>	2	2	1	4
<u>For establishment of a strong air force (without any specifications): An air force; for an air force; a good modern air force is most necessary; etc.</u>	2	2	2	1
<u>For improvement and enforcement of the situation within Western Germany: Expenses for the industry; sufficient supply of food; for the building of barracks, in order that people who live in barracks don't lose their homes; etc.</u>	1	2	2	-
<u>For establishment of a German army or a strong police force to be established; they should establish a kind of people's police in Western Germany otherwise the Eastern people's police will overrun us with tanks and air planes; etc.</u>	1	1	1	1
<u>For enforcement of the American and Allies forces: For tanks and American infantry; etc.</u>	*	*	-	1
<u>Other opinions: For general readiness for defense; such means of defense should be available in the Federal Republic; the establishment of a well-functioning plan; etc.</u>	2	2	2	-
<u>No opinion/No answer:</u>	$\frac{3}{13\%}$ **	$\frac{1}{12\%}$ **	$\frac{4}{14\%}$ **	$\frac{5}{16\%}$ **

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

Those groups customarily better informed - the better educated, upper socio-economic levels, the higher income brackets, and the men - are more inclined than their opposites to realize that a part of the ERP funds are going to be used for defense purposes in the coming year. Trade union members, as contrasted with non-affiliates, also are more frequently of this opinion.

"As you know, America has supported West Germany under the Marshall Plan with money and goods during the past years.

"In your opinion, will America use the Marshall Plan funds for the next year solely for the economic support of West Germany as she has done so far, or will part of the funds be designated for the defense of West Germany?"

	Solely for economic support	Part of it for defense	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	10%	72%	18% ... 100%	401
Women	12	48	40	395
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	11%	58%	31%	681
Beyond elementary school	10	76	14	113
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower	15%	50%	35%	406
Middle and upper	7	71	22	390
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	11%	57%	32%	567
300 - 399 DM	13	68	19	143
400 DM and more	5	76	19	79
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	14%	62%	24%	335
40 years and over	9	59	32	460
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	13%	67%	20%	202
CDU/CSU	9	64	27	181
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	2	89	9	53
Other parties	9	62	29	89
No party	13	57	30	120
Don't know	13	40	47	146
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professional	10%	71%	19%	21
Businessmen	11	69	20	101
White collar workers	10	75	15	97
Skilled laborers	10	68	22	148
Semi-skilled laborers	12	54	34	121
Farmers	13	48	39	101
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	11	50	39	143
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, self	10%	73%	17%	132
Yes, family member	14	54	33	132
Neither/nor	11	58	31	546
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	10%	62%	28%	388
Protestants	12	59	29	377
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	11%	60%	29%	631
Refugees, Expellees	13	63	24	180

... The opinion leading elements - the better educated, higher socio-economic and income levels - advocate spending part of ERP funds for West German defense more frequently than do their counterparts. Worthy of note is the fact that adherents of the Social Democratic party and trade union members tend more markedly than other population groupings toward the opinion that the funds should be used solely for economic support.

"Which do you think is better: should the Marshall Plan funds for the next year be used solely for the economic support of West Germany, or should part of the funds be used for the defense of West Germany?"

	Solely for economic support	Part of it for defense	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	46%	42%	12% ... 100%	402
Women	45	30	25	395
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	45%	35%	20%	681
Beyond elementary school	47	43	10	114
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower	49%	28%	23%	406
Middle and upper	41	45	14	391
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	46%	33%	21%	567
300 - 399 DM	45	44	11	143
400 DM and more	41	43	16	79
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	47%	39%	14%	335
40 years and over	44	34	22	461
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	59%	29%	12%	202
CDU/CSU	34	50	16	181
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	32	61	7	53
Other parties	40	44	16	89
No party	50	24	26	121
Don't know	43	27	30	146
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professional	33%	43%	24%	21
Businessmen	42	40	18	102
White collar workers	51	41	8	97
Skilled laborers	51	35	14	149
Semi-skilled laborers	49	35	16	121
Farmers	32	44	24	101
None: pensioners, students retired, etc.	46	26	28	143
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, self	57%	35%	8%	132
Yes, family member	50	30	20	132
Neither/nor	42	38	20	547
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	47%	37%	16%	388
Protestants	42	37	21	378
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	46%	35%	19%	631
Refugees, Expellees	41	43	16	161

... No appreciable differences occur within any population groups as to what proportion of the Marshall Plan funds should be set aside for West German defense.

"Approximately how much do you think should be used for the defense of West Germany: almost all of it, most of it, about half, less than half, or only very little?" (Asked of those who answered "Part of it for defense" to initial question)

	Most of it	About half	Less than half	Only very little	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY							
<u>Sex:</u>							
Men	4%	15%	16%	2%	5%	58% ..100%	402
Women	1	14	7	3	5	70	395
<u>Education:</u>							
Elementary school	3%	14%	11%	2%	5%	65%	681
Beyond elementary school	3	18	13	4	5	57	114
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>							
Lower	2%	11%	9%	2%	4%	72%	406
Middle and upper	4	18	14	3	6	55	391
<u>Income (per month):</u>							
0 - 299 DM	2%	13%	10%	2%	6%	67%	567
300 - 399 DM	6	15	17	3	3	56	143
400 DM and more	1	23	11	5	3	57	79
<u>Age:</u>							
Under 40 years	3%	15%	13%	3%	5%	61%	335
40 years and over	3	14	10	2	5	66	461
<u>Party Preference:</u>							
SPD	-	12%	12%	2%	3%	71%	202
CDU/CSU	6	20	15	4	5	50	181
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	2	34	19	2	4	39	53
Other parties	8	16	8	1	11	56	89
No party	1	9	8	1	5	76	121
Don't know	2	7	9	4	5	73	146
<u>Occupation:</u>							
Professional	-	14%	19%	5%	5%	57%	21
Businessmen	-	21	13	3	3	60	102
White collar workers	5	14	13	4	5	59	97
Skilled laborers	3	10	16	3	3	65	14
Semi-skilled laborers	5	16	9	1	4	65	1
Farmers	2	18	9	3	12	56	10
None: pensioners, stu- dents, retired, etc.	3	9	9	1	4	74	143
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>							
Yes, self	4%	9%	18%	2%	2%	65%	132
Yes, family member	1	12	12	1	4	70	132
Neither/nor	3	16	10	3	6	62	547
<u>Religion:</u>							
Catholics	2%	15%	13%	2%	5%	63%	388
Protestants	4	15	10	3	5	63	378
<u>Origin:</u>							
Natives	2%	13%	12%	3%	5%	65%	631
Refugees, Expellees	6	19	10	2	6	57	161

THE IMPACT OF THE EUROPA TRAIN
A Preliminary Study on a Mainz Audience

Report No. 85

Series No. 2

Jan 15, 1951

Classification cancelled
by authority of Leo P. Crespi
UB/RAS.

RESTRICTED

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION ...

A preliminary survey on reactions to the EUROPA TRAIN was made May 17-19, 1951, by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, HICOG, at the Mains showing of the train. A probability sample of about 180 persons was interviewed by trained German interviewers, and the analysis was made in the Frankfurt headquarters of RAS. The sample which is described in greater detail in the body of the report may be considered to be a scientific cross-section of the Mains audience. Further surveys of audience reactions to the EUROPA TRAIN are planned to supplement these preliminary findings.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT ...

The EUROPA TRAIN was well received by its Mains visitors. The message, the basic idea, the technical aspects, and the use of a train as a place for an exhibition are all generally applauded and appreciated.

Of particular importance is the finding that almost a third of the Mains visitors declared that they had been influenced by the train, and, to judge by their comments, in the direction of greater appreciation of the value of international economic cooperation. Most of the remaining two thirds presumably did not need to be convinced in this regard, being already cognizant of the advantages of West European economic cooperation, as is borne out by the generally favorable attitudes expressed by the Mains visitors as a whole on such issues.

The composition of the Mains visitors appears to be selective rather than representative of the rank and file of the West German public. The better educated, upper income, higher socio-economic levels, as well as the men tended to be represented in the audience out of proportion to their numbers in the total population. Younger people as compared with older people also were more heavily represented.

- 2 -
RESTRICTED

DESCRIPTION OF THE MAINZ AUDIENCE OF THE EUROPA TRAIN ...

The use of a train as a medium in an information campaign has two advantages: the first and obvious one is the physical mobility of the train; the second advantage is that a train, stopping as it must in stations or sidings will presumably because of its greater accessibility attract more of the rank and file than other media, that is more of those not so likely to take the trouble to go to more formally housed exhibitions or to information centers, and are not so generally inclined to read about economic or political developments and issues.

The results of the pilot survey made in Mainz do not, by and large, support the latter assumption. At Mainz, visitors to the EUROPA TRAIN did not represent a cross-section of the West German public, but rather a selected group.

A strict probability or random sample was used in the pilot study made at the Mainz showing of the EUROPA TRAIN. For two days, five German interviewers were stationed at various exits from the train where they interviewed every nth person to leave the train. As soon as each interviewer had completed querying one respondent, he next asked the questions of the first person he saw emerging from the train. Since no one refused to be questioned, the strict "probability" system was maintained.

The resultant sample indicates that among visitors to the EUROPA TRAIN at Mainz, the better educated, higher socio-economic levels, as well as men are represented out of proportion to their numbers in the public as a whole. Another deviation, which may be considered as more favorable than the foregoing, is that younger people were also proportionately more heavily represented in the audience than in the total public. The comparative figures follow on the next page.

	<u>EUROPA TRAIN Sample</u>	<u>Total Public</u>
<u>Sex:</u>		
Men	64%	46%
Women	<u>36</u>	<u>54</u>
	100%	100%
<u>Education:</u>		
Elementary school	60%	85%
Secondary school	23	11
Diploma and University	<u>17</u>	<u>4</u>
	100%	100%
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>		
Lower class	25%	51%
Middle and upper class	<u>75</u>	<u>49</u>
	100%	100%
<u>Age:</u>		
15 - 19 years	18%	3
20 - 29 years	25	19
30 - 39 years	15	21
40 - 49 years	15	25
50 - 59 years	16	16
60 - 69 years	7	10
70 - 79 years	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>
	100%	100%
<u>Occupation:</u>		
Professional	10%	2%
Business and managerial	9	13
Clerical	26	12
Skilled labor	22	19
Semi-skilled labor	13	15
Domestic and protective	6	2
Farmers and farm laborers	2	13
Housewives	1	3
Students, retired, pensioners, none, etc.	<u>11</u>	<u>21</u>
	100%	100%
<u>Place of Residence:</u>		
Urban: Mains/Wiesbaden	78%)	
Other city	18)	56%
Rural:	<u>12</u>	<u>44</u>
	100%	100%

The implications of the reactions to the EUROPA TRAIN obtained in the Mains pilot study should therefore be interpreted as coming largely from those population elements which are both customarily better informed and more appreciative of American informational efforts.

THE MESSAGE OF THE TRAIN IS GENERALLY UNDERSTOOD ...

The EUROPA TRAIN, considered as an information medium, appears to have been a success among its Mains visitors. The bulk of the visitors (74%) grasped the message the train sought to transmit - a unified Europe will be strong. Of the remainder, 17% had vague, indefinite or incorrect impressions of the intended message, and 9% were unprepared to comment.

"What do you consider to be the basic idea that this train expresses?"

Rallying call for the economic and political unification of Europe: Economic cooperation with all peoples; peace and cooperation; the population is to be taught the advantage of good cooperation; to unify Europe economically and politically; how one is to imagine the United States of Europe; to further the idea of unification through this exhibit; a train that is to promote unification of all European countries; a free, independent Europe without any boundaries; to make good Europeans of us; economically at first and then politically; etc.

63%

An indication of the strength of a united Europe: When one unites, one's strength is increased; that one can achieve more together with others than alone; to found a strong united Europe; to show the economic unity of Western Europe and its strength; to intensify Europe's strength; to show the people what Europe can do when it is united; etc.

15

Comments identifying the basic idea:

78%

Propaganda:

4

Information on American aid to Europe: The peoples of Europe are to see that the United States won't leave them to their misery; to inform the population about U.S.A.; promotion for America and for the Schuman Plan; etc.

3

Information for the people (general): This informs the people more than reports in the newspapers; to inform the general public; etc.

3

Other opinions: Understanding between Europe and America; the figures and examples show what has been achieved since the end of the war; a road to peace; etc.

9

No opinion / No answer:

9

Comments not identifying the basic idea:

28%

Total:

106%**

* Some respondents gave more than one answer, consequently these two figures add up to slightly more than 74 per cent and 26 per cent respectively.

** The total adds up to more than 100 per cent as some respondents gave more than one answer.

RESTRICTED

PURPOSE OF TRAIN ALSO REALIZED ...

The Mains visitors not only generally grasped the message the EUROPA TRAIN purported to bring, but they also understood the basic purpose of the exhibition.

By far the most frequent comment is that the exhibition is designed to promote the idea of European unification and to demonstrate the potential strength of a unified Europe. Only a relatively small proportion interpreted the purpose of the train in terms implying unfavorable connotations of a mere propaganda tour de force to sell America to the German people.

"What, in your opinion, is the purpose of this EUROPA TRAIN exhibit?"

To further the idea of European unification and to point out the advantages of such a unification: That everyone may realize that our only chance lies in a unified Europe; to win the people for the European cause; to point out to the general public what the advantages of a unified Europe are; to create a unified and strong Europe; to show the successful results of European cooperation; demonstration of European unity and of peace; the people ought to learn to be Europeans and not Germans, French or English; to construct a unified, peaceful and free Europe; to promote the United States of Europe; etc.

42%

To promote understanding among the peoples (general): To promote the brotherhood of all men; understanding among the peoples; to educate the peoples so that they won't fight one another anymore, but rather cooperate; to do away with narrow-mindedness and particularism; propaganda for cooperation; etc.

26

To promote America: Promotion for America, people are to be convinced of how well-meaning the Americans are; to demonstrate the help accorded us by the United States of America; to put American help in the foreground, so that we may not forget to say "thank you" again and again; propaganda for the Marshall Plan; mere propaganda for the American war-mongers; etc.

8

To familiarize people with conditions in other countries: We are to see what conditions in other countries are like; we are to form an opinion on the eighteen other European countries; etc.

4

To show what has been achieved: It is to show what has been achieved so far; so that people might see what has been achieved since the war; etc.

3

To speak for the West: To show and prove to the population how much better it is to keep with the West; to demonstrate that things are better in Western Germany than they are in the Eastern zone; to further the Western concept of freedom; etc.

3

Other opinions: To give the population an opportunity to look at such an exhibit; to influence the public; etc.

7

No opinion / No answer:

8

101%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

EXHIBITION INFLUENCES OPINIONS ...

Attitudes toward European cooperation were not changed among the larger part (63%) of the Main's visitors, according to their own statements. But three in ten say the train did influence their thinking either lending confirmation to previous ideas or by teaching them something new.

"Could you perhaps tell me in a few words what influence this train has had on your attitude toward European cooperation, or has the EUROPA TRAIN had no influence on your attitude?"

Influenced my attitude	31%
Not influenced my attitude	62
No opinion / No answer	7
	<u>100%</u>

"In what way did the EUROPA TRAIN influence your attitude?"
(Asked of those who said "Influenced my attitude" in previous question)

Respondent's opinion on European cooperation is confirmed:
I found my attitudes confirmed; this exhibit confirmed again how important cooperation is; once again I saw the great danger in which we live and how tragic it would be if certain statesmen did not identify themselves soon with the principle of European unity as the peoples have been doing it for a long time; a good influence, I realize more and more that a united Europe must be created soon; only in cooperation with the Western countries can peace be preserved; everything is clearer to me now than before; each individual can do his share to do away with particularism, and to further the idea of understanding; etc.

13%

Respondent has seen and learned something new: I have never seen anything like it; I realize now that cooperation is the right thing; favorably influenced; I previously did not know much about what I saw; I am now of the opinion that it would be better if Europe united; I saw that Europe surely is not lost yet like it seems so often; in my attitude towards the idea which before had not been so favorable; I saw lots that I had not known; etc.

9

Answers of general nature: We can rejoice that we live in freedom; perhaps unity will come soon; the idea is good, unfortunately reality looks somewhat different; I too would like to contribute to the understanding among the peoples; etc.

7

No opinion / No answer:

2
31%

The fact that attitudes of only three in ten were admittedly influenced by attendance at the EUROPA TRAIN should not by any means be taken as an indication that impact was lacking. On the contrary, the indication is rather that while the wavering or unconvinced groups were convinced, the remainder was not influenced because they were already convinced. This is seen in the response of the visitors to two questions measuring their attitudes toward international cooperation.

EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COOPERATION STRONGLY FAVORED ...

Close European cooperation is deemed advantageous to all European countries by the large bulk (83%) of the Mainz visitors to the EUROPA TRAM. Only about one in ten (12%) sees advantages accruing only to certain countries among which France, the U.S., Great Britain, Italy, Germany, and other countries are mentioned in that order.

"Do you think that close economic cooperation in Europe would be of advantage to all European countries or would only certain countries benefit from it?"

Of advantage to all	83%
Of advantage to certain ones	12
No opinion	5
	<u>100%</u>

"Which country do you think will benefit from close economic cooperation in Europe?" (Asked of those who said "Of advantage to certain ones" in previous question)

France	9%
United States	5
Great Britain	3
Italy	2
Germany	1
"The small countries"	1
Other countries	4
	<u>25%</u>

ECONOMIC COOPERATION VIEWED AS STRENGTHENING EUROPE ...

The weight of opinion among the Mainz respondents is also strongly toward the view that economic cooperation will strengthen Western Europe. In fact, three quarters envisaged a "considerably stronger" Europe resulting from working together, and one in ten foresaw some improvement as a result. Only one in twenty saw no resulting benefit.

"Are you of the opinion that closer economic cooperation will increase the strength of Western Europe on the whole, or do you think that Western Europe would then not be any stronger than it is now?"

	Total
Considerably stronger	75%
Somewhat stronger	11
Not any stronger than it is now	5
No opinion	9
	<u>100%</u>

* Percentage adds to more than the 12% of whom the question was asked, because some people gave more than one answer.

THE EUROPA TRAIN WELL RECEIVED ...

The exhibition was liked in general and in its particulars by the Mainz audience, as is seen in their replies to a series of questions dealing specifically with the EUROPA TRAIN.

OVER-ALL JUDGMENT ...

... A large majority (84%) of the visitors interviewed stated that in general they had liked the whole exhibition; and 29% declared that they had liked it very much.

"In general, did you like the EUROPA TRAIN or not?"

Liked it very much	29%
Liked it	55
Did not like it particularly	13
Did not like it at all	2
No opinion / No answer	<u>1</u>
	100%

HALF COULD NAME NOTHING AS "DISLIKED" ...

In effect, 50% of the respondents could not think of anything that they did not like about the train. One in four (24%) actually said that they disliked nothing or liked everything, and another 26% had "no opinion" to the question. Of those who did have some criticism to offer, most complained about the crowds in the narrow aisles of the train, about the heat and the lack of fresh air inside.

"What didn't you particularly like about the EUROPA TRAIN?"

Everything was liked - nothing disliked: Actually there wasn't anything I didn't like; I liked everything; everything was pretty good; I wouldn't know of anything that I didn't like; as a matter of fact I would have liked to see even more; etc.

24%

The crowds in the train, no ventilation, the heat: There were so many people in the train and so little air; the crowds pushed us through the train; because of the crowds we were constantly urged to continue; it was too hot for me; the awful heat in the train; etc.

16

Criticism of certain features of the exhibit: The maps of the countries, it was hard to see which countries were meant; the telephones were rubbish; I didn't like the telephones; the sound track in the movies was not loud enough; the graphic presentation; the many graphic charts; etc.

11

General criticism of the manner of presentation: The child-like and yet frequently unintelligible presentation; much of it was repeated constantly; the whole presentation, everything was so pompous, primitive at the same time and reminded of Russian methods; the many pictures and posters; America is placed too much in the foreground; etc.

10

Dissatisfaction with the German car: Less attention was devoted to the German car than to the others; they showed very little of Germany; the export articles exhibited in the German car were too ordinary; the German car was just an export show; etc.

5

Dislike of the section with the pictures of many faces: The many heads on the wall in one of the cars; I didn't think that the room with the heads documented a lot of taste; all the faces in the circles; etc.

4

European cooperation is presented much more ideally than it is as yet: European cooperation is not as far advanced as they present it; they give you illusions that the unity of Europe is achieved, but the true picture is a different one; etc.

1

Other opinions: The Russian flag was all over the place and that doesn't belong there (respondent confused it with the Turkish flag which in fact was flown at the exhibit); so many visitors went through the train just superficially, as though they had no interest in it; etc.

8

No opinion / No answer:

26%
106%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

PRESENTATION PARTICULARLY LIKED ...

Respondents were then encouraged to specify whether there was anything in the exhibit that they had liked particularly well. It comes as no surprise that the technical expertness of the train and the whole manner of presentation are most frequently mentioned as best-liked. It is, however, interesting to find that the third largest group of comments centers around the main idea expressed by the train. Some people could not name any one feature of the exhibition but thought they had liked everything equally well.

"What did you like most about this EUROPA TRAIN?"

The manner of presentation - the devices used: The movies; the cinema outside the train; one could get a good general impression; the conveyor-belt in the second car; the light effects; the whole organization; the neat statistical presentation; the technical equipment; that puppet show; all the graphic charts; the telephone of Europe; etc.

30%

Various facts shown or reported in the exhibition: Very interesting pictures about the wonderful progress made in Europe since the war; one sees all that Europe produces; the presentation of European resources; the economic power of Europe; the fact that in a short time one could gain a general impression of the economic potential of Western Europe; the construction of industrial plants in Europe; etc.

17

The main idea that forms the basis of this exhibition: Cooperation among all peoples; the idea of a unified Europe; unification; its good and peaceful cause; etc.

15

Everything was liked: I liked everything equally well; in general I liked everything, we youngsters are encouraged to think; etc.

14

The German car - presentation and significance: The car on Germany; German achievements are equally honored; Germany's equality with other countries; export goods in the German car; the motor; etc.

9

Nothing was liked: I did not like anything; nothing, my eyes still hurt; one had to go through it so quickly; etc.

6

Other opinions: That they did not ask for any entrance fee; the second car; the American capitalistic system is good at catching dopes, their propaganda is wonderful, but the people will be clever enough to know what's going on; etc.

3

No opinion / No answer:

10
104%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

MAJORITY UNABLE TO MENTION LACKS IN EXHIBIT ...

Only relatively few attendants (23%) thought that the train was lacking in one respect or another. Most frequently mentioned of course are specific topics which the respondents would have liked to see illustrated and which merely reflect individual interests. More noteworthy are the critical comments - though few - concerning the presentation of the main idea of the show. In spite of low percentages, it was thought valuable to list almost all answers given to this question.

"Was there anything lacking in this EUROPA TRAIN exhibition that you would have liked to see?"

Yes	23%
No	65
No opinion / No answer	12
	100%

"What was lacking that you would have liked to see?"

"Asked of those who said 'Yes' in the above question)

Topics not dealt with: I would have liked to see what other countries export to Germany; about the European currencies, as well as more about the living standard in other countries; the newest type of train engines; safety latches in German trains; something about textile industry in different countries; furthering of a world language; information on the school-children exchange program; customs and costumes of different peoples; etc. 8%

More practical examples for better understanding: Details about production in industry; I like to see technical instruments; I would have liked to see more about the actual production, also from other countries; more models; practical examples; more information about the individual nations like number of inhabitants, number of people who are able to work; etc. 5

The basic idea expressed in this exhibit lacked power of conviction: Instead of merely showing the good, also the poverty and the poor living conditions of the masses should have been shown; I don't know whether I am right, but I had the impression from the pictures that Germany did not have equal rights even here; it should have been pointed out that European unity has not been achieved because of the narrow-mindedness of certain non-German politicians; the reverse of the medal; the way all the countries owe money to America; how about cooperation in the political sphere?; etc. 4

More about Germany: More about reconstruction of Germany; detailed graphical presentation of the economic achievements of the Federal Republic; the recent development of shipping in Germany; etc. 2

More about Eastern Europe: About the Eastern countries and European Russia; something about Eastern Europe; the Eastern territories of Germany and their development; etc. 2

Lack in organisational matters: Not enough space to look at everything in peace; there should have been a real big cinema; a refreshment counter; I had expected something different, a clear presentation of conditions in each country and what they would be like after unification of Europe; etc. 2

Other opinions:

1
24%

* Percentages add to more than the 23% of whom the question was asked, because some respondents gave more than one answer.

TRAIN CONSIDERED GOOD MEDIUM ...

Eight in ten respondents were of the opinion that a train lends itself well to an exhibition such as they had just seen. Hardly anyone rejected the idea altogether.

The arguments advanced by respondents who were not in favor of the idea of an exhibit in a train criticized the lack of space and pointed out the impossibility of going through leisurely and at one's own speed.

"Do you think that a train lends itself well to an exhibition like this one, or don't you think so?"

Lends itself well	83%
Does not lend itself so well	8
Does not lend itself at all	2
No opinion/ No answer	9
	<u>100%</u>

"Why doesn't it lend itself (so well) (at all)?"
(Asked of those who said "Does not lend itself so well"
or "Does not lend itself at all" to the above question)

There is too little space: Because of the lack of space; only the pictures should have been shown, but not the whole exhibit, there wasn't enough space for that; etc. 5%

One is forced to go through it too quickly: One is forced to go through it so quickly; one doesn't have the opportunity to remain at one spot; etc. 3

Other opinions: It is not understandable for the general public, a guided tour through the train would have been necessary; because it doesn't convey the truth and is more propaganda; etc. 2
10%

* Percentages add to more than the total of "Does not lend itself so well" and "Does not lend itself at all" in the above question as some respondents gave more than one reason.

SOURCE OF INFORMATION ...

Four in ten respondents give newspapers as their source of information on the showing of the EUROPA TRAIN at Mainz. Others say that they had seen posters or that friends and acquaintances had told them about the exhibition.

"How did you learn that one can visit the EUROPA TRAIN at Mainz?"

Through the newspaper	40%
Through posters	21
Through friends	19
Through loudspeakers in the railroad station	15
Through the radio	6
Through loudspeaker cars	6
Others	20
	<u>127%</u>

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

RELATED ATTITUDE OF THE MAINZ AUDIENCE ...

Visitors to the EUROPA TRAIN in Mainz are better informed than the general German public about two aspects of international economic cooperation: the Schuman Plan and the Marshall Plan. Although it is not possible to determine whether or not this greater awareness results from their inspection of the train, it appears more likely from the evidence on hand, e.g. demographic characteristics of the audience, and their general attitudes toward economic cooperation, that the exhibition patrons were previously well-informed on these issues.

The questions and comparative results follow:

"Have you heard or read of the Schuman Plan?"

	Train Audience	WEST GERMANY May 2-9
Yes	89%	68%
No	$\frac{11}{100\%}$	$\frac{32}{100\%}$

"Can you tell me anything about the nature of this plan?"
(Asked of those who answered "Yes" to previous question)

	Train Audience	WEST GERMANY May 2-9
Correct replies	58%	31%
Incorrect replies	23	6
No opinion / No answer	$\frac{8}{89\%}$	$\frac{31}{100\%}$

"This plan by the French foreign minister Schuman proposes the pooling of the heavy industries of France, West Germany, and other West European nations with the aim of economic cooperation of West Europe.

"Do you, on the whole, agree with this plan or not?"

	Train Audience	WEST GERMANY May 2-9
Yes, agree	48%	44%
No, do not agree	24	16
No opinion / No answer	$\frac{28}{100\%}$	$\frac{40}{100\%}$

"Do you know whether a plan exists by which America aids Europe with money, food and raw materials?"

	Train Audience	US ECNE January 15
Yes, there is such a plan	85%	69%
No, there isn't such a plan	9	3
No opinion / No answer	$\frac{6}{100\%}$	$\frac{28}{100\%}$

"Could you tell me perhaps what this plan is usually called?"
(Asked of those who answered "Yes" to above question)

Know correct name	75%	54%
Incorrect	6	2
No opinion / No answer	$\frac{3}{85\%}$	$\frac{13}{69\%}$

THE EAST-WEST TRADE ISSUE
AS VIEWED BY THE WEST GERMAN PEOPLE

Report No. 86
Series No. 2
June 21, 1951

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION ...

This report on West German reactions to the issue of trade between East and West Germany is based on a survey made May 16-26, 1951, by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, EICOG. A stratified, probability sample of 800 cases representing a scientific cross-section of the population in the British, U.S., and French zones of West Germany was used in the study. Interviews were made by a staff of trained German interviewers, and the analysis was done in the Frankfurt headquarters of RAS.

HIGHLIGHTS ...

A large part of the West German public appears either to be unaware of or to minimize the extent of trade between East and West Germany. Only a few recommend banning such trade entirely. The preponderance would prohibit shipments of materials directly serving war purposes from West to East Germany, but a large minority favors unlimited trade. Salient findings in detail follow:

... One in ten (11%) assert there is no trade between East and West Germany;

... Three in ten (28%) are aware that such trade relations exist, but claim that its extent is inconsiderable;

... Only one in ten (9%) are of the opinion that considerable trade between East and West Germany now exists.

Most of those stating that there is trade between East and West Germany, are of the opinion that the West German government has prohibited shipment of potential war materials to East Germany.

But opinions split on whether potential war materials are in fact now being sent from West to East Germany. Half of the people queried on this point, however, were not prepared to express an opinion.

As to relative advantages to East and West Germany from interzonal trade, the preponderant view is that West Germany stands to gain. Only a fifth (23%) asserts that East Germany would benefit more than West Germany. Mutual advantages are seen by a plurality (37%), and 15% claim West Germany would benefit most. (The remaining quarter are not prepared to judge the relative advantages.)

Considerable reluctance to banning all trade with East Germany is manifested. Only 8% recommend such action. About five in ten (47%) say shipment of goods "directly serving war purposes" should be banned. Three in ten (29%) recommend unlimited East-West trade. (The remainder do not express an opinion.)

Advocacy of unlimited trade appears not to be related to neutralist attitudes in the larger East-West struggle, but there is some relationship to such background political orientations as opinions on the degree of independence of the Bonn government and attitudes toward National Socialism.

IS TRADE BEING CARRIED ON BETWEEN EAST AND WEST GERMANY ...

Half of the West German public professes not to know whether or not any trade is carried on between East and West Germany. About four in ten (37%) say there is trade between the two, but the extent of this traffic is regarded as inconsiderable (28%) rather than considerable (9%). One in ten claims there is no East-West trade at all.

"Do you know whether trade relations exist between East and West Germany?"

If "Yes": "Are these trade relations of considerable extent or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Yes, exist - considerable extent	9%	8%	10%	6%
Yes, exist - not very considerable extent	28	30	23	31
No, do not exist	11	11	11	14
Don't know	<u>52</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>49</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

More inclined than others to be aware that trade between East and West Germany exists are the opinion leading elements - the better educated, the upper socio-economic and income levels, and the men. But as with all groups who say there is such trade, its extent is considered negligible rather than great.

"Do you know whether trade relations exist between East and West Germany?"

If "Yes": "Are these trade relations of considerable extent or not?"

	Yes, exist - considerable extent	Yes, exist - not very con- siderable extent	No, do not exist	Don't know	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY					
Sex:					
Men	12%	36%	12%	40%	360
Women	6	21	10	63	439
Education:					
Elementary school	7%	25%	11%	57%	676
Beyond elementary school	16	46	10	28	122
Socio-economic Status:					
Lower	7%	22%	12%	59%	458
Middle and upper	10	35	11	44	341
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	9%	23%	11%	57%	595
300 - 399 DM	11	39	10	40	134
400 DM and more	7	52	11	30	61
Age:					
Under 40 years	9%	31%	12%	48%	353
40 years and over	8	25	10	57	443
Party Preference:					
SPD	10%	30%	12%	48%	207
CDU/CSU	8	32	12	48	154
FDP	15	58	5	22	41
Other parties	9	26	9	56	122
No party	10	25	16	49	112
Don't know	4	17	9	70	163
Occupation:					
Professional	9%	48%	8%	35%	23
Businessmen	8	36	12	44	50
White collar workers	16	39	8	37	100
Skilled laborers	10	31	10	49	162
Semi-skilled laborers	9	24	13	54	128
Farmers	5	17	10	68	88
None: pensioners, stu- dents, retired, etc.	7	21	11	61	107
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, member	11%	37%	10%	42%	153
No	8	25	11	55	642
Religion:					
Catholics	9%	25%	11%	55%	386
Protestants	8	29	12	51	384
Origin:					
Natives	8%	28%	10%	54%	618
Refugees, Expellees	11	27	15	47	181

IS EASTERN SHIPMENT OF POTENTIAL WAR MATERIAL PROHIBITED? ...

The predominant opinion among those who say East-West trade is being carried on is that shipment of potential war materials to East Germany is prohibited by the Federal government.

"As far as you know, does the Federal government permit sending goods to East Germany which can be used as war material, or is it prohibited?" (Asked of those who said trade relations existed)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Permitted	3%	2%	4%	1%
Prohibited	27	27	24	29
No opinion	7	9	5	7
	<u>37%</u>	<u>38%</u>	<u>33%</u>	<u>37%</u>

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

Persons in groups customarily better informed - the well educated, upper income and socio-economic levels, and the men - say more frequently than their counterparts that traffic to East Germany in war materials is now banned by the Bonn government. Trade union members are also more inclined to be of this opinion than non-members.

"As far as you know, does the Federal government permit sending goods to East Germany which can be used as war material, or is it prohibited?" (Asked of those who said trade relations existed)

	Permitted	Prohibited	No opinion	Question not asked	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	4%	37%	7%	52%	360
Women	1	17	8	74	439
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	2%	24%	6%	68%	676
Beyond elementary school	6	44	11	39	122
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower	2%	22%	5%	71%	458
Middle and upper	4	32	9	55	341
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	3%	23%	6%	68%	595
300 - 399 DM	2	37	11	50	134
400 DM and more	2	44	13	41	61
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	3%	32%	6%	59%	353
40 years and over	3	22	8	67	443
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	2%	32%	6%	60%	207
CDU/CSU	3	29	8	60	154
FDP	-	61	12	27	41
Other parties	5	24	6	65	122
No party	5	24	6	65	112
Don't know	-	13	8	79	163
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professional	9%	26%	22%	43%	23
Businessmen	4	30	10	56	50
White collar workers	4	40	11	45	100
Skilled laborers	1	32	8	59	162
Semi-skilled laborers	4	27	2	67	128
Farmers	1	17	3	79	88
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	1	19	8	72	107
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member	2%	41%	5%	52%	153
No	3	23	8	66	642
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	3%	25%	6%	66%	386
Protestants	2	27	8	63	384
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	3%	27%	7%	64%	618
Refugees, Expellees	4	26	8	62	181

IS POTENTIAL WAR MATERIAL BEING SENT EASTWARD? ...

Opinions split on whether in fact at the present time goods are or are not being sent from West to East Germany which can be used as war material. Half, however, express no opinion in the matter.

"Can you tell me whether goods are being sent from West Germany to East Germany which can be used as war material?"
(Asked of those who answered either "Considerable extent" or "Not very considerable extent" to previous question)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Yes, are sent	7%	7%	8%	6%
No, are not sent	11	10	11	13
No opinion	<u>19</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>18</u>
	37%	38%	33%	37%

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

In all demographic groups, opinions divide on whether or not goods are being sent to East Germany which can be used for military purposes.

"Can you tell me whether goods are being sent from West Germany to East Germany which can be used as war material?"
(Asked of those who answered either "Considerable extent" or "Not very considerable extent" to previous question)

	Yes, are sent	No, are not sent	No opinion	Question not asked	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY					
Sex:					
Men	13%	14%	21%	52% ... 100%	360
Women	4	8	15	73	439
Education:					
Elementary school	6%	10%	16%	68%	676
Beyond elementary school	14	18	30	38	122
Socio-economic Status:					
Lower	6%	9%	15%	70%	458
Middle and upper	10	13	22	55	341
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	7%	10%	15%	68%	595
300 - 399 DM	13	15	22	50	134
400 DM and more	5	15	39	41	61
Age:					
Under 40 years	8%	12%	20%	60%	353
40 years and over	7	10	16	67	443
Party Preference:					
SPD	10%	11%	19%	60%	207
CDU/CSU	8	16	16	60	154
FDP	22	22	29	27	41
Other parties	6	10	19	65	122
No party	10	5	19	65	112
Don't know	-	7	14	79	163
Occupation:					
Professional	13%	13%	30%	44%	23
Businessmen	10	14	20	56	50
White collar workers	15	14	26	45	100
Skilled laborers	9	12	20	59	162
Semi-skilled laborers	8	8	17	67	128
Farmers	3	7	11	79	88
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	4	12	12	72	107
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, member	10%	16%	22%	52%	153
No	7	10	17	66	642
Religion:					
Catholics	9%	9%	16%	66%	386
Protestants	5	12	20	63	384
Origin:					
Natives	8%	11%	17%	64%	618
Refugees, Expellees	8	10	20	62	181

WHICH SIDE PROFITS FROM EAST-WEST TRADE? ...

The West German public does not tend to believe that East-West trade would be a one-sided advantage to the East. The predominant view is the contrary. Only a fifth holds that East Germany would gain more than West Germany from interzonal traffic. But almost as many (15%) think the West would be the greater gainer, and 37% see mutual advantages to East and West. Thus half of the West German people think that the trade advantages to the West would be at least as great as to the East.

"In your opinion, who would have greater advantage from trade relations between East and West Germany: East Germany or West Germany, or would both have the same advantage?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
East Germany	23%	21%	21%	27%
West Germany	15	15	13	19
Both the same	37	36	37	41
Others	1	2	1	-
No opinion	25	26	28	13
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

Opinion leading groups - the better educated, upper social and income groups, and the men - differ from other population groups in seeing proportionately more often greater advantages to East Germany in East-West trade. However, they join with the public as a whole in the predominant view that West Germany stands to gain as much or more from East-West trade as does East Germany alone.

"In your opinion, who would have greater advantage from trade relations between East and West Germany: East Germany or West Germany, or would both have the same advantage?"

	East Germany	West Germany	Both the same	Others...	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY						
Sex:						
Men	28%	18%	40%	2%	12% ..100%	360
Women	17	12	34	1	36	439
Education:						
Elementary school	19%	15%	37%	1%	28%	676
Beyond elementary school	37	11	41	2	9	122
Socio-economic Status:						
Lower	17%	15%	38%	1%	29%	458
Middle and upper	29	14	35	2	20	341
Income (per month):						
0 - 299 DM	19%	13%	39%	1%	28%	595
300 - 399 DM	34	19	29	1	17	134
400 DM and more	30	18	39	3	10	61
Age:						
Under 40 years	23%	15%	41%	1%	20%	353
40 years and over	21	14	34	2	29	443
Party Preference:						
SPD	23%	21%	39%	-	17%	207
CDU/CSU	29	14	35	1	21	154
FDP	29	10	42	2	17	41
Other parties	22	22	36	2	18	122
No party	20	7	46	2	25	112
Don't know	15	7	31	-	47	163
Occupation:						
Professional	22%	4%	52%	-	22%	23
Businessmen	30	16	38	2	14	50
White collar workers	27	12	47	2	12	100
Skilled laborers	20	18	37	1	24	162
Semi-skilled laborers	25	17	39	2	17	128
Farmers	14	10	41	2	33	88
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	17	15	25	1	42	107
Trade Union Membership:						
Yes, member.	26%	22%	38%	1%	15%	153
No	21	13	37	1	28	642
Religion:						
Catholics	24%	13%	38%	1%	24%	386
Protestants	20	15	37	2	26	384
Origin:						
Natives	21%	15%	37%	1%	26%	618
Refugees, Expellees	25	14	36	1	24	181

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE ABOUT EAST-WEST TRADE? ...

Only a small fraction (8%) favors banning East-West trade entirely, even when the proposition is put in strong terms - "all goods could strengthen the East for a possible war." The preponderance (47%) approves banning shipment of war materials, but continuance of all other trade. And a large minority (29%) wants unlimited East-West trade.

"Which of the following opinions comes closest to your own?"

- A. All trade between East and West Germany should be stopped, as almost all goods could strengthen the East for a possible war.
- B. There should be trade relations between East and West Germany in order to maintain economic connections with the East Zone, but goods which directly serve war purposes should be banned from the trade with the East Zone.
- C. Trade between East and West Germany should not be limited in any way because such trade is essential to the German economy as a whole.

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
All trade between East and West Germany should be stopped	8%	9%	5%	12%
There should be trade relations between East and West Germany, but goods serving war purposes should be banned	47	47	49	45
Trade between East and West Germany should not be limited	29	31	25	30
No opinion	$\frac{16}{100\%}$	$\frac{13}{100\%}$	$\frac{21}{100\%}$	$\frac{13}{100\%}$

* Alternatives were presented on a card read by respondents.

RELATIONSHIP OF OPINIONS ON EAST-WEST TRADE AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SOME POLITICAL ISSUES ...

While reasons for German disinclination to ban trade with East Germany probably derive principally from economic considerations, they are not entirely unrelated to political factors. The series of cross comparisons below reveal that though attitudes on the trade question do not appear to be related to neutralist orientations in the East-West struggle, there is some relationship to opinions on the degree of independence of the Bonn government and on attitudes toward Nazism. Respondents who feel that the occupation influence on the Bonn government is overly great, and those who express the judgment that, all things considered, there was more good than evil in National Socialism, are more likely than those holding contrary opinions to feel that East-West trade should be unlimited.

	All East-West German trade should be stopped	Goods serving war purposes should be banned	East-West German trade should be unlimited	No opin- ion	No. of cases
East-West Struggle:					
Side with West	13%	51%	28%	8% - 100%	243
Be neutral	7	51	29	13	447
Influence of Western Powers on Federal Government:					
Too much influence	7%	56%	32%	5%	387
Gov't independent enough	13	56	21	10	220
Bonn Government West					
Puppet	7%	45%	40%	8%	136
Not a puppet	7	56	30	7	276
National Socialism:					
More good than bad idea	8%	40%	40%	12%	171
More bad than good idea	10	58	23	10	319

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

The better educated, upper socio-economic levels, those in higher income brackets, and men more frequently than their counterparts advocate banning trade in war materials. They also tend slightly more frequently to oppose unlimited trade, but the differences are not definitely beyond chance. The better educated, it should be finally noted, vote more strongly than any other grouping for complete stoppage of East-West trade.

	All trade between East and West Germany should be stopped	There should be trade re- lations between East and West Germany, but goods serving war purposes should be banned	Trade between East and West Germany should not be limited	No opin- ion	No. of ca- ses
WEST GERMANY					
Sex:					
Men	9%	55%	30%	6%	360
Women	7	41	28	24	438
Education:					
Elementary school	5%	46%	30%	19%	657
Beyond elementary school	23	55	21	2	141
Socio-economic Status:					
Lower	10%	38%	32%	20%	458
Middle and upper	5	59	26	10	341
Income (per month):					
Under 299 DM	9%	42%	30%	19%	595
300 - 399 DM	5	61	26	8	134
400 DM and more	5	66	26	3	61
Age:					
Under 40 years	9%	49%	32%	10%	353
40 years and over	8	46	26	20	443
Party Preference:					
SPD	8%	48%	34%	10%	207
CDU/CSU	8	52	23	17	154
FDP	12	69	17	2	41
Other parties	8	48	35	9	122
No party	10	46	30	14	112
Don't know	6	36	26	32	163
Occupation:					
Professional	4%	69%	18%	13%	23
Businessmen	-	66	26	8	50
White collar workers	6	65	26	3	100
Skilled laborers	11	46	33	10	162
Semi-skilled laborers	14	41	33	12	128
Farmers	2	43	30	25	88
None: pensioners, stu- dents, retired, etc.	7	37	26	30	107
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, member	10%	52%	32%	6%	153
No	8	45	28	19	642
Religion:					
Catholics	8%	44%	26%	18%	386
Protestants	7	47	30	16	384
Origin:					
Natives	7%	47%	29%	17%	618
Refugees, Expellees	12	47	29	12	181

WEST GERMANS VIEW THE SOCIALIST REICHS PARTY
With A Preliminary Analysis Of SRP Attitudes

Report No. 87
Series No. 3
June 29, 1951

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

SOME HIGHLIGHTS

I. EXTENT OF WEST GERMAN AWARENESS OF THE SRP

Awareness Of Existence Of New Party ...
Awareness Of Lower Saxony Election Returns ...
Summing-Up ...

II. WEST GERMAN REACTIONS TO THE SRP

Judgments Of SRP Goals ...
Appraisal Of The New Party's Importance ...
What Influence Should The Party Have? ...
Reactions To A Possible Banning Of The SRP ...

III. COMPARATIVE BACKGROUND ATTITUDES OF SRP ADHERENTS, OTHER
NIEDERSACHSENS, AND THE REMAINDER OF WEST GERMANY

Activities Of The Bonn Government ...
Independence Of West Germany ...
National Socialism - Net Worth ...
What Was Good In The Ideas Of National Socialism? ...
What Was Evil In National Socialist Ideas? ...
Implication ...
Denazification ...
Landsberg Death Sentences ...
Neutrality ...

IV. APPENDIX

INTRODUCTION

Between May 16-28, 1951, the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, HICOG, queried an 800 case representative sample of the West German public as to their reactions to the success of the Socialist Reichs Party in the Lower Saxony elections of May 6, 1951. As a supplement to this study a sample of approximately 100 SRP adherents was specially gathered in Niedersachsen for comparative purposes. Such adherents were defined as people who when approached and in the course of an interview asked their political preference indicated the Socialist Reichs Party as their choice. A larger number of SRP cases were not gathered in the special sample because the intention was only to obtain a preliminary pilot view and it was felt that if differences large enough to be really important existed between the attitudes of SRP adherents and other West Germans, they could be reliably disclosed even with as few as 100 cases in the former group.

The limited size of the SRP sample and the fact that it was obtained largely in areas where SRP sympathizers were known to bulk, and hence where such respondents could be most quickly obtained, precludes breakdown comparisons within the SRP group or use of the sample as a basis for any precise characterization of the population composition of the SRP movement in Lower Saxony. Questions on precisely who are the SRP's and how different elements in their ranks compare in attitudes will have to be answered on the basis of a wider and more rigorously randomized sampling.

SUMMARY

I. EXTENT OF WEST GERMAN AWARENESS OF THE SRP

AWARENESS OF EXISTENCE OF NEW PARTY ...

Tested two to three weeks after the Lower Saxony elections the majority of West Germans proved to be unaware of the existence of the new Socialist Reichs Party. Even in Niedersachsen proper, a third report themselves as not having heard of the new political group.

Group breakdowns on West German awareness of the SRP disclose the usual pattern of more widespread familiarity among the more educated and informed elements of the population - the men, the better schooled, and the more affluent. Ignorance of the SRP is particularly marked among German women.

AWARENESS OF LOWER SAXONY ELECTION RESULTS ...

Further indications of widespread West German unawareness of recent political developments in Lower Saxony derive from a query about the election results. Only a quarter knew that the SPD had emerged as the leading party and a half were not even aware of the fact that an election had recently taken place in Lower Saxony.

But more pertinent in the present connection, among those aware of the existence of the elections only a small proportion even in Lower Saxony could offer an estimate of the per cent of the vote that had been captured by the Socialist Reichs Party.

Again West German group comparisons follow their normal pattern on informational inquiries for relatively more widespread knowledge among opinion leading sectors of the population.

SUMMING-UP ...

In short, then, whatever the importance of the Lower Saxony political developments and despite the widespread discussion of the SRP election results in the West German press, West German responsiveness has been comparatively limited.

II. WEST GERMAN REACTIONS TO THE SRP

JUDGMENTS OF SRP GOALS ...

The preponderant judgment among the West Germans who report having heard of the Socialist Reichs Party, is that its goal is the reestablishment of National Socialism. Smaller proportions cite their aims as the reestablishment of German militarism or the establishment of a right wing dictatorship.

Adherents of the Socialist Reichs Party dissent markedly from such characterizations. The largest proportion (52%) state the goal of the new party to be the betterment of economic and social conditions in Germany. Another 38 per cent of the SRP answers focus upon a strong united Germany as a main goal of the party.

APPRAISAL OF THE NEW PARTY'S IMPORTANCE ...

Opinions split rather evenly in West Germany as to whether or not the SRP achievements to date warrant close attention to the new party as a significant political development. A half, however, express no opinion in the matter - which fact of course is related to the low level of West German awareness that the SRP group has so far achieved.

Among SRP adherents themselves the great bulk feel that their new political group has achieved the status of an important political party.

Appraisal of the SRP as an important political group which bears watching is comparatively more frequent among the opinion leading segments of the West German population. But even among these elements judgments are equally frequent that the new political group is as yet of limited importance.

WHAT INFLUENCE SHOULD THE PARTY HAVE? ...

The low level of German awareness of the new political party is reflected in the figure of almost two-thirds who will offer no judgment as to whether the SRP ought to have a strong, moderate, small, or no influence at all in West Germany. Among the respondents who do express an opinion the largest proportion indicate that they would want the party to have "no influence at all."

Adverse evaluations of the SRP bulk with considerably greater frequency among the opinion leading strata of the West German population. No opinion, however, is extensive at all population levels.

Reasons offered by respondents who felt that the SRP should have no influence at all in West Germany revolved around charges of Nazism, extremism, and militarism. A number also took the position that there were already enough or too many parties and another would only cause difficulties.

The most distinctive argument among respondents who would accord the SRP a "moderate" or "small" influence at this time is that the new party might arouse other parties to more constructive activity. Also made clear in the returns is that a number of respondents are in a sense reserving judgment on the SRP until its aims are more clearly understood.

The opinion that the SRP should have a strong influence in West Germany is largely confined to the avowed SRP adherents. Among the reasons offered for their stand, as already foreshadowed in a prior question on the goals of the SRP, is that the new party allegedly seeks a sound and equitable social policy; seeks a strong, united, and independent Germany; and seeks to improve living conditions.

REACTIONS TO A POSSIBLE BANNING OF THE SRP ...

There is definitely no overriding opinion in West Germany as a whole for banning the SRP. Among those who express opinions, almost as many oppose as favor such a course. As on the prior questions, "no opinion" is extensive with half the respondents voicing such a reaction.

Group comparisons yield no single overall pattern on the banning issue, but in no group examined does support of such a course exceed a third.

The most frequent line of reasoning advanced by opponents of an SRP ban was that such a course would violate democratic principles. Almost as large a proportion argued either that a ban would act to strengthen the party activities or make them less open to control.

III. COMPARATIVE BACKGROUND ATTITUDES OF SRP ADHERENTS, OTHER NIEDERSACHSENS, AND THE REMAINDER OF WEST GERMANY

ACTIVITIES OF THE BONN GOVERNMENT ...

The initial comparison reveals that in regard to the achievements of the Federal government up to the present time SRP adherents are considerably more widely dissatisfied than are their fellow Niedersachsens, who in turn are somewhat more dissatisfied than the remainder of West Germany.

With respect to reasons offered for dissatisfaction with Bonn, the most marked differences appearing between those offered by SRP adherents and the other groups relate to the alleged bondage of the Federal government to foreign powers, and its alleged general ineffectiveness and corruption.

INDEPENDENCE OF WEST GERMANY ...

That the asserted dependency of the Federal government on foreign powers particularly agitates SRP adherents is underscored in more direct inquiries on this point. Almost nine in ten SRP sympathizers believe that the Western powers exert too much influence on the decisions of the West German government, and not far from half (44%) would go so far as to say that the Bonn government is but a puppet of the Western powers. The comparable figures are considerably lower among non-SRP residents of Lower Saxony and very considerably lower in the remainder of West Germany.

NATIONAL SOCIALISM - NET WORTH ...

The most important background inquiry in the present study relates to the evaluation of National Socialism. It is suspected by many observers that the Socialist Reichs Party is seeking a renaissance of Nazism. In stating the goals of their movement few SRP adherents, it will be remembered, explicitly voiced such an objective, but spoke rather of the achievement of a sound and equitable social policy, and of a strong, united, and independent Germany. But the present background inquiry is considerably more revealing. A full 86 per cent of the SRP adherents questioned held that, everything considered, there was more good than evil in National Socialism. Only a negligible four per cent held the contrary, with the remainder expressing no opinion. These returns contrast markedly with the 47 per cent "more good than evil" judgments in Niedersachsen, and with the 34 per cent of such evaluations in the remainder of West Germany.

There can be little doubt from such disclosures that if the SRP membership does not outrightly espouse a restoration of National Socialism, they are at least widely sympathetic to many of its tenets. It is additionally indicated that, as widely suspected on historical grounds, predilections for National Socialism are appreciably more marked in Niedersachsen than in West Germany as a whole.

WHAT WAS GOOD IN THE IDEAS OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM? ...

After obtaining net judgments in the initial question all respondents were then asked what they thought was good in the ideas of National Socialism. The favorable orientations of the SRP adherents toward National Socialism is additionally revealed by the considerably larger proportion, as compared to the other Niedersachsens and other West Germans, who stress the allegedly good economic opportunities and social welfare practices. It should not be overlooked, however, that the proportion of such judgments among non-SRP elements in West Germany is far from inconsiderable, and indicates that favorable reactions to the social welfare policies of the National Socialist regime - as distinguished from some of its other features - are fairly prevalent in West Germany.

WHAT WAS EVIL IN NATIONAL SOCIALIST IDEAS? ...

The results here are quite revealing, and to the extent they can be more widely verified, extremely important for a balanced interpretation of SRP orientations toward National Socialism. They indicate that the SRP adherents are not insensitive to what the Western world condemns in Nazi doctrine. In fact, the results indicate that the SRP group in the overall cites such evils in greater number than do the other West Germans to whom they are compared. The overall preponderance of SRP citations of Nazi evils localizes itself most particularly in respect to the factor of race policy and Jewish persecution. Here a third of the SRP members as compared to only 10 per cent of their fellow Niedersachsens and 20 per cent in the remainder of Germany state that the Nazi racial policies were evil.

IMPLICATION ...

Much larger samples and much more evidence is needed to come to any firm conclusion. But at least the possibility is raised in the National Socialist findings taken all together that the greater affinity for National Socialism among SRP adherents as compared to other West Germans, springs more from a greater regard for its social welfare policies than from any lesser disapproval of the policies that are odious by Western standards.

DENAZIFICATION ...

In line with their general more positive attitude toward some features of National Socialism it comes as no surprise that on the principle of denazification SRP adherents are much more widely of the opinion that it was a bad idea than are other elements of the West German population.

In advancing reasons for considering denazification a bad idea the SRP group varies most markedly from other West Germans in their greater stress on the theses that the intentions of the Nazi party members were good, and that it is unfair to punish people because of their political ideas.

Respondents who felt that the idea of demeritization was a good one - comparatively few among the SRP adherents - argued mainly that atonement for crimes is just and that the Nazis are responsible for the present misery and suffering.

LANDSBERG DEATH SENTENCES ...

Results of comparative attitudes of SRP sympathizers versus other West Germans in reactions to the Landsberg decisions complicate the problem of correctly assessing the nature of SRP orientations toward National Socialism. The seven Landsberg prisoners, who were sentenced to death at the time of the present survey, were people obviously guilty of the evils of National Socialism that the SRP adherents questioned had previously specified in even greater detail than non-SRP groups. Yet the finding is that a considerably larger proportion of SRP than of the other Niedersachsens or other West Germans espoused the release of these prisoners. It is possible that the SRP members are motivated here more by considerations of German independence of action than by specific partiality for Nazi leaders. But despite the supporting evidence that has previously been presented, the present findings behooves one to go slow in drawing the conclusion that in looking favorably on National Socialism the SRP members are influenced primarily by social welfare ideas in the movement rather than by more reprehensible elements.

NEUTRALISM ...

A final background question utilized for comparison of SRP attitudes with those of other elements of the West German public relates to neutralism in the East-West struggle. This question derives additional significance from the fact that a number of analysts have expressed the suspicion that Communist funds are possibly in back of the SRP movement.

The results show that the SRP adherents do not markedly differ from the general West German pattern in their orientations on the East-West struggle. In both cases there is a preponderant desire to keep out of the conflict. And in both cases there is the same three out of ten vote for siding with the West and the same complete absence of any votes for siding with the East.

So though neutralism is definitely a problem among West Germans it does not appear to be any more so among adherents of the Socialist Reichs Party.

This would suggest that if SRP leaders are trying to grind Communist axes, they have not as yet succeeded in producing any appreciable differentiation of SRP attitudes from general West German orientations on the East-West struggle.

I. EXTENT OF WEST GERMAN AWARENESS OF THE SRP

AWARENESS OF EXISTENCE OF NEW PARTY...

Tested two to three weeks after the Lower Saxony elections the majority of West Germans proved to be unaware of the existence of the new Socialist Reichs Party. Even in Niedersachsen proper, a third report themselves as not having heard of the new political group.

"Have you heard of the new Socialist Reichs Party?" (We are referring to the party the former General Remer identifies himself with.)

	WEST GERMANY TOTAL	WEST GERMANY without Nieder- sachsen and SRP's	Niedersachsen without SRP's	SRP Adherents
Yes	37%	33%	63%	100%
No	63 100%	67 100%	37 100%	- 100%

Group breakdowns on West German awareness of the SRP disclose the usual pattern of more widespread familiarity among the more educated and informed elements of the population - the men, the better schooled, and the more affluent. Ignorance of the SRP, it will be noted, is particularly marked among German women.

	WEST GERMANY (TOTAL)	Yes	No	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men		57%	43% ... 100%	360
Women		21	79	436
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school		33%	67%	673
Beyond elementary school		63	37	122
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower		30%	70%	457
Middle and upper		47	53	339
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Under 299 DM		33%	67%	594
300 - 399 DM		46	54	134
400 DM and more		66	34	61
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years		37%	63%	352
40 years and over		37	63	441
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD		46%	54%	207
CDU/CSU		35	65	154
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV		73	27	41
Other parties		39	61	121
No party		38	62	111
Don't know		18	82	161
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals		65%	35%	23
Businessmen		51	49	49
White-collar workers		56	44	100
Skilled laborers		46	54	162
Semi-skilled laborers		32	68	128
Farmers		15	85	87
None: retired, students, pensioners, etc.		26	74	106
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member		53%	47%	156
No		34	66	639
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics		29%	71%	385
Protestants		44	56	382
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives		37%	63%	615
Refugees, Expellees		58	62	181

AWARENESSE OF LOWER SAXONY ELECTION RESULTS ...

Further indications of widespread West German unawareness of recent political developments in Lower Saxony derive from a query about the election results. Only a quarter knew that the SPD had emerged as the leading party and a half were not even aware of the fact that an election had recently taken place in Lower Saxony.

"Do you remember which party obtained the largest number of votes at the elections (the recent Landtag elections in Lower Saxony)?"*

	WEST GERMANY TOTAL	WEST GERMANY without Nieder- sachsen and SRP's	Niedersachsen without SRP's	SRP Adherents
Yes, correct	27%	21%	56%	83%
Yes, incorrect	3	4	6	2
No, don't know or Not asked* as ignorant of existence of elections	<u>70</u> 100%	<u>75</u> 100%	<u>38</u> 100%	<u>15</u> 100%

But more pertinent in the present connection, among those aware of the existence of the elections only a small proportion even in Lower Saxony could offer an estimate of the per cent of the vote that had been captured by the Socialist Reichs Party.

"Do you perhaps know approximately what per cent of the vote was obtained by the Socialist Reichs Party?"

	WEST GERMANY TOTAL	WEST GERMANY without Nieder- sachsen and SRP's	Niedersachsen without SRP's	SRP Adherents
Less than 5%	-%	-%	-%	-%
5% to 7%	1	1	-	-
8% to 12%	7	5	14	51
13% to 19%	2	3	3	7
20% and more	2	2	4	6
No opinion or Not asked* as ignorant of existence of elections	<u>88</u> 100%	<u>89</u> 100%	<u>79</u> 100%	<u>36</u> 100%

* West Germans outside of Niedersachsen were not asked the question unless they first indicated a preliminary awareness by saying "Yes" to the following question: "Have you heard or read of the elections to the Landtag which recently took place in Lower Saxony? (Not to be confused with Saxony in the Russian Zone)?"

Again West German group comparisons follow their normal pattern on informational inquiries for relatively more widespread knowledge among opinion leading sectors of the population.

"Do you remember which party obtained the largest number of votes at the elections (the recent Landtag elections in Lower Saxony)?"
(Asked of all Niedersachsen residents and all other West Germans who indicated they had heard of the elections.)

	Yes, correct	Yes, incorrect	No, don't know	Question not asked	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY (TOTAL)					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	43%	3%	24%	31% ... 100%	360
Women	16	3	30	62	439
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	22%	3%	22%	53%	676
Beyond elementary school	54	3	32	21	122
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower	22%	3%	21%	54%	458
Middle and upper	35	2	23	40	341
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Under 299 DM	24%	2%	21%	53%	595
300 - 399 DM	37	2	22	39	134
400 DM and more	46	3	23	28	61
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	28%	4%	19%	41%	207
40 years and over	24	3	23	50	155
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	31%	3%	19%	49	207
CDU/CSU	24	3	23	50	155
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	56	5	24	15	41
Other parties	30	2	25	43	122
No party	25	3	25	47	112
Don't know	14	1	18	67	162
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	54%	~%	13%	33%	15
Businessmen	45	-	19	36	31
White-collar workers	52	2	20	26	90
Skilled laborers	35	5	25	35	113
Semi-skilled laborers	27	2	21	50	81
Farmers	14	4	26	56	57
None: retired, students, pensioners, etc.	25	1	23	51	84
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member	41%	24	23%	35%	156
No	24	3	21	52	642
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	21%	1%	19%	59%	386
Protestants	31	4	24	41	384
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	25%	3%	22%	50%	618
Refugees, Expellees	35	2	19	44	181

SUMMING-UP ...

In short, then, whatever the importance of the Lower Saxony political developments and despite the widespread discussion of the ERP election results in the West German press, West German responsiveness has been comparatively limited.

II. WEST GERMAN REACTIONS TO THE SRP

JUDGMENTS OF SRP GOALS ...

The preponderant judgment among the West Germans who report having heard of the Socialist Reichs Party, is that its goal is the reestablishment of National Socialism. Smaller proportions cite their aims as the reestablishment of German militarism or the establishment of a right wing dictatorship.

Adherents of the Socialist Reichs Party dissent markedly from such characterizations. The largest proportion (52%) state the goal of the new party to be the betterment of economic and social conditions in Germany. Another 38 per cent of the SRP answers focus upon a strong united Germany as a main goal of the party.

"Have you ever heard of the new Socialist Reichs Party?"

If "Yes": "As far as you know, what do you think are the main goals of the SRP?" (West German and Niedersachsen percentages in the following table are calculated on the basis of those who are aware of the SRP rather than on the entire population.)

	WEST GERMANY TOTAL	WEST GERMANY w/o Nd. Sa. and SRP's	Nd. Sa. w/o SRP's	SRP Adher- ents
<u>Reestablishment of National Socialism:</u> To re-establish National Socialism in Germany; they aim at the same goals as the Nazis did during the Third Reich; the realizations of the aims of the NSDAP are to be the final results; to develop a power similar to the power of the National Socialists; purely selfish goals - they want the old party members and soldiers to come into power again; they organized the NSDAP; they pursue the goals of National Socialism - establishment of a right-wing dictatorship; the realization of National Socialist ideals; etc.	29%	29%	30%	4%
<u>Reestablishment of military power:</u> This party wants to help militarism into power again; they are all disguised militarists; remilitarization; they want to reestablish the Wehrmacht and they want Germany under arms - they want to increase the misery we have experienced in the past; etc.	10	10	9	1
<u>Dictatorship - right-wing radicalism:</u> They want a dictatorship and a radical system; they think they can establish a dictatorship; they are radical; they want to take a rightist and radical attitude; etc.	7	8	4	3
<u>For a united and strong Germany:</u> Unity as basis of a strong Germany; to make Germany a strong nation again; to create a Reich again - East and West united; the reestablishment of the German Reich as before 1939; a united Germany; unification of East and West Germany; unification of Germany without the help of the occupying powers; represent the idea of the Reich; to guarantee a strong government for the Reich; etc.	4	4	2	38
<u>Reestablishment of Nationalism:</u> They want a national renaissance of Germany in an exaggerated form; they want to form a national ideal - a national government etc., so that the idea of a European government will fade into the background; they want to establish a national opposition in Bonn and recruit the national-minded and willing-to-reconstruct elements in the country; they want to pursue a national and German policy; restoration of the German honor; etc.	2	3	-	13

(cont'd on next page)

WEST
GERMANY
TOTAL

WEST
GERMANY
w/o Nd.
Sa. and
SRP's

Nd. Sa.
w/o
SRP's

01764

Adher-
ents

Betterment of economic and social conditions:

They want to develop a healthy and sound economy - not as planless as that of the government parties and not Marxian as the SED economic policy; they want to create sound social conditions; reconstruction of industries and the destroyed cities - elimination of unemployment; everybody is to get work and bread and be able to keep his property; the misery shall be eliminated; relief for the refugees and bombed-out people; they want to help the poor people so that they can get ahead and don't have to starve to death slowly; relief for the socially underprivileged; etc.

1% 1% 2% 52%

Independence and equality of Germany: The main goal and purpose of the SRP is that Germany should regain her equality among the other nations; yes, we want Germany to be free and dominant again; etc.

1 1 - 12

Less compromise with the occupation powers - withdrawal of the occupation: Above all, they want to get rid of the occupation powers; they want to free Germany from the occupation powers; they want to throw the Americans out of the government; withdrawal of all occupying powers including the Red army; they are opposed to saying "Yes" to everything the Allies prescribe; etc.

1 1 - 8

To realize the good ideas of National Socialism: The fulfillment of the good points of the NSDAP program; they want to use the good ideas of National Socialism; to pursue the aims of the NSDAP in a different and new form; etc.

1 1 1 6

They are opposed to the other parties and the Federal government: They are opposed to the Federal government and the other parties; they are looking for the strong man who'll let Bonn explode; they fight all the other parties; etc.

1 * 3 1

Provision for the youth: Care for the youth; to bring youth into organized conditions again; fight against the demoralization of the youth; etc.

1 - - 1

Neutrality and peace: Neither side with the East nor the West, but stay neutral as i.e. Switzerland; friendship with all people and nations including the Russians; neutrality in the East-West struggle - avoidance of war; that anybody who wants peace should join the party; they are for peace; etc.

* 1 - 11

General favorable answers: They want to do more than the others; they want to clean up with all the wrong that's being done today; etc.

* 1 1 5

Uncertain ideas about the party and their goals: I don't know their goals, I only know that the government is opposed to it; I'm not quite certain about it - I think they haven't found their final goal yet; I don't know anything for certain, but it could be an opposition party which might be successful; they don't express themselves clearly - nobody really knows what they want; the discontented voted for this party simply to vex the government; etc.

8 5 18 1

Other opinions: They plead the case of old National Socialists who did not commit any crimes - they fight the KPD; the public servants who were fired are to get their old positions again; etc.

4 3 6 4

No opinion / No answer:

38 40 33 4
108% 108% 109% 164%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

APPRAISAL OF THE NEW PARTY'S IMPORTANCE ...

Opinions split rather evenly in West Germany as to whether or not the SRP achievements to date warrant close attention to the new party as a significant political development. A half, however, express no opinion in the matter - which fact of course is related to the low level of West German awareness that the SRP group has so far achieved.

Among SRP adherents themselves the great bulk feel that their new political group has achieved the status of an important political party.

"Do you think that because of this election return the Socialist Reichs Party has become an important party on which one should keep an eye, or do you think that this party has not become so important?"*

	WEST GERMANY TOTAL	WEST GERMANY without Nieder- sachsen and SRP's	Niedersachsen without SRP's	SRP Adherents
Important party	27%	25%	34%	85%
Not so important	26	26	27	11
No opinion	<u>47</u> 100%	<u>49</u> 100%	<u>39</u> 100%	<u>4</u> 100%

* Respondents who were unaware of the elections to the Landtag which recently took place in Lower Saxony, or were unaware of the fact that the Socialist Reichs Party obtained an 11 per cent vote, were informed of it in following terms: "The SPD (Socialist Party) obtained the largest number of votes at the recent Landtag elections in Lower Saxony, and the SRP (Socialist Reichs Party) took fourth place by obtaining 11 per cent of the votes cast."

Appraisal of the SRP as an important political group which bears watching is comparatively more frequent among the opinion leading segments of the West German population. But even among these elements judgments are equally frequent that the new political group is as yet of limited importance.

"Do you think that because of this election return the Socialist Reichs Party has become an important party on which one should keep an eye, or do you think that this party has not become so important?"

	Important	Not so important	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY (TOTAL)				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	38%	35%	27% ... 100%	360
Women	18	18	64	439
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	24%	24%	52%	676
Beyond elementary school	40	37	23	122
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower	23%	24%	53%	458
Middle and upper	32	28	40	341
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Under 299 DM	23%	24%	53%	595
300 - 399 DM	35	30	35	134
400 DM and more	43	39	18	61
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	32%	25%	43%	353
40 years and over	22	26	52	443
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	32%	33%	35%	207
CDU/CSU	29	28	43	154
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	51	34	15	41
Other parties	32	28	40	121
No party	21	25	54	112
Don't know	11	11	78	163
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	39%	22%	39%	23
Businessmen	26	30	44	50
White-collar workers	37	33	30	100
Skilled laborers	39	23	38	162
Semi-skilled laborers	24	27	49	128
Farmers	12	22	66	88
None: retired, students, pensioners, etc.	18	27	55	107
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	38%	31%	31%	156
No	24	25	51	642
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	22%	25%	53%	386
Protestants	30	26	44	384
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	28%	25%	47%	618
Refugees, Expellees	23	27	50	180

WHAT INFLUENCE SHOULD THE PARTY HAVE? ...

The low level of German awareness of the new political party is reflected in the figure of almost two-thirds who will offer no judgment as to whether the SRP ought to have a strong, moderate, small, or no influence at all in West Germany. Among the respondents who do express an opinion the largest proportion indicate that they would want the party to have "no influence at all."

"Do you think the Socialist Reichs Party ought to have a strong, moderate, small, or not influence at all in West Germany?"*

	WEST GERMANY TOTAL	WEST GERMANY without Nieder- sachsen and SRP's	Niedersachsen without SRP's	SRP Adherents
Strong	3%	3%	3%	71%
Moderate	6	5	11	18
Small	8	7	10	5
None	21	21	24	-
No opinion	<u>62</u> 100%	<u>64</u> 100%	<u>52</u> 100%	<u>6</u> 100%

* This question was intended to get at what influence respondents wanted the SRP to have, not what they thought they would have. It is probable from looking at the SRP results particularly, that some respondents understood the latter. But from follow-up comments it is clear that the large bulk of the cases answered in the desired sense.

Adverse evaluations of the SRF bulk with considerably greater frequency among the opinion leading strata of the West German population. No opinion, however, is extensive at all population levels.

"Do you think the Socialist Reichs Party ought to have a strong, moderate, small, or not influence at all in West Germany?"

WEST GERMANY (TOTAL)	Strong	Moderate	Small	None	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	4%	7%	14%	30%	45% ... 100%	360
Women	3	5	2	14	76	439
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	4%	5%	7%	18%	66%	676
Beyond elementary school	3	9	13	36	39	122
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>						
Lower	4%	5%	6%	16%	69%	458
Middle and upper	3	7	10	27	53	341
<u>Income (per month):</u>						
Under 299 DM	4%	5%	6%	18%	67%	595
300 - 399 DM	4	8	10	29	49	134
400 DM and more	2	8	15	39	36	61
<u>Age:</u>						
Under 40 years	4%	8%	8%	19%	61%	353
40 years and over	3	4	7	23	63	443
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	3%	6%	12%	29%	50%	207
CDU/CSU	2	6	10	24	58	154
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	8	12	12	34	34	41
Other parties	9	7	5	21	58	121
No party	3	6	3	18	70	112
Don't know	1	3	2	7	87	163
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	-%	-%	26%	22%	52%	23
Businessmen	8	2	10	22	58	50
White-collar workers	2	11	8	32	47	100
Skilled laborers	5	7	8	28	52	162
Semi-skilled laborers	2	9	8	19	62	128
Farmers	3	3	5	15	74	88
None: retired, students, pensioners, etc.	4	2	5	15	74	107
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>						
Catholics	2%	5%	7%	20%	66%	386
Protestants	4	6	8	21	61	384
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	3%	6%	7%	23%	61%	353
Refugees, Expellees	4	5	9	16	66	181

Reasons offered by respondents who felt that the SRP should have no influence at all in West Germany revolved around charges of Nazism, extremism, and militarism. A number also took the position that there were already enough or too many parties and another would only cause difficulties.

"Do you think the SRP ought to have a strong, moderate, small, or no influence at all in West Germany?"

If "No influence at all": "Why are you of this opinion?"

WEST GERMANY TOTAL	WEST GERMANY w/o Na. Sa. and SRP's	Na. Sa. w/o SRP's	SRP Adher- ents
--------------------------	--	-------------------------	-----------------------

They follow National Socialist tendencies: Because they have the old system of the Third Reich in their program; because very dubious people of the Nazi time try to mislead the people through their instigating speeches; because they want to revive National Socialism; because they are Nazi-minded; because that will lead to Adolf Hitler No. 2; we don't ever want a Hitler government again; we then will have the same conditions as after 1933, so the greatest caution is advisable; etc.

6%	6%	10%	-%
----	----	-----	----

The SRP is too extremist - presents a danger for democracy: Because they aim at dictatorship and are too extremist; because they work against the democracy which I favor; they are too extremist and will only lead us into misery; since I am of the opinion that this is an extremist party, it should be rejected or perhaps out-lawed; etc.

6	5	6	-
---	---	---	---

We already have enough (too many) parties: There are already enough parties; the little parties just grumble and make the work of the government more difficult; we have enough parties and such new parties without tradition and rather extremist goals should be outlawed; there should be as few parties as possible, it only leads to disunity; because we have enough parties, every new party should be outlawed to prevent it from doing harm; etc.

4	5	2	-
---	---	---	---

They pursue militaristic ideas - are in favor of war: Because that would lead to militarism; because they aim at rearmament; because this party wants military again and I am certainly fed up with that; because basically they want a new war; etc.

3	3	3	-
---	---	---	---

We are fed up with parties of that kind and their propaganda: That is not the way to help Germany up again, marching-music and all that fuss; I don't like the idea that the German people are led into misery again; because we have had enough of parties like that; etc.

1	1	-	-
---	---	---	---

Replies that show that the respondent did not understand the question: Because not many are interested in it; etc.

*	-	-	-
---	---	---	---

Other opinions: Because I believe that the Russians are financing this party; we don't need something that would make the other nations suspicious; they follow anti-Christian tendencies; because this development would not be liked by other countries and do harm to us; because people become mis-educated, let them recover first; etc.

2	2	3	-
---	---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

22%*	22%*	24%*	-%
------	------	------	----

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

The most distinctive argument among respondents who would accord the SRP a "moderate" or "small" influence at this time is that the new party might arouse other parties to more constructive activity. Also made clear in the returns below is that a number of respondents are in a sense reserving judgment on the SRP until its aims are more clearly understood.

"Do you think the SRP ought to have a strong, moderate, small, or no influence at all in West Germany?"

If "Moderate" or "Small"; "Why are you of this opinion?"

WEST GERMANY TOTAL	WEST GERMANY w/o Nd. Sa. and SRP's	Nd. Sa. w/o SRP's	SRP Adher- ents
--------------------------	--	-------------------------	-----------------------

In order to activate the efforts of the government and of the other parties: An opposition to the other parties is always good, but shouldn't be too strong; it means an opposition to all other parties and that might be useful; to arouse the government and help to create better economic conditions; as a balancing factor to the policy of the government within our country and outside of it; they should stir up criticism and tell the men in Bonn off; they bring the other parties to reason and remind them that they are Germans; they want to revive the old NSDAP, and that does not matter, because the others will then watch out; etc.

3%

3%

4%

7%

Their influence should not be greater, as long as their National Socialistic tendencies are uncertain; It is said that there are many Nazis in this party, that's why this party should not have too much influence; it could lead to where it led once - military, party-"Bonzen," war; to keep them down in order not to let them become as extremist as the NSDAP, a sound coalition would be best; in case the party inclines to dictatorship, I would wish it to have only little influence, I doubt at present whether they will respect the fundamentals of democracy; they should be watched since they might aim at the same goal the Nazis did; so that we don't experience a second 1933; this party is too extremist, they want to establish a dictatorship; since they are inclined toward Nationalism, they present a danger for international understanding; etc.

2

1

4

5

We should wait until their aims and capacities are obvious; Because we shall have to see first what they want to do; in order to see what goals they pursue; if they were to be out-lawed, all other parties would have to be out-lawed too; I don't have so much against them, we shall have to wait and see; we know of them only through speeches, whether or not they can carry through what they promise remains to be seen; etc.

2

2

5

5

They should exercise influence in proportion to their strength at the polls; They should exercise the influence they should have according to the election returns, they have succeeded; every party should have a right to be active the way they please; because they are in the fourth place; etc.

2

1

3

-

(cont'd on next page)

WEST GERMANY TOTAL	WEST GERMANY w/o Nd. Sa. and SRP's	Nd. Sa. w/o SRP's	SRP Adherents
--------------------------	--	-------------------------	------------------

They represent the interests of the people and of the nation - we need a national party: Because this party represents all professional groups and will make Germany strong and powerful again; because this party will make us free and independent; in order to let them have a say in discussions on the reunification of Germany; so that this party can also speak up, because it is a national party and we need it; etc.

1%	1%	-%	2%
----	----	----	----

The party is good - general answers: Because this party is good; they are trustworthy and promise to accomplish something; etc.

*	-	1	2
---	---	---	---

Replies that show that the question was misunderstood: They are not popular enough; they have too few members; they will get more support but not very strong support since the government does not propagate the SRP very strongly; etc.

1	1	2	1
---	---	---	---

Other opinions: I think it is good for the Allies to realize that we don't take everything they want us to take; to be equal to other parties and to be able to carry through their program; this party should get more votes to succeed; because the dissatisfaction will only get stronger; in order to set up an opposition against Communism; disturbs the work of the government; they wouldn't do anything for the workers; because it is backed up by Communists; etc.

3	3	3	4
---	---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

* 14%**	- 12%	2 24%**	- 26%**
------------	----------	------------	------------

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

The opinion that the SRP should have a strong influence in West Germany is largely confined to the avowed SRP adherents. Among the reasons offered for their stand, as already foreshadowed in a prior question on the goals of the SRP, is that the new party allegedly seeks a sound and equitable social policy; seeks a strong, united, and independent Germany; and seeks to improve living conditions.

"Do you think the SRP ought to have a strong, moderate, small, or not influence at all in West Germany?"

If "Strong influence": "Why are you of this opinion?"

	WEST GERMANY TOTAL	WEST GERMANY w/o Nd. Sa. and SRP's	Nd. Sa. w/o SRP's	SRP Adherents
<u>They promise us a sound social policy -- equal rights for everybody:</u> Because they promise equal rights for all people, especially for the worker and for the lower class; to have a party in the government that does something for the poor people; because their program is set up for the well-being of all people; because they want the well-being of all people and not only for certain circles; because they are very social-minded; etc.	1%	1%	1%	15%
<u>The SRP is a national party and wants to create a united, strong and independent Germany:</u> Because only through the SRP can unification of Germany be achieved; because they are national-minded; to make the Germans remember that they are Germans; etc.	1	1	-	13
<u>To give them a chance for realization of their program:</u> To give them a chance; to enable them to realize their party goals; etc.	1	-	1	4
<u>They will improve general living conditions:</u> It is the only party that will really act; a quick recovery should agree with everybody and I have enough confidence in those men to believe in it; because they are our only hope for the improvement of our conditions; to improve our conditions, after all we are in the 6th year after the war; to create sound conditions as they were before the war; etc.	*	-	-	12
<u>The SRP is a good party and I like it best:</u> I like everything I have heard about it; because I consider this party right; etc.	*	-	-	10
<u>This party is the balancing factor for the government and for the other parties:</u> It is only good if the government party gets a strong counter-party; to get counter-party to the SPD organization; etc.	*	-	1	8
<u>Germany needs a dictatorship:</u> A democracy is of no use, we should have a dictatorship again, then we all would be helped; to get discipline into the people; etc.	*	-	-	2
<u>They have capable leaders:</u> Because they have the best people who have their own positive ideas; to form a new and stronger government with capable people as leaders; to get people into the government who do a better job than the present government does, and who care for the refugees; because we can have confidence in their candidates, it is more a choice of a candidate rather than a choice of a party; etc.	-	-	-	7

(cont'd on next page)

WEST GERMANY TOTAL	WEST GERMANY w/o Nd. Sa. and SRP's	Nd. Sa. w/o SRP's	SRP Adher- ents
--------------------------	--	-------------------------	-----------------------

They reject collaboration with the occupation powers: Because they reject collaboration with the occupation powers; the leading parties of today always agree with the Allies, this is different with the SRP, they keep away from the Allies; etc.

-4	-4	-4	24
----	----	----	----

Other opinions: It should agree with all of us if we are better off through this party; they express their opinions freely, will soon get stronger influence; the agricultural conditions have to change and only the Remer party is able to do so; etc.

1	1	-	4
---	---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

* 48**	- 3%	- 3%	- 77%**
-----------	---------	---------	------------

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

RELATIONS TO A POSSIBLE BANNING OF THE SRP ...

There is definitely no overriding opinion in West Germany as a whole for banning the SRP. Among those who express opinions, almost as many oppose as favor such a course. As on the prior questions, "no opinion" is extensive with half the respondents voicing such a reaction.

"You might have heard that Bonn is deliberating a ban of the SRP. Would you personally favor or oppose such a ban?" (asked of those who answered "small," "none," or "no opinion" to question of what influence the party ought to have.)

	WEST GERMANY TOTAL	WEST GERMANY without Nieder- sachsen and SRP's	Niedersachsen without SRP's	SRP Adherents
Favor	23%	23%	23%	-%
Oppose	16	15	24	9
No opinion	53	54	40	2
	91%	92%	86%	11%

Group comparisons yield no single overall pattern on the banning issue, but in no group examined does support of such a course exceed a third.

	Favor	Oppose	No opinion	Question not asked	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY(TOTAL)					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	30%	25%	33%	12% ... 100%	360
Women	16	9	65	10	439
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	22%	13%	54%	11%	676
Beyond elementary school	24	33	30	13	122
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower	21%	13%	55%	11%	458
Middle and upper	23	20	44	13	341
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Under 299 DM	20%	13%	53%	11%	595
300 - 399 DM	25	23	38	14	134
400 DM and more	34	31	25	10	61
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	20%	22%	44%	14%	353
40 years and over	24	18	55	9	443
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	34%	19%	38%	9%	207
CDU/CSU	25	15	51	9	154
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	24	37	19	20	41
Other parties	24	17	41	18	121
No party	12	18	60	10	112
Don't know	8	7	75	10	163
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	17%	35%	48%	-%	23
Businessmen	22	26	35	16	50
White-collar workers	26	26	35	13	100
Skilled laborers	29	17	40	14	162
Semi-skilled laborers	19	14	55	12	128
Farmers	19	6	65	10	88
None: retired, students, pensioners, etc.	21	8	63	8	107
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member	34%	24%	32%	10%	156
No	19	14	55	12	642
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	23%	15%	55%	8%	386
Protestants	21	17	48	14	384
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	23%	16%	49%	12%	618
Refugees, Expellees	20	17	53	10	181

The most frequent line of reasoning advanced by opponents of an SRP ban was that such a course would violate democratic principles. Almost as large a proportion argued either that a ban would act to strengthen the party activities or make them less open to control.

"You might have heard that Bonn is deliberating a ban of the SRP.

Would you personally favor or oppose such a ban?"

If "Oppose": Why would you be opposed to a ban of the SRP?"

	WEST GERMANY TOTAL	WEST GERMANY w/o Nd. Sa. and SRP's	Nd. Sa. w/o SRP's	SRP Adher- ents
<u>A ban would violate the principles of democracy:</u>				
Everyone has the right to establish a new party as we live in a democracy; to ban a party would not conform with the democratic principles, it is the people who would have to decide on this question; out-lawing of this party would mean the out-law of other parties too; every party has the right to assert itself, KPD is not banned either; out-lawing of parties would mean negation of democracy; I am opposed to it as long as there is no legal pretext; this decision would have to be made not by the Bundesregierung, but by a Bundesverfassungsgericht (Federal Court of Constitution); it would violate the law; etc.	7%	7%	9%	3%
<u>Out-lawing would strengthen this party's activities:</u>				
The stronger suppression, the more followers this party will get; a ban will not make away with this party, but arouse contradiction and opposition instead, there are better and more effective means of control; suppression is liable to effect the contrary - we would end up where we have been once; out-lawing might make them subversive; the harder suppression, the greater the danger of dissatisfied people gathering; because this party got many supporters who in case of a ban would grumble and try to make a revolution; etc.	4%	2%	3%	1%
<u>One should wait- as long as they are not out-lawed they are easier to control:</u> Because it would not be possible to control whether this party is taking a dangerous development, one could not control this party at the elections; it is easier to control the leaders; their intentions would have to be watched, if they turn out to be not good they can still be banned; etc.	2%	4%	2%	4%
<u>Other general answers in favor of the SRP:</u> If the government (where the right sort of people have come together) should ban this party, they should carry on just for that reason; because I believe that these people (Romer) endeavor to teach the youth order and honor; they are Germans anyway and should be allowed to indulge their national pride; Germany needs again a party that aims at unity; etc.	1%	1%	-	2%
<u>Other opinions:</u> One should ban the dangerous KPD who are far worse; they will exhaust themselves in the end; etc.	4%	3%	10%	-
<u>No Opinion/No answer:</u>	*	-	-	-
	18%*	17%*	24%	10%*

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer

III. COMPARATIVE BACKGROUND ATTITUDES OF SRP ADHERENTS, OTHER NIEDERSACHSENS AND THE REMAINDER OF WEST GERMANY

Study of the background attitudes of SRP adherents as compared to their fellow Lower Saxony residents, and West Germans outside of this area, offers a valuable means of throwing additional light on the motivations and objectives of this new political group.*

ACTIVITIES OF THE BONN GOVERNMENT ...

The initial comparison reveals that in regard to the achievements of the Federal government up to the present time SRP adherents are considerably more widely dissatisfied than are their fellow Niedersachsens, who in turn are somewhat more dissatisfied than the remainder of West Germany.

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of the Federal government up to now?"

	WEST GERMANY TOTAL	WEST GERMANY without Nieder- sachsen and SRP's	Niedersachsen without SRP's	SRP Adherents
Satisfied	44%	45%	40%	13%
Dissatisfied	41	42	52	85
No opinion	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>2</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Because of a limited number of cases of both SRP adherents and of other Niedersachsens, group breakdowns on the following questions could only be made on the West German population as a whole. Since these breakdowns without the others for comparative purposes contribute nothing directly to the present discussion, they are presented in an appendix.

With respect to reasons offered for dissatisfaction with Bonn, the most marked differences appearing between those offered by SRP adherents and the other groups relate to the alleged bondage of the Federal government to foreign powers, and its alleged general ineffectiveness and corruption.

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of the Federal government?"

If "Dissatisfied": "Why are you of this opinion?"

	WEST GERMANY TOTAL	WEST GERMANY w/o Nd. Sa. and SRP's	Nd. Sa. w/o SRP's	SRP Adher- ents
<u>Bad economic policy, prices too high, wages too low:</u> Their economic policy is completely wrong; I don't agree with their economic policy, if they carry on like this we shall drift into an inflation; you watch the price policy - they don't do enough on behalf of social welfare; the prices keep increasing; the high standard of living must not be understood as sign of satisfaction; daily life is too expensive; wages don't correspond with prices; they don't succeed in adapting the wages to the prices, wages are too low, prices too high; everything is too expensive, even the necessities of life; etc.	16%	15%	20%	24%
<u>The government doesn't care for the little people:</u> Because the refugees obtain so little help; don't care enough for war-widows; they do nothing on behalf of the workers; they should care for the old people; the people are left to starve - what is the use of shops being full of goods we cannot buy; government has no regard for the people's misery, they don't raise the pensions; Adenauer promised to regulate our claims but failed to do so up to now; they deal with foreign politics, etc. and forgot about people's misery; the salaries of officials are raised and the pensioners left to starve; etc.	15	15	15	20
<u>Taxes too high and not properly used:</u> The state will ruin us by high taxes; taxes are rising, tax on wages too high; we don't know how to live under the burden of high taxation; taxes and duties are too high and paralyze the initiative, people who work are virtually punished because they have to pay the highest taxes; the expenses and social expenditures are permanently increased; government wastes too much money, their own expenditures are too high, we paid the taxes out of our pockets for other purposes (reconstruction); the Federal government fails to take any measures of economy and lives on the tax-payer's expenses; etc.	8	8	6	9
<u>The government does almost nothing and is corrupt:</u> They talk much and do nothing; don't know what they want; they negotiate too much but don't act; one law reverses the other, for example the cabinet's resolution reversed the Denazification Law; they make a mess; there is so much wrangling in housing concerns and we have no protection - nothing else that I have to reproach the government; appears they don't watch over their moral order and integrity; etc.	3	3	4	13

(cont'd on next page)

WEST GERMANY TOTAL	WEST GERMANY w/o Nd. Sa. and SRP's	Nd. Sa. w/o SRP's	SRP Adher- ents
--------------------------	--	-------------------------	-----------------------

The government members think of their own financial advantages and don't collaborate with the people but with the capitalists: The big money grubbers are acquitted of a big part of their taxes, while the rent which I paid for myself is raised; in a social regard the government does not follow the right course - they support the wealthy people rather than the poor population; the Bundestag doesn't represent the whole of the population but just a small part of wealthy people; everybody wants to become a minister and fill his money bag, but few of them think of really working on behalf of the people and devoting their efforts to the people; etc.

3%	3%	1%	4%
----	----	----	----

Government is in bondage of foreign powers: Is too dependent upon the occupation authorities; what more do you expect from a Rome pilgrim, he fritters away the Ruhr to the enemies; government has not enough to say, is under control of the Tommy, government is too yielding to the Amis and Tommies, always agrees; in some respects they are so yielding to the occupation authorities; not independent enough, they depend too much on the Allies; etc.

2	2	1	15
---	---	---	----

No solution of the labor problem: They don't provide work; nothing is done on behalf of the unemployed; don't care enough for the unemployed; don't provide work for the refugees; so many people are still out of work; etc.

2	2	3	5
---	---	---	---

They support the idea of remilitarization too strongly: They are heading for a new war; we don't want a war, we have lost enough; the government should rather try to keep us out of other people's quarrels, to isolate us and pursue a policy of peace, but they do nothing of the kind; etc.

1	1	-	2
---	---	---	---

Government neglects the youth: They should further the youth; don't grant scholarships; don't provide jobs; they have no heart for the youth; etc.

*	-	-	3
---	---	---	---

Other opinions: Everybody is too indolent, the Landsberg prisoners are such a problem, they should not be hanged - the Jews got too much support; there is nothing but their confession; for many professions the prospects of existence are so uncertain; they have achieved nothing good; Adenauer is a pocket-size dictator; etc.

4	4	7	10
---	---	---	----

No opinion / No answer:

* 54%**	- 53%**	1 58%**	- 105%**
------------	------------	------------	-------------

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

INDEPENDENCE OF WEST GERMANY ...

That the asserted dependency of the Federal government on foreign powers particularly agitates SRP adherents is underscored in more direct inquiries on this point. Almost nine in ten SRP sympathizers believe that the Western powers exert too much influence on the decisions of the West German government, and not far from half (44%) would go so far as to say that the Bonn government is but a puppet of the Western powers. The comparable figures are considerably lower among non-SRP residents of Lower Saxony and very considerably lower in the remainder of West Germany.

"Do you believe that the Western powers exert too much influence on the decisions of the West German government, or do you think that the West German government has enough independence?"

	WEST GERMANY TOTAL	WEST GERMANY without Nieder- sachsen and SRP's	Niedersachsen without SRP's	SRP Adherents
Too much influence	49%	47%	59%	88%
Enough independence	27	29	16	6
No opinion	24	24	25	6
	100%	100%	100%	100%

"It has been said that the West German government is a puppet government and can only do what the Western powers prescribe. Do you share this opinion or not?" (Asked of those who answered "too much influence" or "no opinion" to previous question.)

	WEST GERMANY TOTAL	WEST GERMANY without Nieder- sachsen and SRP's	Niedersachsen without SRP's	SRP Adherents
Yes, is a puppet government	17%	16%	25%	44%
No, is not a puppet government	35	35	36	37
No opinion	21	20	23	13
	73%	71%	84%	94%

NATIONAL SOCIALISM - NET WORTH ...

The most important background inquiry in the present study relates to the evaluation of National Socialism. It is suspected by many observers that the Socialist Reichs Party are seeking a renaissance of Nazism. In stating the goals of their movement few SRP adherents, it will be remembered, explicitly voiced such an objective, but spoke rather of the achievement of a sound and equitable social policy, and of a strong united and independent Germany. But the present background inquiry is considerably more revealing. A full 86 per cent of the SRP adherents questioned held that, everything considered, there was more good than evil in National Socialism. Only a negligible four per cent held the contrary, with the remainder expressing no opinion. These returns contrast markedly with the 47 per cent "more good than evil" judgments in Niedersachsen, and with the 34 per cent of such evaluations in the remainder of West Germany.

"If you consider everything, was there more good in the ideas of National Socialism or more evil?"

	WEST GERMANY TOTAL	WEST GERMANY without Nieder- sachsen and SRP's	Niedersachsen without SRP's	SRP Adherents
More good	34%	32%	47%	86%
More evil	40	42	27	4
No opinion	26	26	26	10
	100%	100%	100%	100%

There can be little doubt from such disclosures that if the SRP membership does not outrightly espouse a restoration of National Socialism, they are at least widely sympathetic to many of its tenets. It is additionally indicated that, as widely suspected on historical grounds, predilections for National Socialism are appreciably more marked in Niedersachsen than in West Germany as a whole.

WHAT WAS GOOD IN THE IDEAS OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM? ...

After obtaining net judgments in the initial question all respondents were then asked what they thought was good in the ideas of National Socialism. The favorable orientations of the SRP adherents toward National Socialism is additionally revealed by the considerably larger proportion, as compared to the other Niedersachsens and other West Germans, who stress the allegedly good economic opportunities and social welfare practices. It should not be overlooked, however, that the proportion of such judgments among non-SRP elements in West Germany is far from inconsiderable, and indicates that favorable reactions to the social welfare policies of the National Socialist regime - as distinguished from some of its other features - are fairly prevalent in West Germany.

"What do you think was good in the ideas of National Socialism?"

WEST GERMANY TOTAL	WEST GERMANY w/o N. Sa. and SRP's	Nd. Sa. w/o SRP's	SRP Adher- ents
--------------------------	---	-------------------------	-----------------------

Good job opportunities and living standards: The worker had a settled life, he was in a position to feed his family well and plentifully and also save something; one has been well off, work and own house, living was cheaper; if one worked diligently one was able to live well; because at that time we were able to buy more for our money than we are today; at that time prices had been just, one could pay the taxes, the farmer was able to pay; the individual has had more money; everybody worked; there was enough possibility to work, we were able to live and had no troubles; there were no unemployed people; everybody had work due to rearmament; the one who wanted to work was able to get a job and advance; living under the National Socialist regime was good, I never troubled my head with its ideas and its policy; etc.

41%

42%

41%

68%

Good social welfare: They provided for the lower class; they helped the lower classes; Hitler provided for us workers; everybody was in a position to work; the social idea; workers and more simple people were helped by the idea; social welfare for working men; the social institutions; taking care of farmers and workers; workers were well off, they were provided for in contrast to today; workers were sent on vacation-trips "Kraft durch Freude"; social welfare, institutions for aged people and pensions; supporting of the working men and the farmers; auxiliary institution during the winter (Winterhilfswerk); national socialistic welfare (nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt); social regulations which helped older people; supporting of families with many children; etc.

30

30

31

45

Good organization, discipline - security: This was only one party and therefore no disunion, more order; a dictatorship is more union than the government of too many parties; the "Arbeitsfront" tied the people together; they kept the people in check; order prevailed, everything worked out better; the order in the state itself, everybody was responsible to the top; I liked the order (discipline) within the government and the state; the idea to be responsible for what one does; more discipline among the people; the organization was good in its ideas; the youth was taken from the streets; one could go into the streets without danger; etc.

8

9

6

7

(cont'd on next page)

	WEST GERMANY TOTAL	WEST GERMANY w/o Nd. Sa. and SRP's	Nd. & n. w/o SRP's	SRP Adher- ents
<u>Nothing was good: I don't know anything good; nothing was good, the result shows it now; they have only ruined us (plunged us into misery); actually nothing, for the ideas could not be realized; etc.</u>	7%	8%	7%	-%
<u>Youth education, labor-service, Hitler youth, physical training of the youth; The military training of the youth; youth education; reasonable military training of the youth; training youth within the army; straight education of the youth; the only good was that the youth had a better education; etc.</u>	5	4	10	13
<u>Controlled and sound economic policy: Control of the prices; the salaries have been decided upon from the top; fixed prices from an economical point of view; the ideas concerning the economy were good; price-stop was good; etc.</u>	4	4	6	9
<u>Realizing of the national ideas: Germany was respected in the world; the German idea; equality (with other nations); at that time there was unification, not so many parties; etc.</u>	2	1	1	12
<u>The idea itself was good - but carried out badly! The idea itself if it had been realized; from the social and economic point of view the ideas were good, and among them we had 25 articles for the little man; etc.</u>	1	1	-	2
<u>Everything was good; etc.</u>	*	-	1	4
<u>Other opinions: That I was well off and nobody wanted anything from me; the general attendance was good; unification of the people within the nation; I was a convinced National Socialist and found everything good but the persecution of the Jews; etc.</u>	5	5	6	3
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	25 128%**	26 130%**	19 128%**	3 167%**

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

WHAT WAS EVIL IN NATIONAL SOCIALIST IDEAS? ...

The results here are quite revealing, and to the extent they can be more widely verified, extremely important for a balanced interpretation of SRP orientations toward National Socialism. They indicate that the SRP adherents are not insensitive to what the Western world condemns in Nazi doctrine. In fact, the results indicate that the SRP group in the overall cites such evils in greater number than do the other West Germans to whom they are compared. The overall preponderance of SRP citations of Nazi evils localizes itself most particularly in respect to the factor of race policy and Jewish persecution. Here a third of the SRP members as compared to only 10 per cent of their fellow Niedersachsens and 20 per cent in the remainder of Germany state that the Nazi racial policies were evil.

"What do you think was evil in the ideas of National Socialism?"

WEST GERMANY TOTAL	WEST GERMANY w/o Nd. Sa. and SRP's	Nd. Sa. SRP w/o Adh. SRP's ents
--------------------------	--	---------------------------------------

Preparation for war, rearmament, the war: That Hitler started war; they shouldn't have started war; they have driven us into war; because through the war we lost our homes; because National Socialism worked in the direction of war; that the war broke out; they prepared for the war; the military and the Autobahn were a preparation for the war; the war production; the youth was educated towards the war; the general rearmament; etc.

28% 27% 32% 26%

No freedom, dictatorship: People didn't have any freedom; the people couldn't act according to their own free will, the life of a single one didn't count in the eyes of the government; that we were not allowed to express our opinion, the lack of freedom; they deprived us of the right of free expression of opinion; the absolutism in itself and the dictatorship; the suppression of the masses; lack of freedom for everybody; they should not have outlawed the other parties; oppression of the German people; oppression of opinion; that all the other parties were persecuted; etc.

20 19 24 20

The race policy, the persecution of the Jews: The boycotting of the Jews and the foreigners was bad; that they disowned the Jews and that they put them in concentration camps; the population policy, the praising of the "Northern race" and of the German ideology that was supposed to be the only acceptable one in the world; the murder of the Jews; the violent solution of the Jewish problem; the race-hatred; the idea of extirpating non-German blood was rotten in the idea of National Socialism; the rejection of other races; etc.

19 20 10 37

Violence, cruelty, the concentration camps: They terrorized their own people; the trials in the concentration camps; they used violence in everything; radicalism and the violent measures; murder of innocent people; concentration camps; coercion and force in everything; sterilization; forced people to work for the rearmament; etc.

15 17 10 23

(cont'd on next page)

WEST GERMANY TOTAL	WEST GERMANY w/o Nd. Sa. and SRP's	Nd. Sa. w/o SRP's	SRP Adher- ents
--------------------------	--	-------------------------	-----------------------

No freedom of religion (persecution of the Church):

Their fight against religion; their attitude towards religious belief; that they worked against the Church; ungodliness; their interference with Church matters; etc.

9%	11%	4%	5%
----	-----	----	----

Poor foreign policy, imperialism: Their imperialistic policy that aimed at world power; through their imperialistic policy we lost the friendship of the entire world; their plans to conquer the world by which they no longer acted in the interest of the German people; the agreement with other nations were not for the benefit of Germany, especially the one with Stalin; that Hitler wanted to rule the world; etc.

6	6	6	6
---	---	---	---

Dominant position of the party: That the little "Hitlers" had so much power; exaggerated dominance of the party; the Gestapo; there were thousands of little "Hitlers"; etc.

3	3	5	11
---	---	---	----

Nothing was bad: I couldn't name anything bad; etc.

2	1	5	7
---	---	---	---

Everything was bad: etc.

2	2	-	-
---	---	---	---

False propaganda, empty promises: Their propaganda, they lulled the people into security, the little man knew too little about it; their lies and everything which finally resulted in the war; everything they did was falsehood and deceit; everything was cheating; etc.

1	2	1	-
---	---	---	---

Other opinions: They were crazy, have brought us only misery; that under Hitler the party was superior to the army, he shouldn't have done that, the old generals were experienced people and he should have listened to them; the rulers were bad people therefore it had to turn out a failure; the workers came second, because these men first took care of themselves; their coalition with capital; injustice in everything; etc.

8	8	10	5
---	---	----	---

No opinion / No answer:

25	27	24	6
138%	143%	131%	145%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

IMPLICATION ...

Much larger samples and much more evidence is needed to come to any firm conclusion. But at least the possibility is raised in the National Socialist findings taken all together that the greater affinity for National Socialism among SRP adherents as compared to other West Germans, springs more from a greater regard for its social welfare policies than from any lesser disapproval of the policies that are odious by Western standards.

DENAZIFICATION ...

In line with their general more positive attitude toward some features of National Socialism it comes as no surprise that on the principle of denazification SRP adherents are much more widely of the opinion that it was a bad idea than are other elements of the West German population.

"Do you consider it a good or bad idea that through the denazification system those persons who had furthered National Socialism in any form were held responsible for their actions?"

	WEST GERMANY TOTAL	WEST GERMANY without Nieder- sachsen and SRP's	Niedersachsen without SRP's	SRP Adherents
Yes, good idea	26%	27%	22%	7%
No, bad idea	46	43	59	79
No opinion	28	30	19	14
	100%	100%	100%	100%

In advancing reasons for considering denazification a bad idea the SRP group varies most markedly from other West Germans in their greater stress on the theses that the intentions of the Nazi party members were good, and that it is unfair to punish people because of their political ideas.

"Do you consider it a good or bad idea that through the denazification system those persons who had furthered National Socialism in any form were held responsible for their actions?"

If "Bad idea": "Why do you think so?"

WEST GERMANY TOTAL	WEST GERMAN w/o Nd. Sa. and SRP's	Nd. Sa. w/o SRP's	SRP Adher- ents
--------------------------	---	-------------------------	-----------------------

They were innocent, they did not commit any crimes - the real culprits got light punishment or went free: Because the big shots got free and the little ones were hanged; the big shots got off lightly and the little ones were jailed; because in most cases only the little Nazis were punished; the followers lost their positions, were tried and fined and today they are a burden to the government because they are unemployed; because those who did commit crimes were not tracked down; because only the harmless were punished - the tricky ones are back in good positions today; only those people who really committed crimes should have been punished; those who really supported National Socialism are abroad today and well off while the innocent were punished; etc.

20% 19% 30% 20%

Their intentions were good: They all wanted the best; the ideas of National Socialism were good and these people only wanted the best; this law does not apply to the right people - they did it in good faith and from pure socialist motives; everybody has fought for an idea, therefore these people should be left in peace, because they only wanted the best - they should not be put on trial for that; those people had their conviction which wasn't a bad one after all; etc.

6 6 5 19

(cont'd on next page)

WEST GERMANY TOTAL	WEST GERMANY w/o Na. Sa. and SRP's	Na. Sa. w/o SRP's	SRP Adher- ents
--------------------------	--	-------------------------	-----------------------

It is unfair to punish someone because of his political conviction: Because it is not right to punish someone because of his opinion or his political ideas; because I don't want to be punished one of these days for supporting the SRD; only the true supporters of the idea should be punished for it - every country has a political idea and it is no crime to help one's country; today everybody else is fighting for his political ideal as well, and is not persecuted for it; because those people only did what others do today by supporting one party or being a member of it - then this would be a crime today too; etc.

6%	6%	5%	17%
----	----	----	-----

Party membership was forced (loss of position, etc.): Most of them had to join the party in order not to lose their jobs; most of them had to join the party and they shouldn't be punished for it now by not being able to get jobs; the individual could not do anything about it - he had to play the game or else; because nobody could say "no" - Hitler gave the orders; most of them were forced to join; etc.

6	7	4	2
---	---	---	---

The result is now resentment and now hate: Because new injustices would come of it; because now hatred and bitterness would be planted - which would be to the advantage of a new radicalism; they have nothing but thoughts for revenge; because it resulted in misery and poverty for many; etc.

3	3	4	5
---	---	---	---

They just obeyed orders and did their duty toward the government: Every fighting soldier supported National Socialism, therefore nobody should be punished for wanting the best for his country; this law applied to me too; those people who were punished did only their duty toward the state; because they fought for the state - the orders came from above; they are Germans as well, they had to obey orders; in this case all the others should be punished too - every soldier could be tried because he killed somebody else; the generals should not have been hanged - they had to obey orders as well as everybody else; etc.

3	3	3	5
---	---	---	---

They could not predict the evil course - they did not know the true motives: Very often the people didn't know the true motives; even today there are people who support a party - the majority didn't know how everything would develop; because a lot of good things were promised - one could not realize at the beginning how everything would develop - at the beginning everybody was convinced that it was good; the supporters of the NSDAP didn't know that this was not a good party and couldn't know that it would start a war; etc.

2	2	2	4
---	---	---	---

Other nations committed crimes as well: The other nations have the same war criminals; as long as war criminals of a certain nation are still at large, the whole idea was very bad; I don't know why these party members should be punished - other nations committed as many crimes against humanity as Germany; etc.

2	2	3	1
---	---	---	---

(cont'd on next page)

WEST GERMANY TOTAL	WEST GERMANY w/o Nd. Sr. and SRP's	Nd. Sr. w/o SRP's	SRP Adher- ents
--------------------------	--	-------------------------	-----------------------

Other opinions: Because National Socialism was a good thing and nobody should be punished for it; those who supported National Socialism did a bit of good too; there were only very few people who supported the evil in National Socialism - God will take care of them; that was only because we lost the war; election results or rather participation are 50 per cent and less as a result of the denazification; if a whole nation breaks down one should reconstruct instead of setting up trials - criminals should not be made martyrs; etc.

6%	5%	7%	12%
----	----	----	-----

No answer / No opinion:

$\frac{*}{54\%}$	$\frac{-}{53\%}$	$\frac{-}{63\%}$	$\frac{-}{85\%}$
------------------	------------------	------------------	------------------

* Less than one half of one per cent.

**Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Respondents who felt that the idea of denazification was a good one - comparatively few among the SHP adherents - argued mainly that atonement for crimes is just and that the Nazis are responsible for the present misery and suffering.

"Do you consider it a good or bad idea that through the denazification system those persons who had furthered National Socialism in any form were held responsible for their actions?"
If "Good idea"; "Why do you think so?"

	WEST GERMANY TOTAL	WEST GERMANY w/o Nd. Sa. and SHP's	Nd. Sa. w/o SHP's	SHP Adher- ents
<u>Atonement for crimes is just:</u> The crimes they committed have to be punished; criminals must be made responsible for their actions; the real culprits had to be punished - sadly enough the innocent were punished too which could hardly have been avoided; if they were guilty - also in order to clarify how much advantage they actually had; because it is just if the big shots are punished; because a lot of bad people were among them; if they committed shady deals they have to be punished for them; etc.	12%	12%	9%	6%
<u>They are responsible for the present misery and bad conditions:</u> Those people who are guilty of the suffering and misery have to be made responsible for it; our misery is their fault - they deserve punishment; because they are responsible for our misery; so that these rascals become aware of their guilt toward the German people; it's their fault that all this happened and that we were expelled from our homes; etc.	5	6	4	1
<u>They terrorized and exploited the people:</u> Because they oppressed the people during the Third Reich and rendered them completely helpless; if they actively supported National Socialism it is only right - the active Nazi tyrannized the people with his power; because those who were not members of the party were oppressed by them - they were the big bosses - things are much better now; the FG's enriched themselves and the others had to pay for it - the FG's did not have to go to war; those big shots should atone for their deeds - they all had their high positions and their profit from it; etc.	4	4	4	-
<u>In order to set an example:</u> In order to set an example; this way the public heard about the crimes, the denazification wasn't even severe enough; because the people had to be shown what really happened and had to know about these illusions; etc.	1	1	1	1
<u>So they cannot be the cause of new misery:</u> If they were not oppressed they would come up with the same idea again; otherwise they would cause new misery - the Nazis have to be exterminated; measures were taken so all that can't happen again; etc.	1	1	1	-
<u>They are guilty of helping National Socialism into power:</u> Because they are guilty of the crimes of National Socialism; because these people helped and supported National Socialism and thus are guilty of the present situation; merely by being members of the party they helped National Socialism into power; etc.	1	2	-	-
<u>Other opinions:</u> Because everybody was free to join the party; they had to be punished for their stupidity because they didn't realize what was going on and kept helping them to the last; because some of them were really Nazis and had to be punished for it; etc.	1	2	1	-
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	1 28%	2 23%	2 23%	2 8%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

LANDSBERG DEATH SENTENCES ...

Results of comparative attitudes of SRF sympathizers versus other West Germans in reactions to the Landsberg decisions complicate the problem of correctly assessing the nature of SRF orientations toward National Socialism. The seven Landsberg prisoners, who were sentenced to death at the time of the present survey, were people obviously guilty of the evils of National Socialism that the SRF adherents questioned had previously specified in even greater detail than non-SRF groups. Yet the finding is that a considerably larger proportion of SRF than of the other Niedersachsens or other West Germans espoused the release of these prisoners. It is possible that the SRF members are motivated here more by considerations of German independence of action than by specific partiality for Nazi leaders. But despite the supporting evidence that has previously been presented, the present findings behooves one to go slow in drawing the conclusion that in looking favorably on National Socialism the SRF members are influenced primarily by social welfare ideas in the movement rather than by more reprehensible elements.

"As you know the death sentences of the seven Landsberg prisoners were upheld. What should, in your opinion, be done: should the verdicts be carried out, or should the death sentences be commuted into long prison terms, or should the prisoners be released?"

	WEST GERMANY TOTAL	WEST GERMANY without Nieder- sachsen and SRF's	Niedersachsen without SRF's	SRF Adherents
Verdicts should be carried out	8%	8%	5%	4%
Long prison terms	26	28	16	15
Released	37	35	50	68
No opinion	29	29	29	13
	100%	100%	100%	100%

NEUTRALISM ...

A final background question utilized for comparison of SRP attitudes with those of other elements of the West German public relates to neutralism in the East-West struggle. This question derives additional significance from the fact that a number of analysts have expressed the suspicion that Communist funds are possibly in back of the SRP movement.

The results show that the SRP adherents do not markedly differ from the general West German pattern in their orientations on the East-West struggle. In both cases there is a preponderant desire to keep out of the conflict. And in both cases there is the same three out of ten vote for siding with the West and the same complete absence of any votes for siding with the East.

"What should West Germany do in the present East-West struggle: should she join with one side or should she try to keep out of it altogether? (Which side)?"

	WEST GERMANY TOTAL	WEST GERMANY without Nieder- sachsen and SRP's	Niedersachsen without SRP's	SRP adherents
Side with West	30%	30%	30%	30%
Side with East	-	-	1	-
Try to keep out of it altogether	56	57	49	67
No opinion	<u>14</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>3</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

So though neutralism is definitely a problem among West Germans it does not appear to be any more so among adherents of the Socialist Reichs Party.

This would suggest that if SRP leaders are trying to grind Communist axes, they have not as yet succeeded in producing any appreciable differentiation of SRP attitudes from general West German orientations on the East-West struggle.

IV. APPENDIX

West German group breakdown tabulations on the background questions used to compare attitudes of SED adherents with those of the West German population.

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of the Federal government up to now?"

WEST GERMANY	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	42%	53%	5% ... 100%	360
Women	46	36	18	439
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	43%	44%	13%	676
Beyond elementary school	52	42	6	122
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower	41%	48%	11%	458
Middle and upper	49	38	13	341
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Under 299 DM	43%	45%	12%	595
300 - 399 DM	50	43	7	134
400 DM and more	49	38	13	61
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	44%	44%	12%	353
40 years and over	45	43	12	443
<u>Party Preferences:</u>				
SPD	35%	56%	9%	207
CDU/CSU	67	23	10	154
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDP	56	41	3	41
Other parties	46	48	6	121
No party	31	58	11	112
Don't know	41	34	25	163
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	57%	26%	17%	23
Businessmen	42	46	12	50
White-collar workers	54	37	9	100
Skilled laborers	41	52	7	162
Semi-skilled laborers	38	49	13	128
Farmers	49	34	17	88
None: retired, students, pensioners, etc.	48	39	13	107
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	39%	57%	4%	156
No	46	41	13	642
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	48%	41%	11%	386
Protestants	43	43	14	384
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	43%	44%	13%	618
Refugees, Expellees	50	44	6	181

"Do you believe that the Western powers exert too much influence on the decisions of the West German government, or do you think that the West German government has enough independence?"

	Too much influence	Enough independence	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	64%	26%	10% ... 100%	360
Women	36	28	36	439
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	45%	28%	27%	676
Beyond elementary school	67	27	6	122
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower	43%	28%	29%	458
Middle and upper	56	27	17	341
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Under 299 DM	46%	27%	27%	595
300 - 399 DM	55	28	17	134
400 DM and more	64	33	3	61
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	54%	28%	18%	353
40 years and over	44	27	29	443
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	58%	29%	13%	207
CDU/CSU	41	40	19	154
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	66	24	10	41
Other parties	55	24	21	121
No party	53	24	23	112
Don't know	32	20	48	163
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	74%	9%	17%	23
Businessmen	41	36	20	50
White-collar workers	62	26	12	100
Skilled laborers	60	23	17	162
Semi-skilled laborers	45	32	23	128
Farmers	32	36	32	88
None: retired, students, pensioners, etc.	32	34	34	107
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	60%	29%	11%	156
No	46	27	27	642
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	43%	34%	23%	386
Protestants	53	21	26	384
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	50%	27%	23%	618
Refugees, Expellees	45	28	27	181

"It has been said that the West German government is a puppet government and can only do what the Western powers prescribe. Do you share this opinion or not?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "Too much influence" to previous question or did not have an opinion.)

	Yes, is a puppet government	No, is not a puppet government	No opinion	Question not asked	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	23%	42%	9%	26%...100%	360
Women	13	28	31	28	439
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	17%	32%	23%	28%	676
Beyond elementary school	18	49	6	27	122
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower	19%	28%	25%	28%	458
Middle and upper	14	43	16	27	341
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Under 299 DM	18%	32%	23%	27%	595
300 - 399 DM	15	42	15	28	134
400 DM and more	18	41	5	33	61
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	17%	41%	14%	28%	353
40 years and over	17	29	27	27	443
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	23%	36%	12%	29%	207
CDU/CSU	7	38	15	40	154
FDP/LIP/DVP/BDV	17	49	10	24	41
Other parties	20	38	18	24	122
No party	26	30	20	24	112
Don't know	11	26	43	20	162
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	22%	47%	22%	9%	23
Businessmen	18	32	14	36	50
White-collar workers	23	38	13	26	100
Skilled laborers	20	40	17	23	162
Semi-skilled laborers	20	34	14	32	128
Farmers	8	26	30	36	88
None: retired, students, pensioners, etc.	14	22	30	34	107
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member	23%	39%	9%	29%	156
No	16	33	24	27	642
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	13%	33%	20%	34%	386
Protestants	20	36	23	21	384
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	17%	34%	23%	27%	618
Refugees, Expellees	17	36	19	28	181

"If you consider everything, was there more good in the ideas
of National Socialism or more evil?"

	More good	More evil	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	36%	46%	18% ... 100%	359
Women	32	35	33	439
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	34%	39%	27%	675
Beyond elementary school	35	44	21	122
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower	38%	37%	25%	457
Middle and upper	29	43	28	341
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Under 299 DM	35%	39%	26%	595
300 - 399 DM	38	40	22	134
400 DM and more	23	51	26	61
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	39%	35%	26%	353
40 years and over	30	45	25	443
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SFD	36%	46%	18%	207
CDU/CSU	23	55	22	154
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	42	46	12	41
Other parties	51	31	18	121
No party	40	30	30	112
Don't know	23	31	46	163
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	35%	48%	17%	23
Businessmen	28	38	34	50
White-collar workers	28	47	25	100
Skilled laborers	36	45	19	162
Semi-skilled laborers	42	37	21	128
Farmers	28	38	34	88
None: retired, students, pensioners, etc.	30	38	32	107
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	37%	45%	18%	155
No	33	39	28	642
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	31%	44%	25%	386
Protestants	37	35	28	384
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	33%	41%	26%	618
Refugees, Expellees	37	36	27	181

"Do you consider it a good idea that through the denazification system those persons who had furthered National Socialism in any form were held responsible for their actions?"

Yes, good idea No, bad idea No opinion No. of cases

WEST GERMANY

Sex:				
Men	29%	52%	19% ... 100%	359
Women	24	41	35	439
Education:				
Elementary school	27%	43%	30%	675
Beyond elementary school	24	60	16	122
Socio-economic Status:				
Lower	30%	41%	29%	457
Middle and upper	22	53	25	341
Income (per month):				
Under 299 DM	27%	43%	30%	594
300 - 399 DM	22	54	24	134
400 DM and more	31	57	12	61
Age:				
Under 40 years	27%	48%	25%	352
40 years and over	26	44	30	443
Party Preference:				
SPD	37%	46%	17%	207
CDU/CSU	30	47	23	154
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	30	63	7	41
Other parties	25	56	19	121
No party	18	51	31	112
Don't know	15	30	55	163
Occupation:				
Professionals	17%	65%	18%	23
Businessmen	24	50	26	50
White-collar workers	25	55	20	100
Skilled laborers	31	48	21	162
Semi-skilled laborers	31	42	27	128
Farmers	33	30	37	88
None: retired, students, pensioners, etc.	24	39	37	107
Trade Union Membership:				
Yes, member	29%	51%	20%	155
No	26	45	29	642
Religion:				
Catholics	28%	44%	28%	386
Protestants	25	47	28	384
Origin:				
Natives	26%	46%	28%	617
Refugees, Expellees	28	46	26	181

"As you know, the death sentences of the seven Landsberg prisoners were upheld. What should, in your opinion, be done: should the verdicts be carried out, or should the death sentences be commuted into long prison terms, or should the prisoners be released?"

	Verdicts carried out	Long prison terms	Released	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	10%	34%	36%	20%..100%	359
Women	6	20	39	35	439
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	7%	25%	38%	30%	675
Beyond elementary school	13	33	34	21	122
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower	6%	22%	41%	31%	457
Middle and upper	10	32	33	25	341
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Under 299 DM	7%	25%	38%	30%	594
300 - 399 DM	10	29	40	21	134
400 DM and more	16	36	28	20	61
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	7%	30%	36%	27%	352
40 years and over	8	24	38	30	132
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	10%	26%	41%	23%	207
CDU/CSU	11	35	31	23	154
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	15	34	31	20	41
Other parties	6	20	51	23	122
No party	3	27	43	27	112
Don't know	5	22	26	47	162
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	4%	26%	44%	26%	23
Businessmen	8	32	32	28	50
White-collar workers	13	32	33	22	100
Skilled laborers	13	27	40	20	162
Semi-skilled laborers	3	27	39	31	128
Farmers	8	21	37	34	88
None: retired, students, pensioners, etc.	7	21	37	35	107
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member	10%	27%	41%	22%	155
No	7	26	37	30	642
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	7%	29%	36%	28%	386
Protestants	7	24	39	30	384
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	8%	28%	37%	27%	617
Refugees, Expellees	7	23	38	32	181

"What should West Germany do in the present East-West struggle: should she join with one side or should she try to keep out of it altogether? (Which side)?"

	Side with West	Side with East	Keep out of it altogether	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	36%	1%	56%	7%...100%	360
Women	26	-	55	19	439
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	27%	-%	58%	15%	676
Beyond elementary school	48	-	46	6	122
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower	29%	-%	55%	16%	458
Middle and upper	33	-	57	10	341
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Under 299 DM	29%	-%	57%	14%	595
300 - 399 DM	40	-	53	8	134
400 DM and more	30	-	60	10	61
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	32%	-%	58%	10%	353
40 years and over	29	-	54	17	413
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	33%	-%	61%	6%	207
CDU/CSU	38	1	48	13	154
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	41	-	54	5	41
Other parties	33	-	53	14	121
No party	26	-	62	12	112
Don't know	18	-	57	25	163
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	39%	-%	48%	13%	23
Businessmen	34	-	54	12	50
White-collar workers	36	2	53	9	100
Skilled laborers	29	-	65	6	162
Semi-skilled laborers	29	-	60	11	128
Farmers	30	-	51	19	88
None: retired, students, pensioners, etc.	31	-	48	21	107
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member	35%	1%	58%	6%	156
No	30	-	55	15	642
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	32%	-%	56%	12%	386
Protestants	27	-	57	16	384
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	28%	-%	58%	14%	618
Refugees, Expellees	39	1	47	13	181

CURRENT THINKING ON WEST GERMAN DEFENSE PARTICIPATION
With Projected Reactions To A Possible Bonn Agreement

Report No. 88

Classification: ^{Series No. 2} Charged to
OFFICIAL USE ONLY
CONFIDENTIAL
by authority of Leo P. Crespi
PUB/RAS.

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

SUMMARY

I. CURRENT TREND ON PARTICIPATION AND PROJECTED REACTION TO A BONN AGREEMENT

Approval Again Dominates Disapproval ...
 Group Trends On The Participation Issue ...
 The Importance Of Conditions Of German Defense Participation ...
 Public Reaction To A Possible Bonn Agreement On Defense Participation...

II. THE PROBLEM OF RECRUITMENT

Would West German Men Be Willing To Serve In A European Army?
 Should Bonn Have The Right To Draft? ...

III. GERMAN REACTIONS TO WESTERN POWER TROOP REINFORCEMENTS

The Extent Of Disapproval ...
 Reasons For Disapproval Of Troop Reinforcements ...
 Indication ...

IV. THE PRESENT STATUS OF NEUTRALISM AND DEFEATISM

Neutralist Feelings Versus Neutralist Judgments - A Persistent Pattern ...
 Group Differences In Neutrality Sentiments ...
 The Relationship Of Neutralism To Danger Of War ...
 Should West Germans Fight In The Event Of Eastern Aggression? ...

V. SOME FURTHER OPINIONS ON PARTICIPATION ISSUES

Present State Of War Apprehensions ...
 Can West Arm In Time To Halt Eastern Aggression? ...

VI. WHAT NATIONS CAN BE DEPENDENT UPON TO DEFEND THE WEST?

Serious Lack Of Confidence In France And Italy ...
 Reasons Given Why Italy Would Be Unreliable ...
 Reasons Given Why France Would Prove Unreliable ...
 Reasons Given Why England Would Be Unreliable ...
 Reasons Given Why America Would Be Unreliable ...
 Reasons Given Why Germany Would Be Unreliable ...
 Group Differences In Judgments Of Reliability ...

- 2 -

INTRODUCTION

In line with a current revival of interest in the matter, the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, conducted a survey between June 16th and June 23rd, 1951, on issues related to the problem of German defense participation.

The sample employed in West Germany was the 800 case probability sample recently established by RAS for rapid coverage of current developments, and unlike the earlier urban "flash" surveys, comprises a representative cross-section of the West German population as a whole. For comparative purposes, a 200 case probability sample was employed to cover sentiments in the three Western sectors of Berlin. As usual the interviews were conducted by the trained German interviewing staff.

SUMMARY

I. CURRENT TREND ON PARTICIPATION AND PROJECTED REACTION TO A BORN AGREEMENT

APPROVAL AGAIN DOMINATES DISAPPROVAL ...

Returns from the current late June sampling reveal that West German sentiments in favor of participation in an Atlantic Pact army again dominate disapproval of such a course. This state of affairs represents a change from the previously reported neck-and-neck approval-disapproval in early May.

The complexity of events over the past many weeks makes it unwise to speculate as to what particular factors may be instrumental in occasioning the shift in opinion. But whatever the causes of the recent fluctuations, they indicate one fact quite clearly - that opposition to German defense participation is not all of the die-hard variety, but to an appreciable extent is responsive to circumstances.

Berlin appears to be maintaining the heavy preponderance of pro-participation sentiments that has marked this area over the past many months.

GROUP TRENDS ON THE PARTICIPATION ISSUE ...

Comparison of population sub-groups continues to disclose the long substantiated pattern of greater approval of German defense participation among the more alert and informed sectors of the West German population - men, the better schooled, and the economically better situated.

Past symptoms of greater disapproval of defense participation along a labor axis of SPD political preference, semi-skilled laborers, and trade union members have apparently vanished with opposition among these elements now falling substantially in line with the rest of the population.

THE IMPORTANCE OF CONDITIONS OF GERMAN DEFENSE PARTICIPATION ...

German reactions to defense participation are greatly clarified if one goes beyond the yeses and noes on the basic Atlantic Pact query to raise the question of conditions of participation. Such inquiry makes evident how erroneous it would be to suppose that all who say "Yes" to German participation in European defense would go along under any conditions, and all who say "No" are unconditionally opposed. In actual fact, most of those who favor participation would only approve if certain conditions were met, and an appreciable proportion of those who oppose participation would relinquish their opposition if certain conditions were met.

- b -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

In short, as has been stated before in an earlier analysis of urban German opinion, most of the yeses on German defense participation are "Yes-but," and many of the noes are "No-unless."

It is particularly to be noted in the present connection that only one fifth of the West German population indicate that they are unconditionally opposed to participation in a West European army.

The inclination to make approval of German defense participation contingent upon the satisfaction of certain conditions by the Western powers is relatively more frequent among the opinion leading sectors of the West German population.

By and large, further questioning reveals, respondents who conditionally favor (Yes-but) and those who conditionally oppose (No-unless) German defense participation have the same considerations in mind as a pre-requisite to participation. In both groups a generalized demand for equal status is voiced. More specific and possibly more limited demands for military equality and for a peace treaty follow in frequency of mention.

PUBLIC REACTION TO A POSSIBLE BONN AGREEMENT ON DEFENSE PARTICIPATION ...

The prior question was important in revealing that only approximately a fifth in West Germany are unconditionally opposed to defense participation - the others are willing to support such a course if certain demands are met. But since it is highly probable that the demands the respondents have voiced are considerably more than the Germans are in fact going to be offered, it becomes more important to ascertain how the German public might react to an agreement on defense participation between the Western powers and the Federal government.

The results are very important in suggesting that the large bulk of the German people can be expected to go along with any participation agreement that their Bonn political representatives might arrive at. Only 15 per cent stated that they would oppose such a participation agreement, and of these only a minute two per cent indicated that they would do anything under such circumstances to express their opposition.

Undoubtedly public reaction will be governed in some part by what concessions West Germany actually receives as a basis for defense participation. But notwithstanding, it would appear from the findings that if the Bonn political leaders accept something less than complete political or military equality as a basis for defense participation, the West German populace can be expected to fall into line.

Breakdown comparisons reveal that in no group among the West German population does total opposition to a participation agreement between the Federal government and the Western powers rise above a fifth, and potentially active opposition above one in twenty.

II. THE PROBLEM OF RECRUITMENT

WOULD WEST GERMAN MEN BE WILLING TO SERVE IN A EUROPEAN ARMY? ...

That widespread German acquiescence can be expected in any Bonn agreement on defense participation still leaves the question open as to the stand West Germans might take in regard to being recruited into a European army. The current returns from a representative sample of West German men disclose that though few would volunteer, seven out of ten among those who do not report themselves as ineligible for service indicate that they would serve if drafted.

- 6 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Willingness to serve if drafted is most marked, group comparisons show, among the more educated and informed levels of West German men. It is the dominant position, however, among all important population segments.

SHOULD BONN HAVE THE RIGHT TO DRAFT? ...

A negative element in the recruitment situation is that though the majority of eligible German men would accept military service if drafted, there is no majority support in the West German population at the present time for according the Federal government the power to institute such a measure. The preponderant opinion -- held by 48 per cent -- is that the Federal government should not have the right to draft West German men.

Opinions on this matter may of course change if German defense participation becomes a reality. And, too, the question does not indicate how far the populace might in fact acquiesce to a draft if their political leaders saw fit to establish one. But all in all, the suggestion is strong that in obtaining German recruits for participation in a European defense army, mandatory measures are to be used with care.

Support for Federal powers to draft if necessary is greatest among the opinion leading elements of the West German population -- the men, the better schooled, and the better off. But even among these groups, pro-draft sentiments compete no better than even with opposition to such a course.

III. GERMAN REACTIONS TO WESTERN POWER TROOP REINFORCEMENTS

THE EXTENT OF DISAPPROVAL ...

Efforts to publicize Western Power troop reinforcements in West Germany for their favorable public relations impact have derived from the reasonable assumption that most Germans greet such reinforcements as evidence of Western interest in German security. Dr. Schumacher in particular has stressed the necessity of a large volume of such reinforcements as a prerequisite to German defense participation.

Within this framework it is somewhat disconcerting in the present returns to discover that in fact the preponderance of West German opinion is opposed rather than in favor of bringing more troops of the Western powers to Germany.

Even among respondents who have expressed themselves in favor of German participation in an Atlantic Pact army, a cross-break reveals that opposition to additional troop reinforcements is not much less than approval.

Approval of additional troop reinforcements is comparatively more widespread among the opinion leading levels of the West German population, but even in these groups it is generally overshadowed by disapproval.

REASONS FOR DISAPPROVAL OF TROOP REINFORCEMENTS ...

An examination of the reasons vouchsafed for the somewhat surprising and certainly disquieting negative reaction to Western Power troop reinforcements, reveals quickly that what is primarily sticking in the craw of the West German citizenry is the increased, and generally allegedly unjustified, financial burden.

- d -

CONFIDENTIAL

INDICATION ...

The present findings do not mean that bringing Western Power troop reinforcements to West Germany has only had effects upon German public opinion. Such reinforcements could hardly fail to prove that the Western powers have an abiding interest in West German security.

But the importance of security has probably dropped somewhat in German thinking with the encouraging trend of events in Korea over the past several weeks, and is likely to drop still further if the current "cease-fire" negotiations bear fruit. Under such circumstances West Germans tend naturally enough to become preoccupied with their economic problems. And the results seems to be that additional troops are seen more as burdens on the German economy than as defenders of German security. Whatever can be done to change these prevailing orientations is of course pressingly called for. And in the meantime it is on the part of wisdom to handle additional troop arrivals with an eye to their negative as well as their positive effects.

IV. THE PRESENT STATUS OF NEUTRALISM AND DEFEATISM

NEUTRALIST FEELINGS VERSUS NEUTRALIST JUDGMENTS - A PERSISTENT PATTERN ...

The story on West German neutralism over the past many months has been that if one taps generalized wishes or emotional desires - what RAS has termed neutralist feelings - the weight of opinion is on the side of staying out of the East-West struggle. But as soon as questioning gets down to concrete propositions about neutrality wherein the respondents have to face the consequences of a choice, then neutralist judgments - as they have been termed - drop to minority status.

The current returns continue to bear out the above pattern. In the generalized question of what should West Germany do in the East-West struggle, the preponderant answer (49%) is that she should try to stay out of it.

But in a follow-up question posing a possible consequence of neutrality - in this instance a withdrawal of Western defense guarantees - the majority of the would-be-neutralists shifted to siding with the West.

The combined results are that attitudes in West Germany in the light of the possible consequence of neutralism that was posed, come out to 63 per cent in favor of siding with the West, 15 per cent in favor of remaining neutral notwithstanding, and 22 per cent no opinion.

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN NEUTRALITY SENTIMENTS ...

Group differences both on the general neutrality question and on the more specific query, where less of Western defense guarantees was posed as a price of neutrality, reveal more widespread preferences for siding with the West among the more educated and informed levels of the West German population.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF NEUTRALISM TO DANGER OF WAR ...

In endeavoring to anticipate future trends in West German attitudes it would obviously be of value to know if neutralist orientations would tend to increase or to decrease in the event the threat of war became more imminent. The best way of answering such a question is of course to correlate past trends with concurrent events. This, however, is never a simple matter because of the ever-present complexity of events and hence the difficulty of relating attitude trends to any particular set of events among the many occurring in any one period.

CONFIDENTIAL

To obtain some information in this connection, respondents were asked in the present study to indicate how they would stand on neutrality if the danger of war would steadily increase. It is interesting to find that six out of ten West Germans report that under such circumstances they would wish to have West Germany side with the West.

Sentiment in favor of West Germany siding with the West - in the event of the threat of war steadily increasing - is particularly widespread among the opinion leading sectors of the West German population.

SHOULD WEST GERMANS FIGHT IN THE EVENT OF EASTERN AGGRESSION? ...

Whatever the status of neutralism in West Germany, comparatively few respondents take the out-and-out defeatist position that West Germany should offer no resistance in the event of an attack from the East.

Even among respondents who oppose West Germany joining the Atlantic Pact army, the large preponderance feel that West Germany should fight with all means at her command if she should be subjected to an attack from the East.

In no population segments, group breakdowns reveal, do appreciably more than one in ten council a defeatist course in the event of Communist aggression.

V. SOME FURTHER OPINIONS ON PARTICIPATION ISSUES

PRESENT STATE OF WAR APPREHENSIONS ...

Currently, relatively few West Germans see any "very great" danger of attack from the East some time in the future. The preponderant opinion at the present time is that the danger of such an attack is small. In Berlin apprehensions are somewhat greater, but even here the weight of present estimates of danger is on "not so great" to "small."

Among population sub-groups in West Germany, war apprehensions at the present time are at their minimum among the more educated and informed levels.

CAN WEST ARM IN TIME TO HALT EASTERN AGGRESSION? ...

One of the crucial questions in regard to Western defense efforts and German interest in defense participation is whether or not the West can raise strong enough forces in time to stop any attack from the East before such an attack possibly eventuates. At the present time, the significant finding emerges, more than twice as many West Germans believe adequate defense forces can be raised in time as hold the contrary. Indecision, however, is considerable with a third unable to offer a judgment in the matter.

Even among West Germans who oppose participation in the Atlantic Pact army, four out of ten believe that adequate Western defense forces could be raised in time - thus indicating that for this group, at least, other considerations are occasioning their opposition.

The judgment that enough time is available for a Western defense build-up preponderates over the contrary view in all important segments of the West German population. In most groups the volume of no opinion is large.

CONFIDENTIAL

Respondents who contend that adequate defense forces cannot be raised in time cite a variety of arguments, the most frequent of which being that the democratic nations work much too slowly, with an alleged penchant for talk instead of action.

VI. WHAT NATIONS CAN BE DEPENDENT UPON TO DEFEND THE WEST?

SERIOUS LACK OF CONFIDENCE IN FRANCE AND ITALY ...

A final question in the present study asked the West Germans which among five nations listed - England, America, France, West Germany, and Italy - could be depended upon to really take action for the defense of the West.

The results reveal a serious lack of confidence among West Germans in the dependability of some of their Western Allies. Two out of three believe that West Germany and America can be depended upon, half believe that England can be relied upon. But only four in ten feel that France can be depended upon to really take action in defense of the West and only 15 per cent would make such a judgment about Italy.

These figures and the reasons for doubt that are reported make very evident the serious need in Germany for whatever can be done to increase German awareness and appreciation of particularly French and Italian efforts toward Western defense.

REASONS GIVEN WHY ITALY WOULD BE UNRELIABLE ...

The reasons brought up by respondents who expressed the belief that Italy could not be depended upon to really take action in defense of the West calls into question the common assumption that among the Western nations, Germans' greatest distaste is for the French. There is more than a suggestion in the plethora of animadversions on Italian constancy and character of deep German antagonism toward the Italians.

REASONS GIVEN WHY FRANCE WOULD PROVE UNRELIABLE ...

In comparison to Italy, considerably fewer judgments about France's alleged unreliability involve slurs on French character. The single most frequent argument advanced was that France is pro-Communist and hence could not be depended upon to be a reliable defender of the West.

REASONS GIVEN WHY ENGLAND WOULD BE UNRELIABLE ...

The smaller proportion that doubted England's reliability in Western defense argued primarily that England is allegedly too interested in furthering her own advantages to be a reliable ally.

REASONS GIVEN WHY AMERICA WOULD BE UNRELIABLE ...

The one in ten among West Germans who expressed doubt about America's dependability in Western defense efforts argue principally either that the Americans are too far away to take a real interest or that American soldiers are inexperienced and lack the necessary enthusiasm to defend Europe.

REASONS GIVEN WHY GERMANY WOULD BE UNRELIABLE ...

The main reasons cited by the few who held that Germany would be unreliable in Western defense are that she is too tired and weak to be effective.

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN JUDGMENTS OF RELIABILITY ...

For all countries considered except Italy, confidence in them to really take action in defense of the West tends to be at its maximum among the opinion leading elements - the men, the better schooled, and the economically better situated.

In the case of Italy, however, it is the opinion leading elements who express the most doubt about Italian reliability in defense of the West.

CONFIDENTIAL

I. CURRENT TREND ON PARTICIPATION AND PROJECTED REACTION TO A BORN AGREEMENT

APPROVAL AGAIN DOMINATES DISAPPROVAL ...

Returns from the current late June sampling reveal that West German sentiments in favor of participation in an Atlantic Pact army again dominate disapproval of such a course. This state of affairs represents a change from the previously reported neck-and-neck approval-disapproval in early May.

The complexity of events over the past many weeks makes it unwise to speculate as to what particular factors may be instrumental in occasioning the shift in opinion. But whatever the causes of the recent fluctuations, they indicate one fact quite clearly - that opposition to German defense participation is not all of the die-hard variety, but to an appreciable extent is responsive to circumstances.

"Several West European nations and America some time ago signed a defense pact, the so-called Atlantic Pact.

Suppose West Germany would join the Atlantic Pact and be asked in connection with it to participate in a general army for the defense of Europe. Would you then be for or against such participation in a defense army?"

	WEST GERMANY				Berlin							
	Mar 7-15	Apr/May 30-11	May/June 29-5	June 16-23	Mar 7-15	Apr/May 30-11	May/June 29-5	June 16-23				
For participation	48%	43%	43%	46%	79%	-	78%	75%				
Against participation	40	43	36	33	15	-	13	19				
No opinion	12	14	21	21	6	-	9	6				
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	-	100%	100%				
British Zone				US Zone				French Zone				
	Mar 7-15	Apr/ May 30-11	May/ June 29-5	June 16-23	Mar 7-15	Apr/ May 30-11	May/ June 29-5	June 16-23	Mar 7-15	Apr/ May 30-11	May/ June 29-5	June 16-23
For participation	48%	47%	43%	47%	51%	40%	46%	47%	37%	36%	32%	35%
Against participation	39	38	36	32	39	48	35	34	49	48	39	35
No opinion	13	15	21	21	10	12	19	19	14	16	29	30
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Berlin, the above table reveals, appears to be maintaining the heavy preponderance of pro-participation sentiments that has marked this area over the past many months.

* No survey was made in Berlin on this date.

GROUP TRENDS ON THE PARTICIPATION ISSUE ...

Comparison of population sub-groups (see following page) continues to disclose the long substantiated pattern of greater approval of German defense participation among the more alert and informed sectors of the West German population - men, the better schooled, and the economically better situated.

Past symptoms of greater disapproval of defense participation along a labor axis of SPD political preference, semi-skilled laborers, and trade union members have apparently vanished with opposition among these elements now falling substantially in line with the rest of the population.

CONFIDENTIAL

"Several West European nations and America some time ago signed a defense pact, the so-called Atlantic Pact.

Suppose West Germany would join the Atlantic Pact and be asked in connection with it to participate in a general army for the defense of Europe. Would you then be for or against such participation in a defense army?"

	*For participation			Against participation			No opinion			**No. of cases:
	Mar	Apr/ May	June	Mar	Apr/ May	June	Mar	Apr/ May	June	
	7-15	30-11	16-23	7-15	30-11	16-23	7-15	30-11	16-23	
WEST GERMANY										
<u>Sex:</u>										
Men	55%	53%	59%	39%	42%	39%	6%	5%	12%	347
Women	42	33	36	40	41	36	18	23	28	451
<u>Education:</u>										
Elementary school	45%	41%	43%	41%	44%	34%	14%	15%	24%	651
Beyond elementary school	63	65	62	31	38	31	6	7	7	147
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>										
Lower	43%	35%	40%	42%	46%	34%	15%	19%	26%	410
Middle and upper	53	51	53	37	40	32	10	9	15	387
<u>Income (per month):</u>										
Under 299 DM	47%	40%	42%	40%	45%	35%	13%	15%	23%	584
300 - 399 DM	52	44	55	38	43	29	10	13	16	133
400 DM and more	55	64	62	36	28	31	9	8	7	73
<u>Age:</u>										
Under 40 years	47%	46%	44%	42%	42%	36%	11%	12%	20%	333
40 years and over	49	41	47	38	43	31	13	16	22	454
<u>Party Preference:</u>										
SPD	51%	42%	62%	45%	48%	29%	4%	10%	9%	183
CDU/CSU	57	56	56	33	33	28	10	11	16	135
FDP/LDP/DV/BDV	63	62	67	35	32	25	2	6	8	36
Other parties	62	52	58	33	40	38	5	8	4	49
No party	36	24	37	51	60	41	13	16	22	215
Don't know	37	34	20	34	38	32	29	28	48	161
<u>Occupation:</u>										
Professionals	63%	52%	55%	23%	43%	41%	14%	5%	4%	22
Businessmen	56	51	65	36	38	26	8	11	9	69
White-collar workers	54	50	57	37	38	31	9	12	12	109
Skilled laborers	41	45	41	49	45	44	10	10	15	131
Semi-skilled laborers	32	35	42	57	51	36	11	14	22	115
Farmers	48	42	44	39	41	25	13	17	31	115
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	53	38	45	30	46	30	17	16	25	152
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>										
Yes, member	43%	47%	54%	47%	49%	35%	10%	4%	11%	119
No	43	48	44	42	38	33	15	14	23	676
<u>Religion:</u>										
Catholics	47%	45%	43%	39%	42%	34%	14%	13%	23%	385
Protestants	50	43	48	39	42	32	11	15	20	391
<u>Origin:</u>										
Natives		42%	45%		41%	34%		15%	21%	645
Refugees, Expellees		50	51		40	31		10	18	150

* Machine tabulation of the early June breakdowns on the Atlantic Pact question have not yet been completed. In the interests of speed in getting out the present report they have been omitted.

**The number of cases indicated for various population groups in this and other breakdown tables refers specifically to the current survey. They are approximately similar, however, in prior surveys.

© Origin figures have not been obtained in the March survey.

THE IMPORTANCE OF CONDITIONS OF GERMAN DEFENSE PARTICIPATION ...

German reactions to defense participation are greatly clarified if one goes beyond the yeses and noes on the basic Atlantic Pact query to raise the question of conditions of participation. Such inquiry makes evident how erroneous it would be to suppose that all who say "Yes" to German participation in European defense would go along under any conditions, and all who say "No" are unconditionally opposed. In actual fact, the table below reveals, most of those who favor participation would only approve if certain conditions were met, and an appreciable proportion of those who oppose participation would relinquish their opposition if certain conditions were met.

In short, as has been stated before in an earlier analysis of urban German opinion,* most of the yeses on German defense participation are "Yes-but," and many of the noes are "No-unless."

"Are there any conditions which the Western powers would have to fulfill before you would agree to West Germany's participation in a West European army, or do such conditions not exist for you?"**

Answers on prior Atlantic Pact Question	WEST GERMANY			Berlin		
	Yes, there are conditions	No, there are no conditions	No op	Yes, there are conditions	No, there are no conditions	No op
Favor participation	31%	10%	5%...46%	48%	22%	5%..75%
Oppose participation	9	21	3 33	9	10	- 19
No opinion	2	1	18 21 100%	-	-	6 6 100%
British Zone			US Zone			French Zone
	Yes, there are conditions	No, there are no conditions	No op	Yes, there are conditions	No, there are no conditions	No op
Favor participation	34%	8%	5%...47%	30%	12%	5%...47%
Oppose participation	9	20	3 32	12	19	3 34
No opinion	2	2	17 21 100%	2	-	17 19 100%
						4 2 24 30 100%

It is particularly to be noted in the above figures that 21 per cent or only one fifth of the West German population indicate that they are unconditionally opposed to participation in a West European army.

* See pages No. 4 - 7 in Report No. 52, Series No. 2, dated December 7th, 1950, entitled: "GERMANS VIEW THE REMILITARIZATION ISSUE - New Korean Trend And Further Analysis Of Opposition."

** For convenience in questioning, people who said "No" to the prior Atlantic Pact query were asked the question in this form: "Are there any conditions which the Western powers would have to fulfill before you would agree to West Germany's participation in a West European army, or would you be in any case opposed?"

CONFIDENTIAL

The inclination to make approval of German defense participation contingent upon the satisfaction of certain conditions by the Western powers is relatively more frequent among the opinion leading sectors of the West German population.

"Are there any conditions which the Western powers would have to fulfill before you would agree to West Germany's participation in a West German army, or do such conditions not exist for you?"

	Yes, there are conditions			No, there are no conditions			No opinion			
	Favor parti- cipa- tion	Oppose parti- cipa- tion	No op	Favor parti- cipa- tion	Oppose parti- cipa- tion	No op	Favor parti- cipa- tion	Oppose parti- cipa- tion	No op	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY										
<u>Sex:</u>										
Men	49%	14%	4%	9%	13%	1%	1%	2%	7%	347
Women	17	6	1	11	27	2	8	3	25	450
<u>Education:</u>										
Elementary school	26%	8%	2%	11%	23%	2%	5%	3%	20%	651
Beyond elementary school	53	15	3	7	13	-	3	1	6	147
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>										
Lower	22%	8%	1%	11%	23%	2%	7%	3%	23%	410
Middle and upper	41	12	4	9	17	-	3	3	11	387
<u>Income (per month):</u>										
Under 299 DM	27%	9%	1%	10%	22%	1%	5%	4%	21%	584
300 - 399 DM	41	7	5	10	20	1	4	2	10	133
400 DM and more	53	19	3	7	11	-	3	1	4	73
<u>Age:</u>										
Under 40 years	29%	12%	2%	10%	21%	2%	5%	3%	16%	333
40 years and over	33	8	2	9	20	1	5	3	19	454
<u>Party Preference:</u>										
SPD	48%	8%	2%	12%	20%	1%	2%	1%	6%	183
CDU/CSU	32	5	1	17	21	1	7	2	14	135
FDP/LDF/DVP/BDV	45	11	3	19	11	-	3	3	5	36
Other parties	42	21	-	6	13	-	10	4	4	48
No party	25	13	2	7	25	1	5	3	19	215
Don't know	9	7	4	4	23	5	7	5	41	161
<u>Occupation:</u>										
Professionals	41%	32%	-	9%	9%	-	5%	-	4%	22
Businessmen	45	12	3	14	14	-	6	-	6	69
White-collar workers	43	13	4	12	16	-	8	2	8	109
Skilled laborers	31	10	2	5	31	-	5	3	13	131
Semi-skilled laborers	26	9	-	10	25	6	6	2	16	115
Farmers	31	6	3	10	15	3	3	4	25	115
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	26	6	1	12	20	1	7	4	23	152
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>										
Yes, member	46%	15%	2%	7%	18%	2%	1%	2%	7%	119
No	28	9	2	10	21	1	6	3	20	676
<u>Religion:</u>										
Catholics	27%	10%	3%	10%	21%	1%	6%	3%	19%	385
Protestants	34	9	2	10	20	2	4	3	16	391
<u>Origin:</u>										
Natives	31%	10%	2%	10%	21%	1%	4%	3%	18%	645
Refugees, Expellees	33	10	2	11	18	1	7	3	15	150

CONFIDENTIAL

By and large, further questioning reveals, respondents who conditionally favor (Yes-but) and those who conditionally oppose (No-unless) German defense participation have the same considerations in mind as a prerequisite to participation. In both groups a generalized demand for equal status is voiced. More specific and possibly more limited demands for military equality and for a peace treaty follow in frequency of mention.

"Are there any conditions which the Western powers would have to fulfill before you would agree to West Germany's participation in a West European army, or do such conditions not exist for you?"
If "Yes": "What are they?"

	WEST GERMANY	
	Conditionally favor participation (Yes-but)	Conditionally oppose participation (No-unless)
<u>Complete equality of rights for Germany: Equality of rights in every respect; they should not hold us in tutelage, we ought to have equal rights; first we should have the same rights and duties as all other states; equality of rights; to drop all limitations and restrictions completely; we must be a completely free people first, without restrictions; only under complete recognition of the Germans as partners of equal rights; equality of rights in all fields; that we have the same rights as the Western powers; Germany will have to obtain complete freedom first in order to play its part as a member with equal rights; etc.</u>	54%	53%
<u>Equality of rights in military sphere: Command over German troops should be in German hands, no objection to Allied Supreme Command; independent army with German General Staff which then will be attached; to promise that the German army will have all kinds of arms and a German commander; German army under German command within the European army, German General Staff to be formed; German military under German command; our own army in our own country, our own German General Staff for the German army; to create a German military army and promise that Germans will have to fight only in Germany; to assure a certain proportion of strength; we don't want to put our soldiers under foreign command but want to have a German command; must be sufficiently equipped; etc.</u>	21	14
<u>Peace treaty with Germany: First one would have to make a peace treaty with Germany; we should have peace; above all they should make peace with us; first make peace with Germany; etc.</u>	18	20
<u>Economic support and equalisation; limitation of reparations and occupation costs: That they support us in every respect; that the occupation costs be cut down; that any reparation be regarded as having been paid; liquidation of reparations which are already repaid with our patents; that we have economic freedom; equal rights in the economic fields; etc.</u>	6	8
<u>Guarantees as to the defense of Germany: Guaranty that Germany be defended; to guarantee that Germany will not be the battle field, they should rather use atom bombs upon Russia; that Germany will not be the battle field but the East if anything should happen; that the Western powers will guarantee actual protection to us; guarantees that they will defend us on the Elbe river at least and not on the Rhine; that all other Western powers will supply soldiers for this purpose; etc.</u>	4	8

(cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

WEST GERMANY

Conditionally favor participation (Yes-but)	Conditionally oppose participation (No-unless)
--	---

Final release of all German prisoners of war: To urge the release of all German POW's in Russia; to release our soldiers in France; first all German POW's should be sent home; the Western powers should take care that the POW's in Russia be released; all POW's should be sent home; that all the officers who are still detained as POW's will be released; etc.

4%

1%

Restoration of the German soldier's honor: To restore the German soldier's honor; to restore the honor to our German soldiers; they will have to rehabilitate the German soldiers; etc.

3

3

Other opinions: Some, but I don't know which, there certainly must be conditions but I cannot think of any; to solve the housing problem; to make up for the losses by dismantling; the occupation powers should leave Germany; only in case we are attacked; that they leave us in peace afterwards; first they should look after the war invalids and the widows of the last war; first they should return the East districts to us; etc.

8

21

No opinion / No answer:

118%*

128%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

PUBLIC REACTION TO A POSSIBLE BONN AGREEMENT ON DEFENSE PARTICIPATION ...

The prior question was important in revealing that only approximately a fifth in West Germany are unconditionally opposed to defense participation - the others are willing to support such a course if certain demands are met. But since it is highly probable that the demands the respondents have voiced are considerably more than the Germans are in fact going to be offered, it becomes important to ascertain how the German public might react to an agreement on defense participation between the Western powers and the Federal government.

The results are very important in suggesting that the large bulk of the German people can be expected to go along with any participation agreement that their Bonn political representatives might arrive at. Only 15 per cent stated that they would oppose such a participation agreement, and of these only a minute two per cent indicated that they would do anything under such circumstances to express their opposition.

"Supposing the Western powers asked West Germany to participate in a West European army and the Federal government would consider the conditions for such participation acceptable and agree to it. What would be your opinion on it?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
would welcome this decision	22%	22%	21%	20%	13%
would accept the fact, even if I were not enthusiastic about it	45	45	45	47	42
I would oppose this decision, but would do nothing against it;	13	13	13	14	3
I would oppose this decision and would do something against it	2	1	2	3	4
No opinion	$\frac{18}{100\%}$	$\frac{19}{100\%}$	$\frac{18}{100\%}$	$\frac{16}{100\%}$	$\frac{8}{100\%}$

Undoubtedly public reaction will be governed in some part by what concessions West Germany actually receives as a basis for defense participation. But notwithstanding, it would appear from the findings that if the Bonn political leaders accept something less than complete political or military equality as a basis for defense participation, the West German populace can be expected to fall into line.

CONFIDENTIAL

Breakdown comparisons reveal that in no group among the West German population does total opposition to a participation agreement between the Federal government and the Western powers rise above a fifth, and potentially active opposition above one in twenty.

"Supposing the Western powers asked West Germany to participate in a West European army and the Federal government would consider the conditions for such participation acceptable and agree to it. What would be your opinion on it?"

	I would welcome this decision	I would accept the fact, even if I were not enthusiastic about it	I would oppose this decision but would do nothing against it	I would oppose this decision and would do something against it	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY						
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	31%	49%	11%	1%	8%...100%	347
Women	15	43	15	2	26	450
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	20%	44%	14%	1%	21%	651
Beyond elementary school	31	49	11	3	6	147
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>						
Lower	17%	42%	17%	1%	23%	410
Middle and upper	27	48	10	2	13	387
<u>Income (per month):</u>						
Under 299 DM	20%	44%	14%	1%	21%	584
300 - 399 DM	24	46	14	2	14	133
400 DM and more	33	51	8	3	5	73
<u>Age:</u>						
Under 40 years	18%	52%	12%	3%	15%	333
40 years and over	24	40	15	1	20	454
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	27%	53%	12%	-	8%	183
CDU/CSU	36	38	10	1	15	135
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	25	64	3	-	8	36
Other parties	27	48	21	-	4	48
No party	14	45	18	3	20	215
Don't know	11	37	13	1	38	161
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	23%	59%	18%	-	-	22
Businessmen	27	51	12	3	7	69
White-collar workers	26	48	14	5	7	109
Skilled laborers	18	51	16	1	14	131
Semi-skilled laborers	18	45	17	1	19	116
Farmers	25	44	4	-	27	115
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	24	36	16	-	24	152
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>						
Yes, member	28%	49%	13%	2%	8%	119
No	20	44	14	2	20	676
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	20%	44%	14%	2%	20%	385
Protestants	23	46	12	1	18	391
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	21%	44%	14%	2%	19%	645
Refugees, Expellees	23	49	12	-	16	150

CONFIDENTIAL

II. THE PROBLEM OF RECRUITMENT

WOULD WEST GERMAN MEN BE WILLING TO SERVE IN A EUROPEAN ARMY? ...

That widespread German acquiescence can be expected in any Bonn agreement on defense participation still leaves the question open as to the stand West Germans might take in regard to being recruited into a European army. The current returns from a representative sample of West German men disclose that though few would volunteer, seven out of ten among those who do not report themselves as ineligible for service indicate that they would serve if drafted.

"If West Germany should participate in a West European army, would you then volunteer, - would you serve only if you were drafted, - or would you refuse any kind of military service?" (Asked only of men.) *

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Would volunteer	2% (3%)	2% (3%)	1% (1%)	3% (5%)	8% (12%)
Would serve if drafted	48 (70)	50 (71)	44 (63)	45 (75)	49 (73)
Would refuse service	14 (20)	12 (17)	21 (30)	12 (20)	10 (15)
Undecided	5 (7)	5 (9)	4 (6)	- (-)	- (-)
	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)
Ineligible	$\frac{31}{100\%}$	$\frac{30}{100\%}$	$\frac{30}{100\%}$	$\frac{40}{100\%}$	$\frac{33}{100\%}$

* Figures in brackets represent percentages based on men who considered themselves eligible for service.

Willingness to serve if drafted is most marked, group comparisons show, among the more educated and informed levels of West German men. It is the dominant position, however, among all important population segments.

"If West Germany should participate in a West European army, would you then volunteer, - would you serve only if you were drafted, - or would you refuse any kind of military service?" (Asked only of men.)*

	Would volunteer	Would serve if drafted	Would refuse service	Un- decided	Ineli- gible	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY						
Sex:						
Men	2%	48%	14%	5%	31%-100%	347
Women	-	-	-	-	-	-
Education:						
Elementary school	1%	45%	16%	5%	33%	271
Beyond elementary school	3	59	10	4	24	76
Socio-economic Status:						
Lower	1%	40%	16%	5%	38%	138
Middle and upper	1	55	14	4	26	209
Income (per month):						
Under 299 DM	2%	43%	14%	6%	35%	234
300 - 399 DM	2	58	17	3	20	69
400 DM and more	-	60	14	2	24	42
Age: **						
18 - 24 years	4%	76%	16%	3%	5%	37
25 - 39 years	1	63	20	5	11	90
40 years and over	2	37	12	5	44	219
Party Preference:						
SPD	1%	57%	12%	1%	29%	109
CDU/CSU	2	50	13	2	33	45
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	-	70	-	5	25	20
Other parties	4	46	13	-	37	24
No party	2	41	19	4	34	90
Don't know	-	32	20	19	29	41
Occupation:						
Professionals	4%	91%	9%	4%	4%	11
Businessmen	3	44	20	-	33	36
White-collar workers	-	52	22	2	24	46
Skilled laborers	2	52	14	14	18	63
Semi-skilled laborers	2	61	18	2	17	51
Farmers	2	57	8	7	26	60
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	-	17	7	2	74	59
Trade Union Membership:						
Yes, member	2%	52%	22%	5%	19%	96
No	1	46	12	5	36	248
Religion:						
Catholics	1%	46%	19%	4%	30%	148
Protestants	1	51	10	5	33	183
Origin:						
Natives	2%	48%	15%	5%	30%	276
Refugees, Expellees	2	49	10	4	35	69

* Readers are cautioned to interpret these group breakdowns with care since with the question confined only to men the number of cases in many groups become very limited.

** Age is broken down into three groups on the present query instead of two in order to give some rough indication of whether German youth differ markedly from older men in their reactions to recruitment.

SHOULD BOMM HAVE THE RIGHT TO DRAFT? ...

A distinct negative element in the recruitment situation is that though the majority of eligible German men would accept military service if drafted, there is no majority support in the West German population at the present time for according the Federal government the power to institute such a measure. The preponderant opinion - held by 48 per cent - is that the Federal government should not have the right to draft West German men.

"If German men would volunteer for German contingents in the West European army, should the Federal government then have the right to draft German men or should they not have this right?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Should have right to draft	35%	36%	36%	30%	53%
Should not have the right	48	45	49	52	41
No opinion	$\frac{17}{100\%}$	$\frac{19}{100\%}$	$\frac{15}{100\%}$	$\frac{18}{100\%}$	$\frac{6}{100\%}$

Opinions on this matter may of course change if German defense participation becomes a reality. And, too, the question does not indicate how far the populace might in fact acquiesce to a draft if their political leaders saw fit to establish one. But all in all, the suggestion is strong that in obtaining German recruits for participation in a European defense army, mandatory measures are to be used with care.

Support for Federal powers to draft if necessary is greatest among the opinion leading elements of the West German population - the men, the better schooled, and the better off. But even among these groups, pro-draft sentiments compete no better than even with opposition to such a course.

"If not enough German men would volunteer for German contingents in the West European army, should the Federal government then have the right to draft German men or should they not have this right?"

	Should have right to draft	Should not have right	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	47%	42%	11% ... 100%	347
Women	26	52	22	450
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	33%	48%	19%	651
Beyond elementary school	45	47	8	147
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower	31%	49%	20%	410
Middle and upper	39	46	15	387
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Under 299 DM	32%	49%	19%	584
300 - 399 DM	41	47	12	133
400 DM and more	48	41	11	73
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	32%	54%	14%	333
40 years and over	37	43	20	454
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	43%	50%	8%	183
CDU/CSU	45	42	13	135
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	39	44	17	36
Other parties	44	54	2	48
No party	28	52	20	215
Don't know	22	43	35	161
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	45%	50%	5%	22
Businessmen	42	48	10	69
White-collar workers	32	57	11	109
Skilled laborers	31	57	12	131
Semi-skilled laborers	30	49	21	115
Farmers	45	39	16	115
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	38	36	26	152
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	39%	53%	8%	119
No	34	47	19	676
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	35%	45%	20%	365
Protestants	35	49	16	391
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	34%	48%	18%	645
Refugees, Expellees	40	47	13	150

III. GERMAN REACTIONS TO WESTERN POWER TROOP REINFORCEMENTS

Efforts to publicize Western Power troop reinforcements in West Germany for their favorable public relations impact have derived from the reasonable assumption that most Germans greet such reinforcements as evidence of Western interest in German security. Dr. Schumacher in particular has stressed the necessity of a large volume of such reinforcements as a prerequisite to German defense participation.

Within this framework it is somewhat disconcerting in the present returns to discover that in fact the preponderance of West German opinion is opposed rather than in favor of bringing more troops of the Western powers to Germany.

"Are you in favor of or opposed to more troops of the Western powers being brought to West Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
In favor of	33%	32%	33%	30%	74%
Opposed to	50	50	50	53	20
No opinion	17	18	17	17	6
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Even among respondents who have expressed themselves in favor of German participation in an Atlantic Pact army, a cross-break reveals that opposition to additional troop reinforcements is not much less than approval.

"Are you in favor of or opposed to more troops of the Western powers being brought to West Germany?"

	Favor	Oppose	No opinion	No. of cases
For participation	52%	42%	6% ... 100%	365
Against participation	15	73	11	265

approval of additional troop reinforcements is comparatively more widespread among the opinion leading levels of the West German population, but even in these groups it is generally overshadowed by disapproval.

"Are you in favor of or opposed to more troops of the Western powers being brought to West Germany?"

WEST GERMANY		In favor of	Opposed to	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	40%	50%	10%	100%	347
Women	26	51	23		450
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	30%	50%	20%		651
Beyond elementary school	44	50	6		147
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower	25%	53%	22%		410
Middle and upper	41	47	12		387
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Under 299 DM	29%	51%	20%		584
300 - 399 DM	36	53	11		133
400 DM and more	53	40	8		73
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	36%	48%	16%		333
40 years and over	31	51	18		454
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	42%	51%	7%		183
CDU/CSU	46	40	14		135
FDP/LRP/DVP/BDP	39	56	5		36
Other parties	40	52	8		48
No party	23	56	21		215
Don't know	16	49	35		161
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	50%	46%	4%		22
Businessmen	42	48	10		69
White-collar workers	41	53	6		109
Skilled laborers	28	61	11		131
Semi-skilled laborers	31	42	27		115
Farmers	37	40	23		115
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	26	56	18		152
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member	40%	50%	10%		119
No	31	50	19		676
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	31%	48%	21%		385
Protestants	33	51	16		391
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	32%	50%	18%		645
Refugees, Expellees	35	49	16		150

CONFIDENTIAL

REASONS FOR DISAPPROVAL OF TROOP REINFORCEMENTS ...

An examination of the reasons vouchsafed for the somewhat surprising and certainly disquieting negative reaction to Western Power troop reinforcements, reveals quickly that what is primarily sticking in the craw of the West German citizenry is the increased, and generally allegedly unjustified, financial burden.

"Are you in favor of or opposed to more troops of the Western powers being brought to West Germany?"
If "Opposed": "Why?"

WEST Brit. US French Ger-
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone Zone lin

Because of the increased financial burden connected with it: These troops here in Germany lead a marvelous life and our poor people have to pay for it; they mean an additional burden to our expenses; Germany can't ever make a go with all these occupation costs; because it would mean an unnecessary burden for Germany; no people would be enthusiastic about occupation troops since it means a burden to the people; we should have to pay for them and we don't have any money; they live on our expense; because we at last want to get rid of them all, they live on our money; who is going to pay for them? we will have to stick out our necks for them; etc.

26% 26% 27% 27% 10%

More troops will increase the danger of war: Russia could take it as a challenge; the Russians will think that something is cooking here and will start a war; because the Russians will also send more troops, that would increase the danger of war considerably; because war is more likely to break out and we are in the midst of it; because the political situation will aim at war; I am not in favor of creating a troop centre here, it would at the same time mean masses of Russian troops - thus the danger of war would be increased; the more troops come, the more threatening the political situation will become; etc.

6 5 8 9 5

Because it would increase the present housing shortage:

There are no sufficient quarters for the troops, houses and flats would have to be requisitioned for that purpose; they need living space and others are going to suffer from it; we have enough people living here, all those refugees, everything would become more expensive; because of the housing shortage; we have enough people and not enough living quarters; our housing conditions are limited already, they would requisition houses again; etc.

5 6 5 4 2

Because it would mean preparation for a new war and we don't want war, want to stay neutral: Because I want peace; I am a pacifist and opposed to any kind of military aims for power; if they want to settle all disagreements peacefully they don't need any troop reinforcements for Western Germany; I don't need any, we don't want war, but peace; the people should live in peace and go to church more often; they should see to it that we get peace, then we don't need any further troops; what do we need troops for, we want to remain neutral; etc.

5 4 3 3 1

There are enough troops here already - (what is the good of it?): There are enough of them here already, I can't stand the Americans; because we have enough troops here already; we have got so many occupation soldiers here already; I don't consider it necessary; what is the good of them being here?; I don't know what could be the good of it; etc.

4 3 5 5 3

(cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

They are of no advantage to us; Because they are not going to help us, they can't send as many troops as would be necessary; in case the Russians come they would run anyway and the Russians will certainly come here; it would certainly be better if they would leave, because if war breaks out they are going to leave us anyway; because the troops of the Western powers are not strong enough to defend us; the troop contingent is insufficient in case something happens; for God's sake, if it comes to war the Allies will leave us in the lurch anyway; these troops won't be good for anything in case the East attacks us, they want to set up their defense line at the Rhine anyway; etc.

4% 3% 4% 5% 1%

It would be better for us to set up an independent army; We have so many people here who would love to be soldiers again, no one can protect the German people better than our own soldiers; because these troops will never be able to stop the Russians, only the German soldiers have the necessary experience from the last war; we can look after ourselves alone much better; we don't need them, have a sufficient police force; we could establish our own army, that would be better with respect to all these unemployed; I was a regular soldier, we should have a national army and no foreign occupation; because we Germans want to make a go, we wouldn't have so much freedom, be under constant supervision; etc.

3 4 2 2 3

An occupation always presents a burden, they should all go home; They should all be thrown out; we don't need an occupation; whether these troops are here as an occupation power or on out-post duty, they shall always be a burden to us; they should go where they came from; etc.

3 3 4 2 2

Because I am against the Americans (Western powers) (or: for the Russians): We are in favor of strengthening the West Zone, my husband always says that Stalin is more efficient, he gets a lot done and keeps his secrets; etc.

* * - - -

Other opinions: They should be sent to Korea to end the war there; that would create disturbances within the country; etc.

2 2 2 3 1

No opinion / No answer:

* * 1 2 -
58% 56% 61% 62% 28%

- * Less than one half of one per cent.
** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

INDICATION ...

The present findings do not mean that bringing Western Power troop reinforcements to West Germany has only bad effects upon German public opinion. Such reinforcements could hardly fail to prove that the Western powers have an abiding interest in West German security.

But the importance of security has probably dropped somewhat in German thinking with the encouraging trend of events in Korea over the the past several weeks, and is likely to drop still further if the current "cease-fire" negotiations bear fruit. Under such circumstances West Germans tend naturally enough to become preoccupied with their economic problems. And the result seems to be that additional troops are seen more as burdens on the German economy than as defenders of German security. Whatever can be done to change these prevailing orientations is of course pressingly called for. And in the meantime it is on the part of wisdom to handle additional troop arrivals with an eye to their negative as well as their positive effects.

CONFIDENTIAL

IV. THE PRESENT STATUS OF NEUTRALISM AND DEFEATISM

NEUTRALIST FEELINGS VERSUS NEUTRALIST JUDGMENTS - A PERSISTENT PATTERN ...

The story on West German neutralism over the past many months has been that if one taps generalized wishes or emotional desires - what RAS has termed neutralist feelings - the weight of opinion is on the side of staying out of the East-West struggle. But as soon as questioning gets down to concrete propositions about neutrality wherein the respondents have to face the consequences of a choice, then neutralist judgments - as they have been termed - drop to minority status.

The current returns continue to bear out the above pattern. In the generalized question of what should West Germany do in the East-West struggle, the preponderant answer (49%) is that she should try to stay out of it.

"What should West Germany do in the present East-West struggle: should she join with one side or should she try to keep out of it altogether?"

	WEST GERMANY		British Zone		US Zone		French Zone		Berlin*
	May	June	May	June	May	June	May	June	June
	15-29	16-23	15-29	16-23	15-29	16-23	15-29	16-23	16-23
Side with West	30%	37%	30%	35%	29%	39%	34%	38%	62%
Side with East	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Try to keep out of it altogether	56	49	55	50	56	48	61	50	32
No opinion	14	14	15	15	15	13	5	12	6
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

But in a follow-up question posing a possible consequence of neutrality - in this instance a withdrawal of Western defense guarantees - the majority of the would-be-neutralists shifted to siding with the West.

"If a neutral attitude would mean that West Germany would not be defended by the Western powers, would you even then be for such an attitude by West Germany, or would you then be in favor of siding with the West?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Even then for a neutral West Germany	15%	15%	13%	18%	8%
Then in favor of siding with West	26	25	28	24	23
No opinion	8	10	7	8	1
	49%	50%	48%	50%	32%

The combined results are that attitudes in West Germany in the light of the possible consequence of neutralism that was posed, come out to 63 per cent in favor of siding with the West, 15 per cent in favor of remaining neutral notwithstanding, and 22 per cent no opinion.

West German Attitudes If Neutrality Means Withdrawal Of Western Defense Guarantees

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Side with West	63%	60%	67%	62%	85%
Side with East	-	-	-	-	-
Remain neutral	15	15	13	18	8
No opinion	22	25	20	20	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* No survey was made in Berlin between May 15th and May 29th, 1951.

CONFIDENTIAL

JANUARY 1952

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN NEUTRALITY SENTIMENTS ...

Group differences both on the general neutrality question and on the more specific query, where loss of Western defense guarantees was posed as a price of neutrality, reveal more widespread preferences for siding with the West among the more educated and informed levels of the West German population.

"What should West Germany do in the present East-West struggle: should she join with one side or should she try to keep out of it altogether?"

	Side with the West		Side with the East		Try to keep out of it altogether		No opinion		No. of cases
	May 15-29	June 16-23	May 15-29	June 16-23	May 15-29	June 16-23	May 15-29	June 16-23	
WEST GERMANY									
<u>Sex:</u>									
Men	36%	46%	1%	-	56%	46%	7%	8%	347
Women	26	30	-	-	55	52	19	18	450
<u>Education:</u>									
Elementary school	27%	34%	-	-	58%	50%	15%	16%	651
Beyond elementary school	48	50	-	-	46	45	6	5	147
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>									
Lower	29%	29%	-	-	56%	53%	16%	18%	410
Middle and upper	33	45	-	-	57	45	10	10	387
<u>Income (per month):</u>									
Under 299 DM	29%	34%	-	-	57%	50%	14%	16%	584
300 - 399 DM	40	45	-	-	52	47	8	8	133
400 DM and more	30	46	-	2	60	48	10	4	73
<u>Age:</u>									
Under 40 years	32%	38%	-	-	58%	52%	10%	10%	333
40 years and over	29	36	-	-	54	47	17	17	454
<u>Party Preference:</u>									
SPD	33%	43%	-	-	61%	51%	6%	6%	183
CDU/CSU	38	47	1	-	48	41	13	12	135
FDP/LRP/DVP/BDP	41	50	-	-	54	48	5	2	36
Other parties	33	46	-	-	53	50	14	4	48
No party	26	29	-	1	62	55	12	15	215
Don't know	18	25	-	-	57	44	25	31	161
<u>Occupation:</u>									
Professionals	39%	54%	-	-	48%	41%	13%	5%	22
Businessmen	34	52	-	-	54	43	12	5	69
White-collar workers	36	48	2	1	53	45	9	6	109
Skilled laborers	29	32	-	-	65	56	6	12	131
Semi-skilled laborers	29	30	-	-	60	54	11	16	115
Farmers	30	40	-	-	51	43	19	17	115
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	31	33	-	-	48	46	21	21	153
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>									
Yes, member	35%	39%	1	-	58	54	6	7	119
No	30	37	-	-	55	48	15	15	676
<u>Religion:</u>									
Catholics	32%	36%	-	-	56%	48%	12%	16%	385
Protestants	27	36	-	-	57	50	16	14	391
<u>Origin:</u>									
Natives	28%	36%	-	-	58%	50%	14%	14%	645
Refugees, Expellees	39	39	1	-	47	46	13	15	150

West German Attitudes If Neutrality Means Withdrawal Of Western Defense Guaranties

WEST GERMANY	Side with West	Side with East	Remain neutral	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	74%	-%	13%	13% ... 100%	347
Women	54	-	16	30	450
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	60%	-%	15%	25%	651
Beyond elementary school	73	-	15	12	147
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower	55%	-%	18%	27%	410
Middle and upper	70	-	12	18	387
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Under 299 DM	60%	-%	14%	20%	584
300 - 399 DM	70	-	17	13	133
400 DM and more	70	2	14	14	73
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	65%	-%	16%	19%	333
40 years and over	60	-	14	26	454
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	77%	-%	13%	10%	183
CDU/CSU	71	-	15	14	135
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	78	-	11	11	36
Other parties	77	-	13	10	48
No party	54	1	19	26	215
Don't know	39	-	14	47	161
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	63%	-%	27%	10%	22
Businessmen	74	-	16	10	69
White-collar workers	70	1	15	14	109
Skilled laborers	63	-	21	16	131
Semi-skilled laborers	59	-	23	18	115
Farmers	69	-	9	22	115
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	55	-	12	33	152
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member	71%	-%	14%	15%	119
No	61	-	16	23	676
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	60%	-	16%	24%	385
Protestants	63	-	14	23	391
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	61%	-	16%	23%	645
Refugees, Expellees	55	-	11	24	150

CONFIDENTIAL

THE RELATIONSHIP OF NEUTRALISM TO DANGER OF WAR ...

In endeavoring to anticipate future trends in West German attitudes it would obviously be of value to know if neutralist orientations would tend to increase or to decrease in the event the threat of war became more imminent. The best way of answering such a question is of course to correlate past trends with concurrent events. This, however, is never a simple matter because of the ever-present complexity of events and hence the difficulty of relating attitude trends to any particular set of events among the many occurring in any one period.

To obtain some information in this connection, respondents were asked in the present study to indicate how they would stand on neutrality if the danger of war would steadily increase. It is interesting to find that six out of ten West Germans report that under such circumstances they would wish to have West Germany side with the West.

"If the danger of a war would steadily increase, would you then rather see West Germany side with the West, or would you rather see West Germany stay neutral?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Side with West	60%	60%	62%	60%	85%
Stay neutral	27	27	26	31	10
No opinion	13	13	12	9	5
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

CONFIDENTIAL

Sentiment in favor of West Germany siding with the West - in the event of the threat of war steadily increasing - is particularly widespread among the opinion leading sectors of the West German population.

"If the danger of a war would steadily increase, would you then rather see West Germany side with the West, or would you rather see West Germany stay neutral?"

	Side with West	Stay neutral	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	70%	23%	7%...100%	347
Women	53	31	16	450
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	57%	28%	15%	551
Beyond elementary school	75	22	3	147
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower	53%	23%	15%	410
Middle and upper	70	21	9	387
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Under 299 DM	58%	29%	13%	584
300 - 399 DM	57	22	11	133
400 DM and more	75	22	2	73
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	64%	27%	9%	333
40 years and over	58	27	15	454
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	71%	24%	5%	183
CDU/CSU	66	26	8	136
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	78	19	3	36
Other parties	73	25	2	48
No party	54	33	13	215
Don't know	42	28	30	161
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	77%	23%	-%	22
Businessmen	70	22	8	69
White-collar workers	65	30	5	109
Skilled laborers	59	27	14	131
Semi-skilled laborers	56	34	10	115
Farmers	69	14	17	115
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	54	30	16	152
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	67%	28%	5%	119
No	59	27	14	676
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	57%	30%	13%	385
Protestants	63	25	12	391
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	59%	28%	13%	645
Refugees, Expellees	66	24	10	150

- 21 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

SHOULD WEST GERMANS FIGHT IN THE EVENT OF EASTERN AGGRESSION? ...

Whatever the status of neutralism in West Germany, comparatively few respondents take the out-and-out defeatist position that West Germany should offer no resistance in the event of an attack from the East.

"If you personally had to decide what should be done in the event of an attack from the East: should one let West Germany come under the East Zone government without fighting, or should West Germany - together with the West - fight with all means against the Communist aggression?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Without a fight	8%	8%	6%	8%	3%
Fight with all means	73	68	79	73	91
No opinion	19	24	15	19	6
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Even among respondents who oppose West Germany joining the Atlantic Pact army, the large preponderance feel that West Germany should fight with all means at her command if she should be subjected to an attack from the East.

"If you personally had to decide what should be done in the event of an attack from the East: should one let West Germany come under the East Zone government without fighting, or should West Germany - together with the West - fight with all means against the Communist aggression?"

	Without a fight	Fight with all means	No opinion	No. of cases:
For participation	2%	94%	4% ... 100%	365
Against participation	15	62	23	265

In no population segments, group breakdowns reveal, do appreciably more than one in ten council a defeatist course in the event of Communist aggression.

"If you personally had to decide what should be done in the event of an attack from the East: should one let West Germany come under the East Zone government without fighting, or should West Germany - together with the West - fight with all means against the Communist aggression?"

	Without a fight	Fight with all means	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
Sex:				
Men	7%	79%	14% ... 100%	347
Women	8	68	21	451
Education:				
Elementary school	8%	71%	21%	651
Beyond elementary school	7	60	13	147
Socio-economic Status:				
Lower	8%	70%	22%	410
Middle and upper	7	76	17	387
Income (per month):				
Under 299 DM	7%	72%	21%	584
300 - 399 DM	8	76	16	133
400 DM and more	10	79	11	73
Age:				
Under 40 years	6%	78%	16%	333
40 years and over	9	70	21	454
Party Preference:				
SPD	7%	86%	7%	183
CDU/CSU	5	84	11	135
FDP/LRP/DVP/BDV	-	86	14	36
Other parties	13	83	5	48
No party	9	67	24	215
Don't know	8	50	42	161
Occupation:				
Professionals	5%	77%	18%	22
Businessmen	6	87	7	69
White-collar workers	8	76	16	109
Skilled laborers	7	74	19	131
Semi-skilled laborers	10	67	23	115
Farmers	4	78	18	115
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	7	70	23	152
Trade Union Membership:				
Yes, member	8%	78%	14%	119
No	8	72	20	676
Religion:				
Catholics	6%	73%	21%	385
Protestants	8	72	20	391
Origin:				
Natives	7%	72%	21%	645
Refugees, Expellees	8	72	13	150

V. SOME FURTHER OPINIONS ON PARTICIPATION ISSUES

PRESENT STATE OF WAR APPREHENSIONS

Currently, relatively few West Germans see any "very great" danger of attack from the East some time in the future. The preponderant opinion at the present time is that the danger of such an attack is small. In Berlin apprehensions are somewhat greater, but even here the weight of present estimates of danger is on "not so great" to "small."

"In your opinion, is the danger that West Germany will be attacked from the East some time in the future great or small?"
 (If "great": "Very great or not so great?")
 (If "small": "Small or very small?")

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Very great danger	14%	13%	16%	15%	20%
Not so great	22	20	23	25	28
Small	34	35	34	33	34
Very small	11	11	11	8	12
No opinion	19	21	17	19	6
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Among population sub-groups in West Germany, war apprehensions at the present time are at their minimum among the more educated and informed levels.

WEST GERMANY	Very great	Not so great	Small	Very small	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	13%	26%	40%	12%	9% ... 100%	347
Women	15	19	29	10	27	450
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	16%	20%	32%	10%	22%	651
Beyond elementary school	7	29	44	14	6	147
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>						
Lower	15%	18%	29%	14%	24%	410
Middle and upper	13	26	39	8	14	387
<u>Income (per month):</u>						
Under 299 DM	16%	19%	33%	11%	21%	584
300 - 399 DM	15	29	34	6	16	133
400 DM and more	3	30	45	15	7	73
<u>Age:</u>						
Under 40 years	13%	25%	36%	10%	16%	333
40 years and over	16	20	33	11	20	454
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	15%	25%	43%	12%	5%	183
CDU/CSU	20	23	37	6	14	135
FDP/LDF/DVP/BDV	8	28	39	11	14	36
Other parties	29	21	31	17	2	48
No party	14	19	32	14	21	215
Don't know	9	18	24	7	42	161
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	9%	36%	32%	23%	—%	22
Businessmen	12	27	40	15	6	69
White-collar workers	17	25	40	10	8	109
Skilled laborers	15	21	35	11	18	131
Semi-skilled laborers	14	20	29	12	25	115
Farmers	15	24	35	8	18	115
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	16	17	31	11	25	152
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>						
Yes, member	14%	34%	40%	13%	9%	119
No	14	21	33	12	20	676
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	17%	21%	31%	11%	20%	385
Protestants	13	22	37	10	18	391
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	14%	21%	34%	11%	20%	645
Refugees, Expellees	17	25	33	11	14	150

CAN WEST ARM IN TIME TO HALT EASTERN AGGRESSION?

One of the crucial questions in regard to Western defense efforts and German interest in defense participation is whether or not the West can raise strong enough forces in time to stop any attack from the East before such an attack possibly eventuates. At the present time, the significant finding emerges, more than twice as many West Germans believe adequate defense forces can be raised in time as hold the contrary. Indecision, however, is considerable with a third unable to offer a judgment in the matter.

"Do you think that West Europe, America, and West Germany together will succeed in raising defense forces in time which will be strong enough to stop an attack from the East, or do you think that an attack from the East will take place before this could be done?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Yes, in time	45%	47%	46%	37%	73%
Eastern attack will take place before	19	19	18	15	15
No opinion	36	34	36	48	12
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Even among West Germans who oppose participation in the Atlantic Pact army, four out of ten believe that adequate Western defense forces could be raised in time - thus indicating that for this group, at least, other considerations are occasioning their opposition.

"Do you think that West Europe, America, and West Germany together will succeed in raising defense forces in time which will be strong enough to stop an attack from the East, or do you think that an attack from the East will take place before this could be done?"

	Yes, in time	Eastern attack will take place before	No opinion	No. of cases:
For participation	60%	21%	19% ... 100%	365
Against participation	42	22	36	255

The judgment that enough time is available for a Western defense build-up preponderates over the contrary view in all important segments of the West German population. In most groups the volume of no opinion is large.

"Do you think that West Europe, America and West Germany together will succeed in raising defense forces in time which will be strong enough to stop an attack from the East, or do you think that an attack from the East will take place before this could be done?"

	Yes, in time	Eastern attack will take place before	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	54%	23%	23% ... 100%	347
Women	54	19	17	450
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	44%	16%	40%	551
Beyond elementary school	54	28	18	147
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower	42%	14%	44%	411
Middle and upper	49	23	28	387
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Under 299 DM	43%	17%	40%	584
300 - 399 DM	50	21	29	133
400 DM and more	60	25	15	73
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	49%	20%	31%	333
40 years and over	43	18	39	454
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SFD	55%	24%	21%	183
CDU/CSU	47	17	36	135
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	66	14	20	36
Other parties	59	33	8	48
No party	43	18	39	215
Don't know	26	9	65	161
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	54%	23%	23%	22
Businessmen	64	19	17	69
White-collar workers	49	25	26	109
Skilled laborers	46	21	33	131
Semi-skilled laborers	47	15	38	115
Farmers	45	16	39	115
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	37	17	46	152
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	50%	26%	24%	119
No	45	17	38	675
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	42%	18%	40%	385
Protestants	50	18	32	391
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	45%	18%	37%	645
Refugees, Expellees	46	20	34	150

Respondents who contend that adequate defense forces cannot be raised in time cite a variety of arguments, the most frequent of which being that the democratic nations work much too slowly, with an alleged penchant for talk instead of action.

"Why will they not be able to raise sufficiently strong defense forces before the East attacks?"

WEST	Brit.	US	French	Ger-
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone	lin

The democratic nations work much too slowly, talk and don't act: The Western powers act too slowly - one debate follows the other and reach no conclusions - the Russians act; because the democratic nations act too slow - they always talk; because rearmament takes a certain time - the Russians won't look on and wait until the West is ready; the democracies work much slower than the dictatorships - therefore the East has the advantage; because dictatorship acts sooner; because the Western powers negotiate too much instead of acting; everything goes too slowly here and nothing is well organized; each country contributes a few divisions only - the Russians get their men on the bell much quicker; they have lost a lot of ground during the past years and the Russians will use this advantage - if they attack in force, nothing can keep them back; it is a tactical advantage to the Russians if they don't wait until the West has finished rearming - Western powers are much slower in their rearmament; etc.

7%	5%	5%	8%	7%
----	----	----	----	----

The East is stronger - more material and soldiers: Because the East is stronger; the Russians are better armed than the Western powers; the Russians are stronger than the Western powers, they have a lot of manpower; because Russia has been arming all along - has more manpower and is stronger therefore; because I haven't got much confidence in the Western nations - the East is stronger than the West; they have more manpower and don't hesitate to use it; the Russians have more war material and soldiers than the Americans; etc.

4	5	7	2	4
---	---	---	---	---

Disunity among the Western powers: The West can't agree; because there is no unity among the Western nations - until they have finished holding their conferences the Russians will be here; because so far the Western nations have not come to an agreement with each other; because of the long talking nothing has been achieved so far - they should agree on the defense in Western Europe; because there is too much disunity in the West - the poorly recruited Western army will not be strong enough to fend off the Russians; etc.

3	3	3	1	3
---	---	---	---	---

Lack of time - America is too far away: Because the Russians are too close - time is lacking to put up enough troops; the East has the advantage - the Western powers have to bring their forces from overseas - at a later date it will be possible to beat the Russians but not at the beginning; because West Germany is too small and the transportation of troops from America and England takes too long; because time is running short and not enough men will volunteer; because everybody in Western Europe lost too much during the last war - rearmament is not advanced enough; the Western powers take too much time with their rearmament, this is of use to the Russians; etc.

2	3	1	1	2
---	---	---	---	---

(cont'd on next page)

WEST Brit. US French Ger-
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone lin

West Germany is not ready to participate in the defense; Because German willingness to participate in the defense is not serious enough; because most men in Germany are still fed up from the last war; so far we have no peace treaty - besides, who would join the army? - those who were in it, once won't go again and the Russians are well prepared and will take us by surprise anyway; because our country is torn in two parts, that is an impediment to us; because nobody feels like playing soldier here in Germany; because we are tired of playing war; etc.

1% 1% 2% 1% 1%

The West has too many obligations in other parts of the world (Korea and Persia); England and America have too many other points of interest in the world; the Korean war is keeping many forces occupied and the Russians are trying to drag out all negotiations in order to win time and to keep the others guessing until they think their right time has come; because at the moment they are still fighting in Korea, Persia makes difficulties and besides Russia is better armed; etc.

1 1 1 - -

Defense forces are too weak; So far not much has happened which would make the Western powers strong enough to fend off an attack; the few divisions are nothing; then we should have seen to some of the defense efforts here which we haven't; there are not enough troops in West Germany; etc.

1 1 - 2 -

The troops of the Western powers are poor soldiers; Because the troops of the Western powers that are over here do not have my confidence; the Russians are well armed and one doesn't know whether the Western powers really want to rearm; the Americans are no soldiers; they are much too cowardly as to stop the Russians and with their tanks and planes they won't be able to beat the Russians; the ground troops are decisive - the Americans are poor soldiers and the Russians are much faster; etc.

1 * 2 - -

Communist underground and espionage is too well organized; Because the Communist underground deprives us of many good people; because the Russian espionage is too extensive and the Russians will lock on until everything is good and ready; etc.

* * 1 1 -

Other opinions: Because no man wants to be a soldier again; for what and for whom anyway - to defend the high prices?; even today they don't have a definite defense line which should exist already and should not be at the Rhine but somewhere in the East; I don't know - it's pure nonsense to ask such questions of a woman; the East won't wait to be invited; etc.

1 1 1 - -

No opinion / No answer:

* 1 - - 1
21% 21% 23% 16% 18%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

VI. WHAT NATIONS CAN BE DEPENDED UPON TO DEFEND THE WEST?

SERIOUS LACK OF CONFIDENCE IN FRANCE AND ITALY ...

A final question in the present study asked the West Germans which among five nations listed - England, America, France, West Germany, and Italy - could be depended upon to really take action for the defense of the West.

The results reveal a serious lack of confidence among West Germans in the dependability of some of their Western Allies. Two out of three believe that West Germany and America can be depended upon, half believe that England can be relied upon. But only four in ten feel that France can be depended upon to really take action in defense of the West and only 15 per cent would make such a judgment about Italy.

"In your opinion, which of the following nations would be depended upon to really take action for the defense of the West? - and which of these nations are you doubtful about whether they can be depended upon?"

	WEST GERMANY			British Zone			US Zone			French Zone			Berlin		
	De-	Doubt	No	De-	Doubt	No	De-	Doubt	No	De-	Doubt	No	De-	Doubt	No
	pend		op	pend		op	pend		op	pend		op	pend		op
England	54%	19%	27%	52%	20%	28%	57%	18%	25%	52%	13%	35%	78%	18%	4%
America	66	10	24	66	9	25	67	12	21	61	8	31	90	6	4
France	41	32	27	40	32	28	43	32	25	34	33	33	53	42	5
West															
Germany	65	9	26	63	9	28	71	8	21	58	9	33	89	6	5
Italy	15	56	29	15	55	30	15	58	27	10	51	39	24	70	6

These figures and the reasons for doubt that are reported following make very evident the serious need in Germany for whatever can be done to increase German awareness and appreciation of particularly French and Italian efforts toward Western defense.

CONFIDENTIAL

REASONS GIVEN WHY ITALY WOULD BE UNRELIABLE ...

The reasons brought up by respondents who expressed the belief that Italy could not be depended upon to really take action in defense of the West calls into question the common assumption that among the Western nations, Germans' greatest distaste is for the French. There is more than a suggestion in the plethora of animadversions on Italian constancy and character of deep German antagonism toward the Italians.

"Why do you believe that Italy would be unreliable?"

WEST Brit. US French Per-
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone lin

The Italians are undependable and treacherous: Because they are known to be a people of traitors; the Italians are too changeable, they have no character; because Italy has led us up the garden path once before; those macaroni people say "Yes" today and "no" tomorrow; Italy has always been a bad ally; we have to deal with them with the greatest caution; they also hesitated in the past war; because the result of our German-Italian alliance during the past 2 wars proved a failure; they break their word and they always side with the stronger party; because they have disappointed us in every war; after the experience we had, Italy can't be trusted; etc.

32% 31% 35% 26% 51%

The Italians are cowards - no soldiers: Already in 1914 they were cowards and also the last time; I have seen them in Russia, all they knew were retreats; Italy has left us in the lurch during the last war, they are not good soldiers (good Lord, how could Eisenhower ever say that the Italians were the best soldiers in Europe?); the Italians are lazy and not fit for war; they are too cowardly to fight; they are not good soldiers, they just run when they hear gunfire; etc.

11 11 11 13 12

Italy is pro-Communist: Last year I was in Italy and was told that they would prefer Communism to war; Italy is inclined towards Communism; Italy is the most Communist-infiltrated country in Europe, a new war would cause a revolution; the influence of the Communists is too strong; etc.

10 11 8 8 11

Other opinions: Disunity of the people; because during the war a part of Italy was destroyed by the Germans, that's why they don't want an alliance with us; that is obvious through the way Adenauer was received in Italy, he was more or less thrown out; because of the Vatican and furthermore the Italians have made peace twice before; the Italians changed their attitude twice, furthermore Fascism is very strong there; etc.

7 6 7 8 3

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{1}{61\%}$ $\frac{1}{60\%}$ $\frac{1}{62\%}$ $\frac{-}{55\%}$ $\frac{1}{78\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

REASONS GIVEN WHY FRANCE WOULD PROVE UNRELIABLE ...

In comparison to Italy, considerably fewer judgments about France's alleged unreliability involve slurs on French character. The single most frequent argument advanced was that France is pro-Communist and hence could not be depended upon to be a reliable defender of the West.

"Why do you believe that France would be unreliable?"

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Ber- lin
<u>France is pro-Communist:</u> The Communist party is too strong; they are inclined toward Communism, that's why they will not stick to the West; because of their Communist propaganda; because the French have too many Communists in their government; because France is too much inclined toward Communism; etc.	12%	12%	12%	9%	16%
<u>Hatred and embitterment towards Germany:</u> The hatred of the French towards Germany has not yet been wiped out; they don't trust us yet; because the French hate the Germans; the French attitude towards Germany is not too friendly; etc.	5	5	5	1	9
<u>The French are poor soldiers:</u> The soldiers of this country never were good soldiers; France has not been heroic during the two world wars; the French don't like to fight; on the grounds of their war experiences they don't have any good soldiers left, their days of glory (Napoleon) are over; they only make themselves busy in peace times, during the war they are just good for nothing; etc.	4	4	3	7	4
<u>The French are untrustworthy:</u> The French are untrue to us; the French are insidious; France has left us in the lurch twice and is going to do it again; because they left us in the lurch during the past war against the Russians; France is unreliable; the French can't be trusted; etc.	4	3	4	8	6
<u>Disunity within France:</u> At present a revolution is taking place in France and it is not clear yet where this shall lead; the main reason for that is the inconsistency of the government, changes can take very quickly in France; the political disunity is strong in France; because there is no unity; etc.	2	2	2	3	3
<u>France does not care for the West:</u> Because they don't care much for the West; etc.	1	2	1	-	3
<u>Other opinions:</u> I don't know myself, I just believe it, it all depends on how the Russians are going to act; etc.	5	5	6	6	5
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	$\frac{1}{34\%}$ **	$\frac{1}{33\%}$ **	$\frac{1}{34\%}$ **	$\frac{1}{34\%}$ **	$\frac{1}{45\%}$ **

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

REASONS GIVEN WHY ENGLAND WOULD BE UNRELIABLE...

The smaller proportion that doubted England's reliability in Western defense argued primarily that England is allegedly too interested in furthering her own advantages to be a reliable ally.

"Why do you believe that England would be unreliable?"

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. US Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Ber- lin
<u>The English will only fight for their own country:</u> They are only interested if their island is in danger; England has enough to do with its own problems; Churchill has disappointed me, first he spoke for and then against the Russians; he solely seeks the advantage for his own country; splendid isolation; the English are only going to defend their own island; etc.	6%	7%	5%	7%	3%
<u>The English are only interested in using others:</u> Because we don't yet have the financial means to pay and England will never be one of the party unless there is money to gain; England's history shows how other people always had to bleed white for it - they always save their own people; they always make others fight for them; etc.	4	3	5	3	5
<u>England is weak and tired of fighting:</u> Because England is too weak; etc.	2	3	2	1	2
<u>England is jealous of Germany - fears Germany:</u> They fear us and won't help us; because they don't want us to become successful again; etc.	1	2	1	-	1
<u>England deals too much with Communist countries:</u> They deal too much with Communist countries - for instance China; England is unreliable, too poor and too much inclined towards Communism; they care more for Korea and China than for us in Europe; etc.	1	1	2	-	1
<u>England is too much occupied with the Empire:</u> They are busy enough with their colonies; etc.	1	1	1	-	1
<u>Other opinions:</u> The English are rascals; because too many young soldiers are stationed here; etc.	3	4	2	2	5
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	$\frac{1}{19\%}$	$\frac{*}{21\%}$	$\frac{1}{19\%}$	$\frac{-}{13\%}$	$\frac{-}{18\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

~~REASONS GIVEN WHY AMERICA WOULD BE UNRELIABLE ...~~

The one in ten among West Germans who expressed doubt about America's dependability in Western defense efforts argue principally either that the Americans are too far away to take a real interest or that American soldiers are inexperienced and lack the necessary enthusiasm to defend Europe.

"Why do you believe that America would be unreliable?"

WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
-----------------	---------------	------------	----------------	--------

Americans too far away to take a real interest:
America is far away, if something doesn't click in their program they go off and just use their air force without mercy over Europe; because they can withdraw to their own country, and their own country isn't so much in danger; they are safe because of the ocean, they don't want to sacrifice more people than is necessary in Korea; they are far away and their country is not in danger; their interest isn't too great, furthermore Russia could attack America and then they would need their soldiers for their own defense; etc.

3%	3%	4%	1%	1%
----	----	----	----	----

The American soldiers are inexperienced and lack the necessary enthusiasm to defend Europe: The Americans are sport soldiers, they use above all mercenary troops; I would trust the United States alright, but the American soldier is going to run fast, because why should he fight in Europe? - he lacks the necessary experience; there is a big difference in participating in a war from the first day on and starting when the enemy is about to capitulate; the Americans will prefer to go home, they are willing to help economically, but otherwise they like only to carry their uniforms about, they take no interest in defending Germany which is pretty much strange to them; because the American soldiers lack the necessary experience; etc.

3	2	4	1	1
---	---	---	---	---

They have no understanding for European problems:
Because they are across the water and are no part of our continent; lack of understanding for European problems; etc.

1	1	2	1	1
---	---	---	---	---

The U.S. only wants to make money and take advantage of others: As usual the American wants to make money; etc.

1	1	1	1	1
---	---	---	---	---

Other opinions:

2	2	1	4	2
---	---	---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

* 10%	* 9%	* 12%	1 9%	- 6%
----------	---------	----------	---------	---------

* Less than one half of one per cent.

REASONS GIVEN WHY GERMANY WOULD BE UNRELIABLE ...

The main reasons cited by the few who held that Germany would be unreliable in Western defense is that she is too tired and weak to be effective.

"Why do you believe that West Germany would be unreliable?"

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. US Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
<u>West Germany is tired of war:</u> The last war has taken too much out of us to like the idea; West Germany is too much opposed to remilitarization and we will not be able to provide for the necessary troop contingent; their will to defend themselves is not strong enough; etc.	4%	3%	4%	5%	4%
<u>West Germany is not strong enough:</u> We are too weak and don't have any soldiers yet; we would lose our independence; because we have no arms and still an occupation; Germany does not have an army yet; etc.	2	2	2	-	-
<u>Because Germany is divided:</u> Because we don't want to fight against our brothers; there are two parties in Germany: one is for the West and the other is for the East; because of the partitioning of Germany; etc.	1	1	1	1	-
<u>Russia will exercise force:</u> Western Germany will have to join in when the Russians come; etc.	*	-	-	-	-
<u>Other opinions:</u>	2	2	1	2	2
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	$\frac{*}{9\%}$	$\frac{1}{9\%}$	$\frac{-}{8\%}$	$\frac{1}{9\%}$	$\frac{-}{6\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN JUDGMENTS OF RELIABILITY ...

For all countries considered except Italy, confidence in them to really take action in defense of the West tends to be at its maximum among the opinion leading elements - the men, the better schooled, and the economically better situated.

In the case of Italy, however, it is the opinion leading elements who express the most doubt about Italian reliability in defense of the West.

"In your opinion, which of the following nations could be depended upon to really take action for the defense of the West - and which of these nations are you doubtful about whether they can be depended upon?" (Returns on Italy)

	Could be depended upon	Doubtful about	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	16%	71%	13% ... 100%	347
Women	14	44	42	451
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	13%	53%	34%	651
Beyond elementary school	21	69	10	147
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower	16%	46%	38%	411
Middle and upper	14	66	21	387
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Under 299 DM	14%	52%	34%	584
300 - 399 DM	14	67	19	133
400 DM and more	22	67	11	73
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	17%	57%	26%	333
40 years and over	13	55	32	454
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	21%	69%	10%	183
CDU/CSU	18	54	28	133
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	11	72	17	36
Other parties	15	77	8	48
No party	12	58	30	215
Don't know	9	26	65	161
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	23%	73%	4%	22
Businessmen	12	74	14	69
White-collar workers	18	65	17	109
Skilled laborers	13	65	24	131
Semi-skilled laborers	16	43	41	115
Farmers	11	53	37	115
Monks, pensioners, students, retired, etc.	17	51	32	152
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	17%	69%	14%	119
No	14	53	33	676
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	14%	54%	32%	385
Protestants	15	56	29	391
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	15%	54%	31%	645
Refugees, Expellees	15	63	22	150

"In your opinion, which of the following nations could be depended upon to really take action for the defense of the West - and which of these nations are you doubtful about whether they can be depended upon?" (Returns on France)

	Could be depended upon	Doubtful about	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	52%	37%	11% ... 100%	347
Women	31	28	41	450
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	38%	30%	32%	651
Beyond elementary school	52	40	8	147
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower	36%	28%	36%	411
Middle and upper	45	36	19	387
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Under 299 DM	38%	31%	31%	584
300 - 399 DM	49	32	19	133
400 DM and more	49	41	7	73
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	43%	33%	24%	333
40 years and over	39	31	30	454
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	53%	38%	9%	183
CDU/CSU	45	30	25	136
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	53	30	17	36
Other parties	44	50	6	48
No party	36	29	35	215
Don't know	24	15	61	161
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	50%	50%	-%	22
Businessmen	52	38	10	69
White-collar workers	48	37	15	109
Skilled laborers	46	30	24	131
Semi-skilled laborers	32	29	39	116
Farmers	34	34	32	116
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	41	28	31	153
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	53%	33%	16%	119
No	38	32	30	575
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	43%	28%	39%	385
Protestants	38	35	27	391
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	41%	30%	29%	645
Refugees, Expellees	40	39	21	150

CONFIDENTIAL

"In your opinion, which of the following nations could be depended upon to really take action for the defense of the West - and which of these nations are you doubtful about whether they can be depended upon?" (Returns on England)

	Could be depended upon	Doubtful about	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	66%	23%	12%..100%	347
Women	44	16	40	450
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	50%	18%	32%	651
Beyond elementary school	72	21	7	147
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower	47%	17%	36%	410
Middle and upper	61	21	18	387
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Under 299 DM	49%	19%	32%	584
300 - 399 DM	68	15	17	133
400 DM and more	73	19	8	73
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	61%	17%	22%	333
40 years and over	50	20	30	454
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	70%	21%	9%	183
CDU/CSU	61	14	25	136
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	53	33	14	36
Other parties	62	31	7	48
No party	49	21	30	215
Don't know	31	11	58	161
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	82%	14%	4%	22
Businessmen	51	29	10	69
White-collar workers	67	21	12	109
Skilled laborers	57	19	24	131
Semi-skilled laborers	50	14	36	115
Farmers	52	15	33	115
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	45	21	34	152
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	65%	21%	13%	119
No	52	18	30	675
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	53%	17%	30%	384
Protestants	54	20	26	391
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	54%	18%	28%	645
Refugees, Expellees	58	21	21	160

CONFIDENTIAL

"In your opinion, which of the following nations could be depended upon to really take action for the defense of the West - and which of these nations are you doubtful about whether they can be depended upon?" (Returns on America)

	Could be depended upon	Doubtful about	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	79%	11%	10% ... 100%	347
Women	56	9	35	450
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	62%	10%	28%	651
Beyond elementary school	83	11	6	147
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower	61%	8%	31%	410
Middle and upper	71	12	17	387
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Under 299 DM	62%	10%	28%	584
300 - 399 DM	74	9	17	133
400 DM and more	85	10	5	73
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	71%	9%	20%	333
40 years and over	63	10	27	454
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
S&D	84%	8%	8%	183
CDU/CSU	72	7	21	135
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	69	17	14	36
Other parties	81	13	6	48
No party	62	12	26	215
Don't know	38	8	54	161
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	82%	18%	-	22
Businessmen	77	12	11	69
White-collar workers	82	8	10	109
Skilled laborers	66	14	20	131
Semi-skilled laborers	58	9	33	115
Farmers	62	9	29	115
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	65	6	29	152
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	74%	13%	13%	119
No	65	9	26	675
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	64%	9%	27%	385
Protestants	67	10	23	391
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	64%	10%	26%	645
Refugees, Expellees	72	9	19	150

"In your opinion, which of the following nations could be depended upon to really take action for the defense of the West - and which of these nations are you doubtful about whether they can be depended upon?" (Returns on West Germany)

	Could be depended upon	Doubtful about	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	77%	11%	12%...100%	347
Women	55	7	37	450
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	62%	8%	30%	551
Beyond elementary school	77	13	10	147
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower	60%	6%	34%	410
Middle and upper	71	11	18	387
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Under 299 DM	62%	8%	30%	584
300 - 399 DM	77	8	15	133
400 DM and more	77	14	9	78
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	68%	10%	22%	333
40 years and over	64	7	29	454
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	82%	9%	9%	183
CDU/CSU	72	7	21	135
FDP/LIF/DVP/BDW	81	8	11	36
Other parties	84	8	8	48
No party	60	11	29	215
Don't know	77	5	58	162
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	82%	18%	...	22
Businessmen	74	14	12	69
White-collar workers	75	12	13	109
Skilled laborers	74	5	21	131
Semi-skilled laborers	57	8	35	116
Farmers	61	5	33	115
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	60	9	31	152
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	73%	14%	14%	119
No	64	7	29	675
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	63%	3%	29%	385
Protestants	67	8	25	391
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	64%	9%	27%	645
Refugees, Expellees	70	5	24	150

URBAN WEST GERMAN REACTIONS

Classification changed to
 OFFICIAL by authority of Leo P. Gersp.
 by authority of Leo P. Gersp.
 PUB/RAS.

Report No. 89

Series No. 2

July 13, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL

OFFICE OF THE U. S. GOVT. COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
 OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
 REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

CONFIDENTIAL

INTRODUCTION...

In order to measure public reactions to the Kemritz case at the time it was receiving considerable attention in the West German press, the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, HICOG, undertook a "flash" survey of urban opinions in West Germany and West Berlin. Interviewing was done June 27 - 29, 1951, using a representative quota sample of 640 cases in cities of 50 000 and more population in West Germany and a 200 case sample in the three Western sectors of Berlin. Interviewing was done by a staff of trained German interviewers; the analysis was made in the Frankfurt headquarters of RAS.

HIGHLIGHTS...

Two main findings emerge from the survey:

1) There was fairly widespread awareness of the Kemritz case at the time of the survey, an awareness generally supported by a knowledge of details.

2) Though the extent of knowledge suggests the affair had had a certain public impact, urban West Germans tended to minimize the effect of American intervention on German-American relations. The findings in summary are as follows:

- ... At the time of the survey half of the residents of West German cities had heard of the Kemritz case, and almost all of them could describe the charges brought against the defendant. More Berliners were informed, but the extent of awareness in that city was not as great as could have been expected considering that Berlin was the place of origin of the affair.
- ... But the central issue of the case leading to the current spate of publicity - American intercession - was known to somewhat fewer people: a third knew that the Americans had intervened.
- ... The explanation generally advanced for this action was that the Americans were rewarding Kemritz for past services rendered.
- ... Intervention in the case was considered unjustified by almost all who knew of the American action. The alleged incongruity between American claims to principles of justice and protection of an alleged kidnapper and criminal was the most frequently advanced reason.
- ... But the consequences of the matter to German-American relations were considered serious by only a few at the time of the survey. Thus:
 - ... Only one in 10 among urban West Germans spontaneously cited the case as evidence of worsened German-American relations. (Two in 10 asserted a recent deterioration in these relations.)
 - ... Only about one in 10 city dwellers claimed an adverse change in attitudes toward the Americans resulting from the American action in behalf of Kemritz.
 - ... Only one in 10 thought the American intercession would damage German-American relations for a long time to come.

- 2 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

I. AWARENESS OF THE KEMRITZ CASE

The "Kemritz case" became a topic of much comment in the West German press following the adoption in the Federal Bundestag of a resolution criticizing the intervention of the U.S. High Commission in a suit brought against Dr. Hans Kemritz, a German attorney accused of turning over fellow Germans to the Russians in the first years of the occupation.

This section of the report reveals the extent of awareness of the affair among the West German urban public and West Berliners. Part Two deals with opinions on the possible consequences of American intervention on German-American relations.

MANY CITY DWELLERS KNOW OF KEMRITZ CASE...

About half (53%) of the urban West German public are aware of the Kemritz case. Awareness is not considerably greater in West Berlin (66%) - a rather unexpected finding since the affair received wide publicity there because Dr. Kemritz was living in Berlin at the time the alleged events occurred.

The measure of awareness combines results of two questions, one using an indirect approach, the other a direct one. In the first, respondents were queried regarding the present state of American-German relations, with the result that 9% of West German city dwellers (in Berlin 13%), cited the case as evidence of a recent deterioration in German-American relations. (It is the view of a fifth of the urban public that relations between the two countries have worsened of late.)

The second inquiry was directed toward the bulk of the public who had not spontaneously brought up the matter in the initial question. Four in ten in West German cities and five in ten Berliners thereupon acknowledged awareness. The two questions and replies follow:

"And can you think of anything that has recently worsened relations between West Germany and America?" "What?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	BERLIN
Yes-(Mention Kemritz)	9%	9%	7%	4%	13%
Yes-(Other mentions)	13	11	20	21	8
No, nothing	50	50	48	54	56
No opinion	28	30	25	25	23
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Have you heard or read of the Kemritz case?" (Asked of those who did not spontaneously mention the case in previous question).

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	BERLIN
Yes	44%	45%	44%	46%	53%
No	45	44	47	50	33
No opinion	2	2	2	4	1
	91%	91%	93%	100%	87%

As the following comments demonstrate, to only about one in ten does the Kemrits affair come to mind without further hint or stimulus. Though the execution of the Landsberg prisoners had occurred some time previously, as many mention them as do the Kemrits matter as evidence of deteriorated German-American relations. It would appear therefore that the case, though known to a considerable segment of the urban public, has not impinged to such an extent that it is in the forefront of public thinking.

WEST Brit. US French BERLIN
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

The Landsberg executions: The Landsberg affairs; that the Landsberg prisoners had to suffer so long; that the Landsberg prisoners were executed after they had to wait so long; the Landsberg verdicts - those people should have been hanged long ago; etc.

10% 9% 13% 17% 1%

The Kemrits case: Because they didn't take any action in the Kemrits case; the case about the lawyer Kemrits which made an unfavourable impression; I have read in the paper that the Americans protected a defendant who supposedly worked for the Russians, I forgot the name of him though; the lawyer Kemrits was given protection when he was to be arrested by the German authorities; etc.

9 9 7 - 13

The American insistence on the rearmament of West Germany: That they want to "militarize" us at all costs; because they want us to have soldiers again - at the beginning they took us in with the good life they provided for us - now they tighten the strings again so we'll be ready to become soldiers; because we are to establish an army again and they are war mongers; they express their discontent, because we are not ready for a re-militarization; because of the American desire to make a military state out of Germany; etc.

2 2 4 - 1

The pressure on West Germany and the interference of the occupation powers: That the Kasernes have to be evacuated for American soldiers; the American attitude of the question of German coal exports and the price of coal; that they are reinforcing the occupation troops; many people talk about it, because it means greater expenses to us; that we have to pay more for the occupation - yet we can't pay more; preparations for blowing up bridges; etc.

2 2 3 - 4

Other opinions: The Korean war, America could have prevented that; the boxing match issue between Hecht and Robinson; etc.

$\frac{2}{25\%}$ $\frac{1}{23\%}$ $\frac{3}{30\%}$ $\frac{4}{21\%}$ $\frac{4}{23\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP DIFFERENCES...

The higher status groups - the better educated, upper socio-economic levels, the more affluent, and the men - more frequently than others are prepared to mention examples of worsened German-American relations.

"And can you think of anything that worsened relations between West Germany and America?" "What?"

	Yes	No, nothing	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	34%	48%	18%	287
Women	13	50	37	352
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary School	14	51	35	380
Beyond elementary school	35	47	18	258
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower	14	50	36	329
Middle and upper	31	48	21	310
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Under 299 DM	17	48	35	320
300-399 DM	21	56	23	161
400 DM and more	34	46	20	153
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	22	50	28	289
40 years and over	23	49	28	347
<u>Party Preferences:</u>				
SPD	17	53	30	156
CDU/CSU	25	55	20	101
FDP/LRP/DVP/BDV	42	41	17	76
Other parties	21	52	27	33
No party	18	54	28	140
Don't know	11	41	48	97
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	30	52	18	50
Businessmen	29	49	22	134
White-Collar workers	30	44	26	161
Skilled workers	13	65	22	82
Semi-skilled workers	9	42	49	78
None-pensioners, students retired, etc.	16	55	29	69
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	18	49	33	294
Protestants	25	51	24	308
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	21	50	29	535
Refugees, expellees	28	49	23	103

As is usually true with informational matters, the opinion leading groups have more frequently heard of the Kamrits case than the bulk of the urban population.

"Have you heard or read of the 'Kamrits case'?"

	Yes	No	No opinion	Question not asked	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY					
Sex:					
Men	57%	27%	14%	15%..100%	287
Women	34	61	2	3	353
Education:					
Elementary school	35	59	2	4	380
Beyond elementary school	58	25	1	16	258
Socio-economic Status:					
Lower	35	58	2	5	329
Middle and upper	55	31	1	13	310
Income (per month):					
Under 299 DM	33	59	2	6	320
300-399 DM	50	41	1	8	161
400 DM and more	62	22	1	15	153
Age:					
Under 40 years	37	52	2	9	289
40 years and over	52	39	1	8	347
Party Preference:					
SPD	44	51	1	4	156
CDU/CSU	25	34	1	10	101
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	57	25	1	17	76
Other parties	39	58	-	3	33
No party	40	47	3	10	148
Don't know	35	60	2	3	97
Occupations:					
Professionals	62	24	-	14	50
Businessmen	58	34	1	8	134
White-Collar workers	45	37	2	16	161
Skilled workers	43	52	1	4	82
Semi-skilled workers	24	68	5	3	76
Non-pensioners, students, retired, etc.	39	56	1	4	69
Religion:					
Catholics	40	52	2	6	294
Protestants	48	39	2	11	308
Origin:					
Natives	45	45	2	8	535
Refugees, expellees	44	45	1	10	106

DETAILS OF THE CASE RELATIVELY WELL KNOWN...

West German city dwellers who are aware of the Kemritz case are also well informed on its details. Almost all of them are able to state the accusations made against him. The most common version is that Kemritz "kidnapped and handed Germans over to the Russians"; other comments are a variation on the same theme.

"Could you please tell me what Kemritz has been accused of?"

WEST Brit. US French BERLIN
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

He kidnapped and handed Germans over to the Russians: He lured many people from West Germany into the Russian zone; he has many human lives on his conscience because of his aid in kidnappings; abducted Germans and handed them over to the Russians; because he handed Germans over to the Russians under some sort of pretense; the Amis are good democrats. I just can't understand that -- he handed people over to the East; he is accused of having human lives on his conscience by operating a trap for people -- shamefully enough it was sanctioned by the Allies; aiding in abduction of people to the East zone; etc.

34% 33% 35% 34% 49%

He cooperated with the Russians (NKWD-agents, etc.): he was an informer and spy -- he denounced Germans; He supposedly was in contact with Russian agents for some time; because he was a Russian spy; because he worked with the NKWD; he has, as far as I know, denounced Germans to the Russians; he aided Russian agents; he spied for Russia -- was an agent for the NKWD; etc.

6 7 5 8 7

Because of crimes against humanity:
Because of crimes against humanity:
because he denied human rights; etc.

3 3 2 - 4

Because he worked for the Americans:
Because he worked for the Americans --
they are 100% democrats -- they just
let their hatred run free -- they aren't
interested in a united Europe; he
supposedly was a spy for the Americans;
etc.

* 1 - - -

Other opinions: He was a lawyer and supposed to investigate something -- which he refused to do, that's why he was indicted; the Americans were involved somehow -- but I don't know for sure; because he sentenced people who never were in a concentration camp; etc.

1 1 2 - 3

No opinion/No answer:

9 9 7 8 4
53% 54% 51% 50% 67%

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer

- 5 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP DIFFERENCES...

The penetration of the Kemritz issue among the upper status groups in German cities is clearly demonstrated in the following table, which reveals that among the well-educated, higher socio-economic and income groups and the men, six in ten on the average can specify the charges against Dr. Kemritz.

"Could you please tell me what Kemritz has been accused of?"

	Kid- napping	Crimes against humanity	Cooperated with Russians	Other	No op.	Question not ask.	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY							
Sex:							
Men	52%	5%	4%	2%	9%	28%..100%	287
Women	19	7	1	1	9	63	352
Education:							
Elementary school	21	4	1	2	11	61	380
Beyond elementary school	52	9	5	2	6	26	258
Socio-economic Status:							
Lower	22	5	1	1	10	61	329
Middle and upper	45	8	5	2	8	32	310
Income (per month):							
Under 299 DM	22	5	1	2	9	61	320
300 - 399 DM	37	6	2	2	11	42	161
400 DM and more	55	0	6	1	6	24	153
Age:							
Under 40 years	35	4	3	1	7	54	289
40 years and over	36	8	3	2	11	40	347
Party Preference:							
SPD	30	6	1	3	8	52	156
CDU/CSU	35	14	5	3	8	35	101
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	54	9	3	1	7	26	76
Other parties	30	6	3	-	3	58	33
No party	33	1	3	1	12	50	148
Don't know	18	4	3	-	13	62	97
Occupation:							
Professionals	56	6	8	-	6	24	50
Businessmen	47	9	4	1	4	35	134
White-Collar workers	37	8	2	4	10	39	161
Skilled workers	24	4	1	-	17	54	82
Semi-skilled workers	15	3	1	-	8	73	78
None-pensioners, students, retired, etc.	22	6	1	3	11	57	69
Religion:							
Catholics	29	6	2	1	8	54	294
Protestants	36	6	4	2	11	41	308
Origin:							
Natives	34	6	3	1	9	47	535
Refugees, expelled	33	6	3	3	10	45	105

CONFIDENTIAL

II. OPINIONS ON THE EFFECT OF THE KEMRITZ CASE ON GERMAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

This section deals with reactions to American intervention in the suit against Dr. Kemritz with particular reference to opinions on the consequences of this intervention to German-American relations.

Only those people who knew that the American authorities had acted were asked opinions on these issues. Thus the findings reported in the following pages are based on a third of the West German urban public and 47% of West Berliners -- the proportions in each place who were at the time of the survey aware that the Americans had intervened.

The fact that, as of late June, the central issue of the Kemritz affair -- American intercession in the proceedings -- was known to only a third of the residents in West German cities and less than a half of Berliners is in itself a noteworthy finding. And, as will subsequently be seen, only about a tenth foresee serious repercussions on German-American relations resulting from the American action.

"Do you know whether the American authorities have taken any action in the Kemritz case?"

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	BERLIN
Yes	33%	33%	32%	12%	47%
No, have done nothing	5	5	5	13	5
No opinion	15	16	14	21	14
	53%	54%	51%	46%	66%

NATURE OF AMERICAN ACTION KNOWN...

Without exception, people who know that the Americans have interceded can describe the nature of the action.

"What action have they taken?"

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	BERLIN
--	-----------------	---------------	------------	----------------	--------

They have protested Kemritz and hindered the Germans (the courts, the police, etc. to follow up the case); They have put him under their protection; they protected him against German administrative authorities, according to the press; have forbidden the Germans to take care of the case; Kemritz was protected by withholding him from seizure by German courts; the Americans have put him into precautionary arrest; they try to suppress all German legal proceedings against him and to protect him; presumably patronizing the flight to foreign countries; they have refused to let him be brought before a German court; he had to be set free by American intervention; they protect him, they don't want him to be punished; they protected the good man; they have withdrawn him from German courts; he stands under their protection; they don't want him to be condemned by German courts; they wanted to suppress a trial, so that no trial takes place and Kemritz goes free; the Americans want to prevent his punishment; etc.

32% 32% 32% 12% 45%

(Cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

WEST	Brit.	US	French	BERLIN
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone	

Other opinions: Because his wife raised a protest they put an end to the distraint of his furniture; etc.

$\frac{26}{34\%}$	$\frac{26}{34\%}$	$\frac{16}{33\%}$	$\frac{12}{18\%}$	$\frac{26}{47\%}$
-------------------	-------------------	-------------------	-------------------	-------------------

AMERICAN ACTION CONSIDERED AS PAYMENT FOR SERVICES RENDERED...

American motives in intervening are largely seen as payment for past services rendered. There is scarcely any mention of any legal justification for the American action in the case.

"What do you think are the reasons that the Americans have concerned themselves with the Kemrits case?" (Asked of those who answered "Yes" to previous question)

WEST	Brit.	US	French	BERLIN
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone	

He worked for the Americans: He was an agent of the American secret service; he is said to have rendered good service to the American CIC; because Kemrits committed those crimes while in their service; perhaps, since he served as a spy for the Americans, he makes a merit of it; perhaps he has handed over secrets to them, he served as a spy; they knew about everything but didn't undertake anything because he served as a spy for the Americans; he rendered valuable services to the Americans; he has probably given them information on Russian conditions; we take it that he and the Americans are accomplices, he has rendered certain services to them, don't know exactly; I suppose that he helped the Americans in their actions against us; according to the American statement he helped them with their security - whether or not this is true, I don't know; we don't get a true picture about the real reasons; etc.

8%	8%	9%	4%	16%
----	----	----	----	-----

He worked for the Russians and the Americans, as well (comments that say for instance "also for the Americans"): Most likely he served both sides; very probably he worked for the Americans as well as for the Russians; political reasons; Kemrits has probably handed people over to the Russians; this good man has spied for both sides, as far as one can believe the newspapers; business remains business, it has always been that way with the Americans and now they are in for it; etc.

5	5	6	-	12
---	---	---	---	----

(Cont'd on next page)

* Some respondents gave more than one answer

- 3 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

WEST Brit. US French BERLIN
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

That is an obscure affair; That puzzles me, I would like to find out; this whole affair is pretty obscure; we don't know the whole truth, it is all very mysterious; that remains a puzzle to us; I can't see through it at all; etc.

4% 4% 3% 4% 3%

They fear certain information will leak out; Their interests are at stake; they fear that something foul might leak out that might not be favorable to them; they fear that their obscure doings that obviously are directed against us will be found out; a report would bring to light all kinds of evil things pertaining to the Americans; guilty conscience, because their methods used in Germany after the capitulation would hardly agree with the democratic principles they represent; etc.

3 3 3 - 3

Political matters are at stake; Perhaps due to the difficulties regarding foreign policy; probably political interests that somehow are connected with the Allied occupation policy; they perhaps want to use this case in their diplomacy towards Russia; most likely a highly political matter; because he is mixed up in matters pertaining to foreign policy; etc.

3 3 2 - 3

At that time the Americans and the Russians were still in concord; Because at that time they were still Allies and pursued common interests in Germany; America and Russia were still friends; etc.

* * - - 1

Other opinions: To prevent all these disguised Communists from the East Zone from tearing him to pieces; because he most likely has good connections with leading American personalities; they refer to a law of the Control Council - that's all I know; kidnapping of people, now outlawed was then permitted by the Allies in a hasty agreement, that's why they had to take a stand for Kemnitz; in Berlin he would get severe punishment, and the Americans don't want that; it is utterly incomprehensible, it wouldn't have happened while General Clay was there, etc.

3 3 3 - 6

No opinions

7 8 8 4 3
33% 33% 33% 12% 4%

* Less than one half of one per cent

CONFIDENTIAL

AMERICAN ACTION HELD UNJUSTIFIED..?

The weight of opinion among those who know of American intervention in behalf of Dr. Kemnitz is very strongly toward the view that it was not justified. Only 2% believe that the action was proper.

"What do you think - was the way the Americans acted in the Kemnitz case justified, somewhat justified, not justified, or completely unjustified?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	BERLIN
Justified	2%	2%	3%	-%	2%
Not justified	10	10	9	-	27
Completely unjustified	14	15	12	8	13
No opinion	$\frac{7}{33\%}$	$\frac{6}{33\%}$	$\frac{8}{33\%}$	$\frac{4}{12\%}$	$\frac{5}{47\%}$

AMERICANS SHOULD NOT INTERFERE IN A GERMAN AFFAIR...

The leading comments of those who say the Americans had no right to act is that this is a purely German affair; though Berliners as frequently stress the incorrectness of protesting a "criminal," a point also advanced almost as often by the West German sample. The alleged incongruity of the American action with American principles of justice is also cited.

"Why do you consider it unjustified?" (Asked of those who answered "Not justified" and "Completely unjustified" to previous question)

WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	BERLIN
-----------------	---------------	------------	----------------	--------

The Americans should not interfere in German internal affairs. Zenger was subject to German law. The interference of the Americans was not justified, German internal affair; I don't know what reasons the Americans had, he is a German and should be tried by German law; because it was kidnapping and no government would permit that to happen in their own country, and Germany has its own jurisdiction; because it is solely up to the Germans to pursue this matter after they recognized the Federal Government; it is a shame that America claims the right to interfere with German penal law; he should be put under the German law, just as the Americans have tried our war criminals, every crime should be punished; it is a purely German affair, he handed over Germans, not Americans; etc.

11%	12%	9%	-%	15%
-----	-----	----	----	-----

CONFIDENTIAL

WEST	Brit.	US	French	BERLIN
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone	

Criminals ought to be punished instead of protected: If someone kidnaps people he should be punished for it; because criminals cannot be saved from punishment they deserve, without endangering moral foundations; this man should have been tried because he committed crimes against Germans, he is a criminal; a crime remains a crime, regardless of when it was committed and whom it harmed; this man is a criminal who ought to be hanged like the Landsberg people; they want to protect a criminal, I don't know why they do it but they shouldn't do it, what will the East zone population think about it; he has committed crimes against humanity, such people should not be protected; etc.

6%	6%	7%	4%	16
----	----	----	----	----

Intervention is a contradiction of American principles and the Nuremberg trials: If, on one hand the Americans take a stand for democracy, they should on the other hand, under no circumstances protect Kemrits; because it is not democratic to prevent a normal trial by using force; it does not follow from and contradicts what they propagated in Nuremberg; one can't on one hand talk of humanity, and when it suits the purpose find excuses for bolshevistic methods; the Americans claim to have fought that from the beginning on, and now they are helping him; it contradicts their own policy since at Nuremberg they proclaimed freedom of human rights and hanged all those who injured human rights; kidnapping of people was condemned in Nuremberg and now a man like that is protected; that is no way to act, remembering that those people always claim to be better than we are; the Germans were hanged, Kemrits who also committed a crime against humanity is protected by the Americans; because it is incompatible with international views of justice and it offends democratic principles to protect a criminal like that, he should be beaten to death; etc.

7	3	4	8
---	---	---	---

Other opinions: The reasons why the Americans protected him are unknown to us; they didn't even examine the bill of indictment, that would have been the least they should have done; we Germans also have rights; etc.

$\frac{1}{24\%}$	$\frac{1}{26\%}$	$\frac{2}{21\%}$	$\frac{1}{8\%}$	$\frac{2}{41\%}$
------------------	------------------	------------------	-----------------	------------------

* Some respondents gave more than one answer

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP DIFFERENCES...

Among all the urban groups queried, the weight of opinion is that American intervention in the case was not justified. Opinion leaders, however, make this assertion more often than other groups.

"What do you think - was the way the Americans acted in the Lemritz case justified, somewhat justified, not justified, or completely unjustified?"

	Justified somewhat justified	Not justified completely unjustified	No op.	Question not asked	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY					
Sex:					
Men	3%	38%	9%	50%..100%	287
Women	1	12	4	83	352
Education:					
Elementary school	1	13	5	81	380
Beyond elementary school	4	38	9	49	258
Socio-economic Status:					
Lower	2	34	9	55	310
Middle and upper	3	14	4	79	329
Income (per month):					
Under 299 DM	2	14	4	80	320
300 - 399 DM	1	23	11	65	161
400 DM and more	3	46	7	44	153
Age:					
Under 40 years	2	22	6	70	289
40 years and over	3	25	7	65	347
Party Preferences:					
SPD	1	19	5	75	155
CDU/CSU	4	28	13	55	101
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	3	50	4	43	76
Other parties	6	12	9	73	23
No party	1	21	8	70	148
Don't know	-	11	4	85	97
Occupation:					
Professionals	2	44	8	46	50
Businessmen	3	38	10	49	134
White-collar workers	3	21	6	70	161
Skilled workers	-	16	10	74	82
Semi-skilled workers	1	13	1	85	78
None-pensioners, students retired, etc.	1	15	4	80	69
Religion:					
Catholics	1	24	5	70	294
Protestants	4	23	8	65	308
Origin:					
Natives	1	25	7	67	535
Refugees, Expellees	7	18	2	73	103

CONFIDENTIAL

CONSEQUENCES OF AMERICAN ACTIONS NOT CONSIDERED SERIOUS...

Asked whether American intervention in behalf of Dr. Kamritz has caused a change in attitudes toward the Americans, about three times as many reply negatively as affirmatively.

"Have the actions of the American authorities in the Kamritz case changed your attitude toward the Americans or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	BERLIN
Changed	7%	7%	8%	4%	10%
Not changed	24	26	22		37
No opinion	$\frac{2}{33\%}$	$\frac{1}{33\%}$	$\frac{2}{33\%}$	$\frac{6}{12\%}$	$\frac{1}{47\%}$

... Loss of confidence in American claims to justice in particular and decrease in confidence in general are the reasons advanced by those who claim their feelings toward the Americans have changed.

"In what respect has your attitude toward the Americans been changed?" (Asked of those who answered "Changed" to previous question)

WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	BERLIN
--------------	------------	---------	-------------	--------

Undermined confidence in American claims to justice: They have offended the law and they did not give the same rights to all; my confidence is shattered and I have my own ideas about Nuremberg and the Ruhr; they are not just; my attitude towards the fairness of American justice has been shattered and I doubt it very much; I disapprove of the fact that power comes before right; I realize that an American as long as it is of advantage to him will subordinate justice to a desired goal, just like Hitler who thought that the end justifies the means; up to now I believed in the principles of the Americans, now I realize that there are two kinds of rights; etc.

4% 4% 4% 4% 3%

Undermined confidence in general: We can no longer believe their beautiful words of democratic freedom; up to now we had too much confidence in them, it would be to their own disadvantage to repeat a thing like that; as soon as their own advantage is at stake they are no longer humane; it is incomprehensible to me how the Americans can protect such a criminal, from now on I reject the Americans; their behavior irritated me, something is wrong there, I hope that Mr. McCloy will take a stand in this matter soon, also the Voice of America; as a result I don't like them as much as before since they don't have as much interest in the Germans as I pictured they would; etc.

3 3 3 - 7

Other opinions: I realize that the Americans lack the hard core to prevent such happenings; etc.

$\frac{1}{7\%}$ $\frac{1}{7\%}$ $\frac{1}{8\%}$ $\frac{1}{4\%}$ $\frac{1}{10\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent

GROUP DIFFERENCES...

On the average, a three to one preponderance among all groups queried holds that American action in the Kemnitz case has not caused a change in attitudes toward the Americans.

"Have the actions of the American authorities in the Kemnitz case changed your attitude toward the Americans or not?"

	Changed	Not changed	No opinion	Question not asked	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY					
Sex:					
Men	11%	38%	2%	-49%..100%	287
Women	3	13	2	82	352
Education:					
Elementary school	4	15	1	80	380
Beyond elementary school	13	37	2	49	258
Socio-economic Status:					
Lower	3	17	1	79	329
Middle and upper	11	32	2	55	310
Income (per month):					
Under 299 DM	2	17	1	80	320
300 - 399 DM	10	24	1	65	161
400 DM and more	13	40	3	44	153
Age:					
Under 40 years	4	24	2	70	289
40 years and over	9	24	2	65	347
Party Preference:					
SPD	4	20	1	75	156
CDU/CSU	5	38	2	55	101
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	15	41	1	43	76
Other parties	9	18	-	73	33
No party	9	20	2	69	148
Don't know	2	10	3	85	97
Occupation:					
Professionals	18	32	4	46	50
Businessmen	13	36	2	49	134
White-collar workers	3	25	3	69	161
Skilled workers	4	22	-	74	82
Semi-skilled workers	3	10	3	84	78
None-pensioners, students, retired, etc.	4	16	-	80	69
Religion:					
Catholics	8	20	2	70	294
Protestants	6	27	2	65	308
Origin:					
Natives	7	25	2	66	535
Refugees, expellees	4	22	1	73	103

FEW SEE LASTING EFFECT ON GERMAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS...

Twice as many West German city dwellers regard the American handling of the affair as having only temporarily adverse effects on German-American relations as see it as permanently damaging them.

"Which of these two opinions comes closest to your own?"

- A. The American handling of the Kemritz case has considerably damaged German-American relations, so that the consequences will be apparent for some time to come.
- B. The Kemritz case will not seriously effect German-American relations - it is rather an example of the friction that arises in any occupation and will soon be forgotten.

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	BERLIN
A. American action has damaged German-American relations	11%	12%	8%	4%	11%
B. Kemritz case will not have serious consequences	19	18	21	8	35
No opinion	$\frac{3}{33\%}$	$\frac{3}{33\%}$	$\frac{3}{32\%}$	$\frac{2}{12\%}$	$\frac{1}{47\%}$

* Alternatives were presented on a card read by the respondents.

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP DIFFERENCE...

The view that the Kemnitz case will not permanently harm German-American relations outweighs the contrary opinion in all population groups questioned on the issue. It is worthy of note, however, that on the average about two in ten of the opinion leading elements foresee long-lasting adverse consequences of the affair.

	Alternative A Actions have done damage	Alternative B Will have no serious conse- quences	No. op.	Question not asked	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY					
Sex:					
Men	18%	30%	3%	49%..100%	287
Women	5	10	3	82	352
Education:					
Elementary school	5	14	1	80	380
Beyond elementary school	19	27	6	48	258
Socio-economic Status:					
Lower	5	15	1	79	329
Middle and upper	17	23	5	55	310
Income (per month):					
Under 299 DM	4	15	1	80	320
300 - 399 DM	12	22	1	65	161
400 DM and more	22	25	9	44	153
Age:					
Under 40 years	10	18	2	70	289
40 years and over	11	20	4	65	347
Party Preferences:					
SPD	10	13	2	75	156
CDU/CSU	13	30	2	55	101
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDP	24	28	5	43	76
Other parties	6	21	-	73	33
No party	5	21	4	70	148
Don't know	8	5	2	85	97
Occupation:					
Professionals	30	16	8	46	50
Businessmen	15	30	5	50	134
White-Collar workers	8	19	3	70	161
Skilled workers	6	18	1	75	82
Semi-skilled workers	5	10	-	85	78
None-pensioners, students, retired, etc.	7	12	1	80	69
Religion:					
Catholics	11	17	2	70	294
Protestants	10	21	4	65	308
Origin:					
Natives	11	20	3	66	335
Refugees, Expellees	10	15	2	73	103

CONFIDENTIAL

RELATIONSHIP OF ATTITUDES...

Attitudes toward the Kemrits case do not seem to be related either positively or negatively to Western orientations. Thus people who express international views, approve of the idea of denazification, appraise National Socialism as mainly evil, side with the West in the East-West struggle, and give the U.S. credit for developing German independence, exhibit on the average the same opinions on the Kemrits affair as do the people who take a negative stand on any of these issues.

This means that criticism of the handling of the Kemrits case is not necessarily an expression of generalized disagreement with American policies, but to the extent it exists is as frequently held by those who may be called "pro-American," as by others.

These generalizations are borne out in the following tables demonstrating the relationship between attitudes.

American action in Kemrits case:

"What do you think - was the way the Americans acted in the Kemrits case justified, somewhat justified, not justified, or completely unjustified?"

	Justified	Not justified	No opinion	No. of cases
Political Attitudes*				
Favor international alternative	8%	72%	20%..100%	138
Favor national alternative	5	79	16	61
Denazification system considered as:				
Good idea	9	70	21	79
Bad idea	6	77	17	117
Idea of National Socialism considered:				
More good than bad	11	77	12	65
More bad than good	7	72	21	119
In East-West struggle would:				
Side with West	9	72	19	130
Side with East	-	-	-	-
Stay out	4	75	21	72
Believe U.S. seeks to develop:				
independent Germany	9	67	24	141
Does not seek to develop independent Germany	2	86	10	57

* The wording of the questions used in this and subsequent tables is given at the end of the report.

CONFIDENTIAL

"Have the actions of the American authorities in the Kemrits case changed your attitude toward the Americans or not?"

Changed Not No No. of
attitudes changed opinion cases

Political Attitudes:

Favor international alternative	21%	72%	7%..100%	138
Favor national alternative	23	77	-	61

Denazification system considered as:

Good idea	19	78	5	79
Bad idea	25	71	4	117

Idea of National Socialism considered:

More good than bad	25	74	1	85
More bad than good	22	74	4	119

In East-West struggle would:

Side with West	23	73	6	130
Side with East	-	-	-	-
Stay out	18	81	1	72

Believe U.S. seeks to develop
independent Germany

19	74	7	141
----	----	---	-----

Does not seek to develop
independent Germany

26	72	2	57
----	----	---	----

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

A. The American handling of the Kemrits case has considerably damaged German-American relations, so that the consequences will be apparent for some time to come.

B. The Kemrits case will not seriously effect German-American relations; it is rather an example of the friction that arises in an occupation and will soon be forgotten. (Gard)

"Which of these two opinions comes closest to your own?"

	Alternative A	Alternative B	No opinion	No. of cases
1. Political Attitudes:				
Favor international alternative	31%	61%	8%..100%	138
Favor national alternative	36	54	10	61
2. Denazification system considered as:				
Good idea	31	61	8	79
Bad idea	37	54	9	117
3. Idea of National Socialism considered:				
More good than bad	32	63	5	65
More bad than good	35	56	9	119
4. In East-West struggle would:				
Side with West	30	61	9	130
Side with East	-	-	-	-
Stay out	39	51	10	72
5. Believe U.S. seeks to develop independent Germany				
Does not seek to develop independent Germany	29	65	6	141
Does not seek to develop independent Germany	46	49	9	57

CONFIDENTIAL

THE WORKING OF THE QUESTIONS USED IN THE FOREGOING TABLES IS AS FOLLOWS:

1. Herr Braun and Herr Schulze discuss what Germany's policy should be when East and West Germany are reunited and the four occupation powers have left Germany.

"Herr Schulze says: I am of the opinion that Germany should try to form a common government together with the other West European nations. That would not only contribute to the welfare of the Germans but to that of the other West European nations as well."

"Herr Braun says: I am of the opinion that Germany should rather remain by herself - as she has been in the past, because the Germans know best what is good for them. Only then the common welfare of all Germans will receive the necessary attention."

"Which of these two opinions comes closest to your own?"

2. "Do you consider it a good or bad idea that through the denazification system those people who had furthered National Socialism in any form were held responsible for their actions?"
3. "If you consider everything, was there more good in the ideas of National Socialism or more bad?"
4. "What should West Germany do in the present East-West struggle: should she join with one side or should she try to keep out of it altogether?" (Which side?)
5. "When you consider the last few years, do you think that America has really wanted West Germany to develop into an independent state, or do you think America has not wanted this?"

CONFIDENTIAL

ATTITUDES BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN
A Survey Approach To East German Thinking
IV. Radio Listening In The East Zone

Report No. 90
Series No. 2
July 25, 1951

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

SUMMARY

I. EXTENT AND DISTRIBUTION OF RADIO LISTENING IN THE EAST ZONE

Extent Of Radio Listening ...
 Group Differences In Radio Listening ...

II. STATION PREFERENCES AMONG EAST GERMAN RADIO LISTENERS

What Station Mainly Listened To ...
 Group Differences In Stations Mainly Listened To ...
 Which Station Liked Best ...
 Group Differences In Preferences ...
 Reasons For Preferring RIAS ...
 Reasons For Preferring NWDR ...
 Criticisms Of RIAS ...
 Group Differences In Criticisms ...

III. PROGRAM PREFERENCES ON MAJOR WESTERN AND EASTERN STATIONS

Most Interesting Programs On RIAS ...
 Most Interesting Programs On NWDR ...
 Most Interesting Programs On Leipzig ...
 Most Interesting Programs On Radio Berlin ...
 Group Differences In Program Preferences ...

IV. STATION PREFERENCE IN NEWS LISTENING

What Stations Mainly Listened To For News? ...
 Group Differences In Station Preferences For News ...
 Reasons Given Why RIAS Main Source of News ...
 Reasons Given Why Other Western Stations Main News Source ...
 Reasons Given Why Eastern Stations Named As Main News Source ...

V. LISTENERSHIP TO SOME MAJOR WESTERN AND EASTERN POLITICAL PROGRAMS

Which Political Programs Most Widely Listened To? ...
 Group Differences In Political Programs Listenership ...
 Frequency Of Listening To Major Political Programs ...

VI. EVALUATION OF MAJOR WESTERN AND EASTERN POLITICAL PROGRAMS

Programs Rated Most Valuable ...
 Group Differences On Most Valuable Ratings ...
 Reasons Given For Rating "Berlin Speaks To The Zone" Most Valuable ...
 Reasons Given For Rating Voice Of America Most Valuable ...

VII. REASONS FOR INTEREST IN FOUR MAJOR POLITICAL PROGRAMS

What Interests East Germans In "Berlin Speaks To The Zone"? ...
What Interests East Germans In The Voice Of America? ...
Implications ...
What Interests East Germans In Mr. Boerner's Commentaries? ...
What Interests East Germans In "The Truth About America"? ...

VIII. CRITICISM OF FOUR MAJOR POLITICAL PROGRAMS

Criticians Of "Berlin Speaks To The Zone" ...
Criticians Of Voice Of America ...
Criticians Of Mr. Boerner's Commentaries ...
Criticians Of "The Truth About America" ...

IX. EXTENT OF VERBAL DISSEMINATION OF WESTERN RADIO NEWS

How Often Is Western Radio Information Passed On? ...
Group Differences In Judgments On Dissemination ...
What Kind Of Information Usually Passed On? ...

X. EAST ZONE INFORMATION DESIRES

APPENDIX A: Composition of East German Sample

**APPENDIX B: Group Differences In Program Preferences On Major
Western And Eastern Stations**

The present report on radio listening habits and program evaluations among East Zone Germans is the fourth* in an experimental series initiated to help meet the needs of the psychological warfare program. As developed in the initial introduction, the general project has been prompted by two major considerations: first by the fact that Berlin is one of the extremely few places remaining where there is an opportunity to come into contact with any appreciable groups of people from behind the "iron curtain" - and hence no effort should be spared to exploit all informational possibilities in such a situation. The second reason for the project is the belief of the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, that despite a considerable number of limitations and difficulties attendant upon the use of the survey instrument for East German intelligence, such techniques can contribute materially to piecing together a factual and objective picture of the state of mind of East Berliners and other residents of the Communist controlled area of Germany.

The present sampling departs somewhat from the pattern of prior surveys in that an effort was made to broaden the East Zone representation by interviewing East Zone Germans at Helmstedt as well as in West Berlin. In the absence of the statistical facts about the East Zone necessary to set up any sampling quotas, the interviewers were instructed to contact East Germans at random, subject only to roughly equivalent proportions of men and women and people over and under 40 years of age.

A total of 490 cases were obtained in the survey period from May 24th to June 9th, comparing 100 East Berliners and 390 other East Germans. The precise composition of the obtained sample is shown in appendix A.

For the present study of Western radio impact it was judged advisable to conduct the survey under German auspices rather than that of HICOG, to preclude any possibility of any pro-American sponsorship bias. German auspices of course raise some danger of an opposite anti-American bias because of occasional suspicions under such circumstances that the interrogators may be working for the Russians. But such a biasing effect, if it exists, at least has the virtue of being in a conservative direction.

Disinclination to be interviewed was somewhat more marked at the time of the present survey than in prior East German studies, with less of approximately one out of five of the individuals approached. The increased perturbations in this connection very obviously derived from the greatly intensified Eastern police check on East Germans going into West Berlin that was established in connection with the carrying out of the so-called "plebiscite" on remilitarization in East Berlin and the East Zone.

* The earlier reports are titled as follows:

ATTITUDES BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN - A Survey Approach to East German Thinking - I. General Mood and Resistance Sentiments, Special Report, dated March 9, 1951; II. Current View on Unity, Neutrality, and Related Issues, Special Report, dated April 10, 1951; III. A Preliminary Exploration of Attitudes Among East Zone Youth, Report No. 79, Series No. 2, Dated May 17, 1951.

The general limitations of the present type of approach to East Zone opinions have already been discussed at some length in the prior studies of the series; interested readers are referred to those sources. The major caution that must be kept in mind is that East Zone Germans who became available for sampling in West Berlin, Helmstedt, and other border points may not be entirely representative of those who do not. It will have to be left to experience and corroboration with other sources of East Zone information to see what sort of allowances should be made for such a consideration in generalizing about East Zone attitudes.

Awareness of cautions and limitations, however, should not be allowed to obscure the values of the survey approach in the present connection. Despite all the departures from ideal standards that survey assessment of East German thinking necessitates under present circumstances, the results are likely to be quite superior in validity to the opportunistic unsystematic inquiry and guesswork that must so often be relied upon for the lack of anything better. Properly interpreted the survey approach would seem to be able to contribute an avenue of information which, coordinated with other sources, should help materially to illuminate the pressing problems and questions of East German intelligence.

SUMMARY

I. EXTENT AND DISTRIBUTION OF RADIO LISTENING IN THE EAST ZONE

EXTENT OF RADIO LISTENING ...

The first indication that emerged from the present study of East Zone radio-listening is that the size of the radio audience may possibly be greater in East Germany than in the West. The figure obtained on the present East Zone sampling was that nine out of ten listen to the radio to a greater or lesser extent.

The apparently greater breadth of East Zone radio listening must only be looked upon as a possibility and in no sense a conclusion, however, because of the very real danger of selective factors in the sampling. The people who come to West Berlin or Helmstedt and are thus available for interviewing are likely to be more active and alert individuals and higher in the economic scale, and hence on both counts more likely to be radio listeners. On the other hand it may be said that if such selective biases were operating they should affect East Berliners as well as other East Zone residents - though to a lesser degree. The figures show on the contrary that there is no greater volume of listening among the East Berliners sampled than among West Berliners.

But even if the present figures are considerably discounted in the interest of caution, the hypothesis is worth future examination by whatever means available - that owing to an augmented interest in obtaining reliable news under the circumstances of East Zone living, the extent of East Zone radio listening is high; and despite the probable presence of fewer radio sets in the impoverished East Zone, may even outweigh radio listening in West Germany. The lesser listening in East Berlin as compared to the East Zone, turned up in the present study, would be in line with this hypothesis since in East Berlin newspapers and other sources are available for the same purpose of supplying reliable (i.e. Western) news.

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN RADIO LISTENING ...

The pattern of group variations in East Zone radio-listening adds to the suggestion of differences between East German versus West German radio listening habits. Comparisons reveal that the range of group variations in extent of radio-listening is considerably less among East Germans than among their Western compatriots. Among the Easterners the typically more inert and unresponsive population levels record almost as widespread radio-listening as do the typically more alert elements.

So the indication emerges that the augmentation of radio-listening that the present report suggests may be associated with the circumstances of living behind the Iron Curtain, derives mainly from an increased breadth of listening among the typically least responsive population elements. To the extent these indications can be relied upon, they have the important implication that Western radio programming beamed to East Germany should anticipate and take account of a broader and more representative type of audience than might ordinarily be assumed.

II. STATION PREFERENCES AMONG EAST GERMAN RADIO LISTENERS

WHAT STATION MAINLY LISTENED TO ...

The first of a series of indications that RIAS (Radio in American Sector) has achieved an extraordinary position of prominence among East Zone radio listeners is disclosed in comparative figures on stations mainly and sometimes listened to. The figures reveal that fully 81 per cent among the East German radio listeners sampled report that they listen "mainly" to RIAS - a proportion more than seven times greater than its nearest competitor. An additional 14 per cent report that they listen "sometimes" to RIAS, which means this station in toto impinges upon 95 per cent or almost the entire bulk of the East German radio audience.

Even if in the interest of caution on the score of sampling, considerable discounts are made in the RIAS figures, it would be difficult to avoid the conclusion that RIAS is the outstanding radio outlet in the East Zone of Germany. The listenership figures indicate that other major Western outlets to East Germany, NWDR and BBC, do not fare as well in listener frequency as do the Eastern controlled stations - Leipzig and Radio Berlin. It is particularly to be noted that BBC numbers but a very small proportion in its East German listenership.

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN STATIONS MAINLY LISTENED TO ...

The pattern of group breakdowns on RIAS listenership adds additional substance to the theory that the usual group differentials in radio listening have been somewhat compressed in the East Zone, presumably because of an across-the-board interest in obtaining information from outside the Iron Curtain. Group differences in listening to Leipzig - the leading Eastern station - are more marked and add up to an indication of relatively heavier listenership - though only occasional - among men, among the better schooled and better paid, and among respondents under forty rather than those above.

WHICH STATION LIKED BEST ...

RIAS dominance among East Zone radio listeners, so sharply indicated in listener figures, is also disclosed in expressions of preference. Two out of three among the East Germans sampled voted it the station they liked best. Far behind in second place was NWDR with 13 per cent according it best-liked status. On this dimension of evaluation Eastern stations do not approach the Western stations except for BBC whose effectiveness in East Germany is again seriously called into question.

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN PREFERENCES ...

Group comparisons among East Zone Germans show that the pattern of station preference is substantially the same among the various population levels.

REASONS FOR PREFERRED RIAS ...

The single most frequent consideration brought up by respondents who named RIAS their best liked station is that RIAS can be relied upon to tell the truth. Lesser proportions cited a variety of reasons embracing RIAS's timeliness and versatility, news, music and entertainment programs, and Western political orientation.

REASONS FOR PREFERRED NWDR ...

The respondents who chose NWDR as their best liked station focused mainly on non-political considerations - music, entertainment, and absence of propaganda. Only 2 per cent indicated that they preferred this station because of what they felt to be better treatment of the news. This pattern of reasons tends, of course, to raise some questions as to whether the preferences for NWDR are in any way indicative of political effectiveness.

CRITICISMS OF RIAS ...

Because of the primary interest in the American radio outlet to East Germany, the additional question was included at this juncture of "What is there to criticize about RIAS?" Over half of the respondents in the East sample as a whole - two thirds in East Berlin - asserted that they had no criticisms to make. Among those who did offer criticisms, a variety of considerations were advanced, ranging from suggestions for improvement of the music and entertainment programs down to an alleged over-emphasis on political programs. It is notable, however, that altogether criticisms bearing on politically relevant program material totalled only 12 per cent of the answers.

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN CRITICISMS ...

Though the answer - there is nothing to criticize on RIAS - preponderated among all population groups, the volume of criticism was somewhat greater - as might be expected - among the more educated and informed population levels. Although the difference is not large enough to be reliably beyond chance, there is an interesting indication that a somewhat greater proportion of the more educated and higher income respondents than their counterparts, feel that some RIAS reports on the East Zone strain credulity. Only a small minority of RIAS listeners are involved in this opinion, but it might be worthwhile for RIAS program directors to consider ways of minimizing the possibility of such reactions.

III. PROGRAM PREFERENCES ON MAJOR WESTERN AND EASTERN STATIONS**MOST INTERESTING PROGRAMS ON RIAS ...**

Despite the competition of entertainment attractions, news programs on RIAS emerge as the type of program content that the largest proportion of the RIAS audience finds most interesting. Moreover, when the pattern of replies is examined it is found that fully half the judgments of "most interesting" focus upon programs of direct political relevance. These are very significant facts as they tend to suggest that what the Western world is selling to East Germans is so intrinsically attractive that it needs a minimum of sugar-coating by way of politically non-relevant entertainment to hold the interest of the Eastern audience.

MOST INTERESTING PROGRAMS ON NWDR ...

By the same criteria NWDR - the only other Western station with an appreciable audience - ranks considerably under RIAS in its indications of political effectiveness. The largest proportion of the NWDR audience points to music as the specific program material of most interest to them, and altogether only approximately a quarter of the judgments of "most interest" focus upon programs of direct political relevance.

MOST INTERESTING PROGRAMS ON LEIPZIG ...

The political effectiveness of the most widely heard Eastern station - Leipzig - does not add up to any considerable figure in the present analysis. The indication is that the music programs are the great source of attraction to its listenership, with few citing politically relevant programs in their judgments of most interesting. The suggestion is strong that without the musical bait the Leipzig audience would be very limited.

MOST INTERESTING PROGRAMS ON RADIO BERLIN ...

Radio Berlin - the other major East controlled station - yields a program preference pattern something like that of Leipzig, with an indication, however, of slightly greater political effectiveness among its audience.

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN PROGRAM PREFERENCES ...

Group differences in program preferences among the four stations examined appear to be rather minor and with the limited number of cases involved in the breakdowns are rarely reliably beyond chance.

IV. STATION PREFERENCE IN NEWS LISTENING

WHAT STATIONS MAINLY LISTENED TO FOR NEWS? ...

Because of its great political potency the pattern of station listening specifically in respect to news was subjected to a series of inquiries. The first of these - from which station do you mainly get the news? - shows again the great hold that RIAS has achieved on the East German audience. Eighty-three per cent - or over ten times the proportion of its nearest competitor - report that RIAS is the station they mainly depend on for the news.

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN STATION PREFERENCES FOR NEWS ...

Just as was the case for overall station preference, group differences in station preferences for news listening, are not very appreciable. The picture is rather one of general similarity in the patterns of news listening preferences among the various population levels. Among all groups the great bulk listen mainly to RIAS for the news.

REASONS GIVEN WHY RIAS MAIN SOURCE OF NEWS ...

The predominant reason respondents voice for obtaining their news mainly from RIAS is that here they get the truth. A third of the replies explicitly focus on this and most of the others imply the same sort of considerations in indirect ways. Only a very small proportion of the answers specified coercive non-choice kinds of reasons for listening mainly to RIAS news as, e.g., I can't hear any other stations, and the like.

REASONS GIVEN WHY OTHER WESTERN STATIONS MAIN NEWS SOURCE ...

The small proportion of respondents who did not mention RIAS but specified some other Western station as their main source of news cited considerations similar to the foregoing for not getting their news mainly from Eastern sources.

REASONS GIVEN WHY EASTERN STATIONS NAMED AS MAIN NEWS SOURCE ...

Almost half of the reasons advanced by the small minority who specified some Eastern station as their main news source involved coercive non-choice considerations of radio reception. Some of the answers also clearly indicated that respondents are only listening to the East for comparison while relying on Western sources for more reliable reportage. Comparatively few of the answers unmistakably indicate a preference for Eastern news reporting.

V. LISTENERSHIP TO SOME MAJOR WESTERN AND EASTERN POLITICAL PROGRAMS

WHICH POLITICAL PROGRAMS MOST WIDELY LISTENED TO? ...

With general station preferences established, the present study went on to consider the degree of responsiveness of the East Zone radio audience to some major Western and Eastern programs. The results suggest that Western programs are getting very good coverage among the elements of the East Zone population for which the present sample is representative. Three quarters of the radio listeners sampled indicate that they have recently heard both "Berlin speaks to the Zone" and the Voice of America broadcasts, the former of which is beamed thrice daily except Sunday to the East, and the latter thrice daily. A third report hearing Mr. Boerner's Commentary which is broadcast on a twice a week schedule.

The Eastern program, "The Truth about America," receives one in five listenership among the East Zone radio audience. This coverage is appreciable but very considerably outweighed by the political programs over RIAS.

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN POLITICAL PROGRAMS LISTENERSHIP ...

Of the three political programs with the most widespread impact on the East German radio audience, "Berlin speaks to the Zone" achieves the most even coverage among the various sectors of the population. Group differences are somewhat more marked in the VOA audience with slightly greater listenership among the more educated and informed elements of the radio audience - the men, the better schooled and the more affluent. Mr. Boerner's Commentary definitely achieves its widest impact among the opinion leading levels. Though the number of cases is too few to be entirely reliable, it is possible that better than half of East Zone radio listeners above elementary education are to be found in Mr. Boerner's audience.

FREQUENCY OF LISTENING TO MAJOR POLITICAL PROGRAMS ...

The figures for frequency of listening among the East Germans sampled are even more remarkable than the coverage returns. Forty-four per cent of the East Zone radio listeners report listening to "Berlin speaks to the Zone" five to six times a week - or substantially its entire weekly output. Approximately three quarters report listening twice a week or more.

The Voice of America shows similarly high frequencies of listening with 21 per cent of East Zone radio listeners saying that they hear it daily, and almost two thirds twice a week or more.

Mr. Boerner's total output - twice a week - is apparently heard by a quarter of East Zone radio listeners, and 32 per cent or substantially his entire audience report listening once a week or more.

Even if these figures on the major American programs beamed to East Germany are considerably discounted in the interest of caution on the score of sampling and other limitations inherent in East Zone surveying, they suggest widespread habitual listening to the Western radio output.

Reported listening to the major Eastern program included - The Truth about America - runs considerably under the figures that have been presented. Approximately 14 per cent of the East Zone radio audience report hearing this program once a week or more.

VI. EVALUATION OF MAJOR WESTERN AND EASTERN POLITICAL PROGRAMS

PROGRAMS RATED MOST VALUABLE ...

The program most often considered of greatest worth - among the political programs presented for evaluation - was the RIAS production - "Berlin speaks to the Zone." Fifty-nine per cent of the East German radio listeners sampled lay the most worth on this program, and 11 per cent placed it second. The Voice of America followed in the rankings of most valuable with 14 per cent of the radio audience placing it in first and 39 per cent in second place. Mr. Boerner's commentaries achieved the third ranking, with the remaining programs trailing rather far behind.

Only a microscopic two per cent accorded the Eastern sponsored programs even second place in the judgment of most valuable.

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON MOST VALUABLE RATINGS ...

In the present judgments - as seem to be characteristic throughout this study - group differences are very minor. In all population levels examined, the rankings closely parallel the overall figures for "Berlin speaks to the Zone" first, Voice of America second and Mr. Boerner's commentaries third in the proportion who judge them to be of the most worth among the political programs that were listed.

REASONS GIVEN FOR RATING "BERLIN SPEAKS TO THE ZONE" MOST VALUABLE ...

The major considerations advanced by those who judge the program "Berlin speaks to the Zone" to be of the most worth among political programs, are the reasons for preferring RIAS generally - that here one can get trustworthy news and hear the truth about the East. A considerable proportion of judgments of most worth for this program, however, spring from specific informational desires it seems to serve - detailed information about conditions in the East Zone, reports on spies, advice as to how to behave in various situations, and similar considerations.

REASONS GIVEN FOR RATING VOICE OF AMERICA MOST VALUABLE ...

The most prominent single reasons advanced by the respondents who felt the Voice of America program to be the most valuable of the group listed was that here information about America is to be obtained. Other replies focused on truthfulness, variety, and the avoidance of slandering tactics.

VII. REASONS FOR INTEREST IN FOUR MAJOR POLITICAL PROGRAMS

WHAT INTERESTS EAST GERMANS IN "BERLIN SPEAKS TO THE ZONE"? ...

As already covered in the reasons for judging "Berlin speaks to the Zone" as the political program of the most worth, the specific information about East Zone conditions, spies and the like, and the general values of truthful reporting appear to be the major sources of attraction in this most popular of the American programs directed to Eastern Germany.

WHAT INTERESTS EAST GERMANS IN THE VOICE OF AMERICA? ...

Interestingly enough, reportage on American life is the type of material that the largest proportion of VOA listeners specify as what interests them most particularly in the Voice of America program. News follows, but with a considerably lesser proportion, and the remaining expressions of interest are distributed over a variety of other considerations.

IMPLICATIONS ...

The predominant position of Americana in the East German expression of interest in VOA provides considerable food for thought; it is not a simple matter to weigh its implications. One hasty conclusion that ought to be avoided in any case is that East Germans find accounts of American life more interesting than news. Obviously fresh, on-the-spot news can be readily obtained from other programs on the same station, and hence many RIAS listeners are likely to find VOA most interesting for what is most distinctive about it, and that cannot be readily obtained elsewhere, namely its concrete and authoritative details about the mighty country across the Atlantic. But if the reasoning is convincing, it raises questions about the optimum programming of the East German VOA broadcasts. Should news be deemphasized, since apparently most of the interest in this is fed from other Western sources, and greater emphasis laid on Americana and other generalized propaganda? Or on the contrary, should greater efforts be made to compete for news interests so that this potent source of audience attraction will work more effectively for the VOA program?

WHAT INTERESTS EAST GERMANS IN MR. BOERNER'S COMMENTARIES? ...

Aside from Mr. Boerner's analysis of current political events interest in this program is based on what respondents state is his clarity of presentation, and the accuracy and impartiality of his statements.

WHAT INTERESTS EAST GERMANS IN "THE TRUTH ABOUT AMERICA"? ...

A desire to compare and a desire to hear the lies being promulgated against the West are the most frequent reasons advanced by the East Germans sampled for their interest in "The Truth about America" program. Only three per cent of the expressions of interest were unmistakably favorable to the East.

VIII. CRITICISM OF FOUR MAJOR POLITICAL PROGRAMS

CRITICISMS OF "BERLIN SPEAKS TO THE ZONE" ...

The majority of East Zone radio listeners stated that they had nothing to criticize about the program - Berlin speaks to the Zone. While this undoubtedly reflects generalized satisfaction, some part of the absence of criticism may derive from the fact of an already somewhat lengthy on-the-street interview. Further efforts to probe for criticisms and constructive suggestions will be made in future studies.

The criticisms that were brought forward are rather varied and fail to pile up to any appreciable extent on any particular point.

CRITICISMS OF VOICE OF AMERICA ...

Most VOA listeners too held that they had nothing to criticize about the program. Just as was the case for the program "Berlin speaks to the Zone", the criticisms that were offered were diverse and do not add up to any appreciable trends in objections.

CRITICISMS OF MR. BOERNER'S COMMENTARIES ...

Mr. Boerner's commentaries also elicited - nothing to criticize - as the most frequent response, and the criticisms that were advanced add up to no appreciable point.

CRITICISMS OF "THE TRUTH ABOUT AMERICA" ...

The fact that East Zone radio listeners who indicate listening to the Eastern program - The Truth about America - do so in the main for quite other than complimentary reasons, is amply indicated by the criticisms that were voiced of this program. The bulk of the replies emphasized either that the program did not tell the truth or that it was filled with one-sided and exaggerated "slander-propaganda."

IX. EXTENT OF VERBAL DISSEMINATION OF WESTERN RADIO NEWS

HOW OFTEN IS WESTERN RADIO INFORMATION PASSED ON? ...

One of the closing inquiries in the present study sought to obtain some insight into the frequency with which information received from Western stations was passed on by word of mouth to others in the East Zone. Half the East Zone population sampled stated that such verbal dissemination happened "very often," another quarter said that such happened "often," the remainder gave lesser estimates or volunteered no opinion.

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN JUDGMENTS ON DISSEMINATION ...

The opinion leading levels of the population were considerably more inclined than their counterparts to hold that mouth to mouth transmission of Western radio information was very frequent.

WHAT KIND OF INFORMATION USUALLY PASSED ON? ...

The type of information that is passed on by word of mouth appears from the respondents' replies to embrace the gamut of the politically significant - news of general political interest, information about informers, reports on East Zone conditions, political and economic news about West Germany and the West, and the like.

X. EAST ZONE INFORMATION DESIRED

The final query in the present study sought to obtain whatever comments the respondents might offer as to what the East Zone population wants to be informed about by the West. The relevant answers indicate in a general way that the present Western informational efforts are by and large attuned to the needs and desires of the East German population. However, a considerable proportion of the comments is more expressive of feeling than of logic as they ask for answers to the unanswerable, e.g. when will the East be liberated, when will East and West Germany be united, etc.

I. EXTENT AND DISTRIBUTION OF RADIO LISTENING IN THE EAST ZONE

EXTENT OF RADIO LISTENING ...

The first indication that emerged from the present study of East Zone radio listening is that the size of the radio audience may possibly be greater in East Germany than in the West. The figure obtained on the present East Zone sampling was that nine out of ten listen to the radio to a greater or lesser extent.

"Do you listen to the radio?"

	*WEST GERMANY	*West Berlin	TOTAL EAST	East Zone	East Berlin
Yes	78%	91%	90%	93%	83%
No	22	9	10	7	17
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

The apparently greater breadth of East Zone radio listening must only be looked upon as a possibility and in no sense a conclusion, however, because of the very real danger of selective factors in the sampling. The people who come to West Berlin or Helmstedt and are thus available for interviewing are likely to be more active and alert individuals and higher in the economic scale, and hence on both counts more likely to be radio listeners. On the other hand it may be said that if such selective biases were operating they should affect East Berliners as well as other East Zone residents - though to a lesser degree. The figures show on the contrary that there is no greater volume of listening among the East Berliners sampled than among West Berliners.

But even if the present figures are considerably discounted in the interest of caution, the hypothesis is worth future examination by whatever means available - that owing to an augmented interest in obtaining reliable news under the circumstances of East Zone living, the extent of East Zone radio listening is high; and despite the probable presence of fewer radio sets in the impoverished East Zone, may even outweigh radio listening in West Germany. The lesser listening in East Berlin as compared to the East Zone, turned up in the present study, would be in line with this hypothesis since in East Berlin newspapers and other sources are available for the same purpose of supplying reliable (i.e. Western) news.

* These results were gathered between 27 March and 16 May in an extensive survey of radio listening in West Berlin and West Germany the results of which will be reported on in detail when the analysis is completed. A random sample of 3000 cases was obtained for this study.

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN RADIO LISTENING ...

The pattern of group variations in East Zone radio-listening adds to the suggestion of differences between East German versus West German radio listening habits. The table below reveals that the range of group variations in extent of radio-listening is considerably less among East Germans than among their Western compatriots. Among the Easterners the typically more inert and unresponsive population levels record almost as widespread radio-listening as do the typically more alert elements.

"Do you listen to the radio?"

	WEST GERMANY	TOTAL EAST	No. of cases: (in Eastern sample)
	Yes	Yes	
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	83%	93%	263
Women	75	89	229
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	75	89	388
Beyond elementary school	91	97	100
<u>Income (per month):</u>			
0 - 149 DM (East)	59	82	125
150 - 299 DM	82	93	227
300 DM and more	93	96	125
<u>City Size:</u>			
0 - 9,999 pop.	70	84	102
10,000 - 99,999	82	85	134
100,000 and over	89	89	196
<u>Occupation:</u>			
Professionals,			
Executives	87	98	53
White collar workers	87	95	66
Manual workers	78	83	161
Housewives	62	95	124
Unemployed, pensioners	61	84	76
<u>Age:</u>			
Under 40 years	84	93	213
40 years and over	74	89	279

So the indication emerges that the augmentation of radio-listening that the present report suggests may be associated with the circumstances of living behind the "iron curtain", derives mainly from an increased breadth of listening among the typically least responsive population elements. To the extent these indications can be relied upon, they have the important implication that Western radio programming beamed to East Germany should anticipate and take account of a broader and more representative type of audience than might ordinarily be assumed.

II. STATION PREFERENCES AMONG EAST GERMAN RADIO LISTENERS

WHAT STATION MAINLY LISTENED TO...

The first of a series of indications that RIAS (Radio in American Sector) has achieved an extraordinary position of prominence among East Zone radio listeners is disclosed in comparative figures on stations mainly and sometimes listened to. The figures reveal that fully 91 per cent among the East Germans radio listeners sampled report that they listen "mainly" to RIAS - a proportion more than seven times greater than its nearest competitor. An additional 14 per cent report that they listen "sometimes" to RIAS, which means this station in toto impinges upon 95 per cent or almost the entire bulk of the East German radio audience.

"Which station do you mainly listen to?"

"Do you sometimes listen to other stations too?"

If "Yes": "Which ones?"

	TOTAL EAST		East Zone		East Berlin	
	Mainly	Sometimes	Mainly	Sometimes	Mainly	Sometimes
RIAS	81%	14%	80%	14%	84%	13%
Leipzig	11	42	13	49	4	12
NWDR	6	34	6	30	4	51
Radio Berlin	5	29	4	23	0	56
BBC	-	6	-	6	-	5
Other Western stations	-	7	-	6	-	12
Other Eastern stations	-	1	-	1	-	-
Other stations	-	*	-	-	-	1
All stations	-	*	-	-	-	1
No answer	-	1	-	*	-	2
	103%*	134%*	103%*	129%*	100%	153%*

Even if in the interest of caution on the score of sampling considerable discounts are made in the RIAS figures, it would be difficult to avoid the conclusion that RIAS is the outstanding radio outlet in the East Zone of Germany. The listenership figures indicate that other major Western outlets to East Germany, NWDR and BBC, do not fare as well in listener frequency as do the Eastern controlled stations - Leipzig and Radio Berlin. It is particularly to be noted that BBC numbers but a very small proportion in its East German listenership.

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN STATIONS MAINLY LISTENED TO...

The pattern of group breakdowns on RIAS listenership (see following page) adds additional substance to the theory that the usual group differentials in radio listening have been somewhat compressed in the East Zone, presumably because of an across-the-board interest in obtaining information from outside the Iron Curtain. Group differences in listening to Leipzig - the leading Eastern station - are more marked and add up to an indication of relatively heavier listenership - though only occasional - among men, among the better schooled and better paid, and among respondents under forty rather than those above.

* Less than one half of one per cent

** In answering what station they mainly listened to, a few respondents gave more than one answer.

0 Many respondents gave more than one answer.

"Which stations do you mainly listen to?"
"Do you sometimes listen to other stations too?"
If "Yes": "Which ones?"

TOTAL EAST		RIAS		Leipzig		NWDR		Radio Berlin		BBC		Other Western stations		Other Eastern stations		Other stations		All stations		No answer		No. of cases	
		Mainly Sometimes		M	S	M	S	M	S	M	S	M	S	M	S	M	S	M	S	M	S		
Sex:	Men	81%	15%	12%	45%	7%	39%	4%	30%	4%	5%	4%	11%	4%	1%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	242	
	Women	81	12	10	39	5	28	6	30	-	7	-	4	-	2	-	4	-	4	-	4	202	
Education:																							
Elementary school		80	13	12	41	5	34	5	31	-	5	-	6	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	345	
Beyond elementary school		83	17	10	51	7	38	3	27	-	10	-	13	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	90	
Income (per month):																							
0 - 149 DM (East)		77	15	12	36	7	35	7	28	-	5	-	7	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	102	
150 - 299 DM		82	13	11	40	5	32	4	37	-	7	-	6	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	210	
300 DM and more		83	14	12	49	6	37	3	21	-	6	-	10	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	120	
City Size:																							
0 - 9,999 pop.		84	14	9	50	5	30	7	24	-	5	-	7	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	102	
10,000 - 99,999		77	15	14	45	0	28	2	23	-	2	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	134	
100,000 and over		82	13	11	36	4	40	5	36	-	9	-	12	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	196	
Occupation:																							
Professionals		88	4	8	45	4	39	2	26	-	14	-	10	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	71	
Executives		76	21	14	33	5	36	8	30	-	8	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	69	
White-collar workers		76	17	14	46	8	31	5	31	-	2	-	8	-	2	-	*	-	-	-	-	193	
Manual workers		88	7	7	43	3	27	3	31	-	0	-	5	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	*	146	
Housewives		79	19	11	38	8	44	3	24	-	3	-	7	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	87	
Unemployed, pensioners																							
Age:																							
Under 40 years		79	14	12	56	7	37	6	29	-	6	-	8	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	197	
40 years and over		83	23	10	35	5	31	4	30	-	6	-	7	-	*	-	*	-	-	-	*	247	

* Less than one half of one per cent

* Less than one half of one per cent

WHICH STATION LIKED BEST...

RIAS dominance among East Zone radio listeners, so sharply indicated in listener figures, is also disclosed in expressions of preference. Two out of three among the East Germans sampled voted it the station they liked best. Far behind in second place was NWDR with 12 per cent according it best-liked status. On this dimension of evaluation Eastern stations do not approach the Western stations except for BBC whose effectiveness in East Germany is again seriously called into question.

"Which one of these stations do you like best?"
(Those mentioned by respondent to prior question)

	TOTAL EAST	East Zone	East Berlin
RIAS	68%	68%	68%
NWDR	12	12	13
Leipzig	3	3	3
Radio Berlin	2	*	8
BBC	1	2	-
Eastern stations	1	*	2
Other Western stations	*	-	1
No answer	15	16	11
	102%**	101%**	106%**

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN PREFERENCES...

Group comparisons among East Zone Germans (see following page) shows that the pattern of station preferences is substantially the same among the various population levels.

* Less than one half of one per cent

** A few respondents gave more than one answer

"Which one of these stations do you like best?"

TOTAL LIST		RIAS	MTDR	Leipzig	Radio Berlin	BBC	Westzone stations	Other Western stations	No answer	No. of cases
Sex:	Men	68%	14%	4%	2%	1%	1%	4%	12%..102%*	242
	Women	67	10	2	2	2	1	-	18 102%*	202
Education:	Elementary school	67	12	3	2	1	-	-	17 102%*	345
	Beyond elementary school	71	13	2	1	1	3	1	9 101%*	96
Income (per month):	0 - 149 DM (East)	65	12	4	4	-	1	-	19 103%*	102
	10,000 - 99,999	63	15	2	-	-	-	-	21 101%*	134
	100,000 and over	67	11	3	4	3	2	-	13 103%*	196
Occupation:										
Professionals,										
Kreoulives		75	10	-	-	2	2	-	12 101%*	51
White-collar workers		66	13	2	3	3	2	-	13 102%*	63
Manual workers		67	12	6	2	-	-	1	15 103%*	140
Housewives		67	8	2	1	2	1	-	20 101%*	118
Unemployed, pensioners		65	21	2	3	-	-	-	11 102%*	63
Age:	Under 40 years	67	14	4	2	1	*	-	14 102%*	197
	40 years and over	68	11	3	2	1	1	*	16 102%*	247

* Less than one half of one per cent

** A few respondents gave more than one answer

REASONS FOR PREFERING RIAS...

The single most frequent consideration brought up by respondents who named RIAS their best liked station is that RIAS can be relied upon to tell the truth. Lesser proportions cited a variety of reasons embracing RIAS's timeliness and versatility, news, music and entertainment programs, and Western political orientation.

If RIAS named as best liked station:
"What do you like about RIAS?"

TOTAL EAST	East Zone	East Berlin
---------------	--------------	----------------

<u>RIAS tells the truth:</u> RIAS tells the truth; is more truthful than the others; it tells us the truth; the East exaggerates too much; because altogether it tells the truth; Radio Berlin does not tell anything but lies; RIAS is more truthful than the East stations; most of it is true; it tells the truth, that people are well off in the West and we are badly off here; the truth-open to the East Zone population; etc.	25%	27%	14%
<u>RIAS is up-to-date, versatile, full of variety:</u> The program is very versatile; the set-up of the program is interesting; it gives everything we need; it has more variety, because it is up-to-date, it has more variety in it; etc.	11	10	16
<u>On account of the news:</u> RIAS gives the most interesting news from the West Zone; political features from the Bundesregierung; its news is most extensive; you get the best information on political topics; Western news is important to us; it gives most useful information; I can hear what happens in the world etc.	8	8	7
<u>On account of the musical program:</u> RIAS sends the best music; the hit tunes; dancing music; the music transmitted is so nice; the fine music; the light music is good; I am very interested in the request program; etc.	8	7	14
<u>I agree with the political attitude:</u> It is the one I can fully agree with; I agree with the political attitude; it is Western and we feel the same; it is closest to our own opinion; because I am in favor of the West; nothing to object to it regarding politics; on account of its political attitude; it is the best one in political respects; etc.	7	7	7
<u>On account of the entertainment program:</u> Because I like the program "Kach mit" (Join with us) so much; the "Kach mit" program; it is the best program in respect to entertainment; I listen only on account of entertainment and RIAS is just right for me; it is most entertaining; etc.	6	5	8
<u>RIAS does not agitate (as much):</u> One does not hear but agitation from our stations; RIAS does neither slander, lie or cheat as much as the East stations do; RIAS is sensible and doesn't slander; etc.	5	5	6
<u>Best reception, can only receive RIAS:</u> RIAS, because it is the best to receive with our set; can receive it better; etc.	1	1	1
<u>keeps us aware of our home areas:</u> They give reports on our home districts; because RIAS is a comfort to us, that one day we shall return to our homes and so on; etc.	1	1	-
<u>Other answers:</u> Because RIAS means a development for us whilst the East stations mean stagnation; in every respect, it is quite a different life; on account of the School Program which is not political; RIAS gives us the essential topics and takes our matters up more than the NWDR; etc.	8	7	11
No Opinion and No Answer:	-	-	-
	80%	78%	84%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

REASONS FOR PREFERENCE NWDR ...

The respondent who chose NWDR as their best liked station focused mainly on non-political considerations - music, entertainment, and absence of propaganda. Only 2 per cent indicated that they preferred this station because of what they felt to be better treatment of the news. This pattern of reasons tends, of course, to raise some questions as to whether the preferences for NWDR are in any way indicative of political effectiveness.

If NWDR named as best liked station:

"What do you like about NWDR?"

	TOTAL EAST	East Zone	East Berlin
<u>On account of the musical program:</u> I like the music from Cologne so much; the musical programs are better than the ones of other stations; etc.	4%	4%	5%
<u>Because it is non-political, less propagandistic:</u> It is not quite as pungent, but rather neutral; RIAS makes too much counter-propaganda; it is not as political as RIAS; because they launch no political propaganda; etc.	2	2	2
<u>On account of the news:</u> It has the best transmission of news; gives clearer survey than RIAS; the news is given very distinctly, explained in detail, so one can understand it well; always gives the latest news; etc.	2	2	-
<u>On account of the entertainment programs:</u> The entertainment program is better; etc.	1	1	1
<u>On account of best reception, can receive only NWDR:</u> Because I cannot properly receive other stations; etc.	*	1	-
<u>Other answers:</u> It is a purely German station; NWDR - the whole program is better; more humorous; etc.	5	4	6
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	<u>14%**</u>	<u>14%**</u>	<u>14%**</u>

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CRITICISMS OF RIAS...

Because of the primary interest in the American radio outlet to East Germany, the additional question was included at this juncture of "What is there to criticize about RIAS?" Over half of the respondents in the East sample as a whole - two thirds in East Berlin asserted that they had no criticisms to make. Among those who did offer criticisms, a variety of considerations were advanced, ranging from suggestions for improvement of the music and entertainment programs down to an alleged over-emphasis on political programs. It is notable, however, that altogether criticisms bearing on politically relevant program material totalled only 12 per cent of the answers.

"What is there to criticize about RIAS?" (Asked of all who stated they listened to RIAS mainly or sometimes)

	TOTAL EAST	East Zone	East Berlin
<u>Nothing to criticize:</u> Nothing, I can't think of any improvements; I don't object to anything; I can't name anything right now; I don't have any complaints, I like it the way they do it now; nothing, everything is o.k.; etc.	58%	56%	67%
<u>Criticism concerning the music and entertainment programs:</u> Should bring more light music on Sundays; should not bring so much jazz music; more music from light operas; I miss the Zither concerts; too few Paul Linke programs and programs with Hans Moser; there should be more variety in the radio plays; etc.	10	10	12
<u>Bad reception (especially in the evening):</u> Is not clear enough, after 1800 hours, gets too disturbed; RIAS is too disturbed after 1900 hours; bad reception, especially in the evenings; etc.	6	7	1
<u>Technical deficiencies:</u> It is a pity about those abridged broadcasts in the evening; the broadcast "Pinsel und Schnorchel" comes too late; etc.	5	5	3
<u>Some of the reports on the East Zone are not believable:</u> Too much exaggerated propaganda, it can't be as they say it is; they should be careful about naming people, the news is not always correct; they occasionally exaggerate a little, that impairs the credibility; too tendentious sometimes, and that is unfavorable with respect to their good broadcasts, people get the idea that some of it is unbelievable and RIAS shouldn't do that; they exaggerate too much in their reports to the East; etc.	5	6	3

(Cont'd on next page)

TOTAL EAST	East Zone	East Berlin
---------------	--------------	----------------

They should do more for the population of the East Zone;
They should care more for the youth of the East Zone;
they should report in a much more thorough way about
the conditions in the East Zone thus presenting an
effective weapon against Eastern propaganda; their
information is not strong enough; they should give the
people in the East Zone the feeling that they are not
left alone; etc.

4%	4%	4%
----	----	----

Don't know: Most of the time my husband listens
in; I don't know; etc.

3	4	2
---	---	---

They are too Americanized: Lack of national-consciousness,
too Americanized; they are too much under American
influence; etc.

2	*	6
---	---	---

They are too political: Talk too much politics, the
afternoon program should be more entertaining; RIAS
is too political, in the evening they talk too much,
they should talk politics later in the evening, one
can listen better; RIAS brings the news too often; etc.

1	1	2
---	---	---

Other remarks pertaining to the political program:
The news could be more detailed, they should deal more
thoroughly with the problems of the refugees; etc.

1	2	1
---	---	---

No answer / No opinion:

7	8	3
102%**	103%**	104%**

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN CRITICISMS...

Though the answer - there is nothing to criticize on RIAS - preponderated among all population groups (see the following page), the volume of criticism was somewhat greater - as might be expected - among the more educated and informed population levels. Although the difference is not large enough to be reliably beyond chance, there is an interesting indication that a somewhat greater proportion of the more educated and higher income respondents than their counterparts, feel that some RIAS reports on the East Zone strain credulity. Only a small minority of RIAS listeners are involved in this opinion, but it might be worthwhile for RIAS program directors to consider ways of minimizing the possibility of such reactions.

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer

III. PROGRAM PREFERENCES ON MAJOR WESTERN AND EASTERN STATIONS

The first line of approach that was used for program evaluation is what program interests you most. It must be understood that this poses a very difficult competition for politically relevant programs; for though they might be considered highly worthwhile, informative, or the like, human beings being what they are, such programs would have difficulty in edging out entertainment values in the judgment of "most interesting."

MOST INTERESTING PROGRAMS ON RIAS ...

Despite the competition of entertainment attractions, news programs on RIAS emerge as the type of program content that the largest proportion of the RIAS audience finds most interesting. Moreover, when the pattern of replies is examined it is found that fully half the judgments of most interesting focus upon programs of direct political relevance. These are very significant facts as they tend to suggest that what the Western world is selling to East Germans is so intrinsically attractive that it needs a minimum of sugar-coating by way of politically non-relevant entertainment to hold the interest of the Eastern audience.

"Which of the programs of RIAS interests you most"
(Asked of all who stated they listened to RIAS mainly or sometimes)

	TOTAL EAST	East Zone	East Berlin
<u>News:</u>	42%	44%	36%
<u>"Mach mit" (Join with us), an audience participation program:</u>	28	26	40
<u>Musical programs:</u>	22	19	33
<u>"Berlin Speaks to the Zone":</u>	15	16	10
<u>Commentaries - Press reviews:</u>	9	9	8
<u>Variety programs:</u>	8	8	10
<u>The Voice of America:</u>	8	8	5
<u>Other political and economic broadcasts:</u>	5	6	2
<u>Special broadcasts for housewives, school programs:</u>	4	4	6
<u>Everything:</u>	4	4	-
<u>Other broadcasts:</u>	10	9	17
<u>No opinion/No answer:</u>	<u>6</u> 161%	<u>7</u> 160%	<u>3</u> 170%

* Many respondents gave more than one answer.

** This and the following tables in this section must be interpreted with caution since some of the respondents answered in terms of type of program content and others in terms of specific program names. On the assumption that one or the other interpretation of the question was to a considerable extent a chance matter the data can be used, as they have been, to make some tentative judgments on relative preferences for various types of content. It is best to avoid any conclusion about the popularity status of any particular program cited, however, because this question is answered unambiguously in subsequent sections of the present report.

By the same criteria NWDR - the only other Western station with an appreciable audience - ranks considerably under RIAS in its indications of political effectiveness. The largest proportion of the NWDR audience points to music as the specific program material of most interest to them, and altogether only approximately a quarter of the judgments of most interest focus upon programs of direct political relevance.

"Which of the programs of NWDR interests you most?"

(Asked of all who stated they listened to NWDR mainly or sometimes)

	TOTAL EAST	East Zone	East Berlin
<u>Musical broadcasts:</u>	16%	15%	25%
<u>News:</u>	9	9	7
<u>Variety programs:</u>	4	3	8
<u>Commentaries - Press reviews:</u>	3	4	1
<u>"This is Berlin":</u>	2	1	6
<u>Social broadcasts for housewives and children:</u>	1	1	-
<u>Other political and economic broadcasts:</u>	1	1	-
<u>Nothing:</u>	1	2	-
<u>Everything:</u>	10	1	44
<u>Other broadcasts:</u>	8	7	12
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	<u>1</u> 56%**	<u>1</u> 45%**	<u>4</u> 107%**

MOST INTERESTING PROGRAMS ON LEIPZIG ...

The political effectiveness of the most widely heard Eastern station - Leipzig - does not add up to any considerable figure in the present analysis. The indication is that the music programs are the great source of attraction to its listenership, with few citing politically relevant programs in their judgments of most interesting. The suggestion is strong that without the musical bait the Leipzig audience would be very limited.

"Which of the programs of Radio Leipzig interests you most?"

(Asked of all who stated they listened to Leipzig mainly or sometimes)

	TOTAL EAST	East Zone	East Berlin
<u>Musical programs:</u>	30%	33%	9%
<u>Nothing:</u>	11	14	-
<u>News:</u>	7	8	4
<u>Other political and economic broadcasts:</u>	1	1	1
<u>Variety programs:</u>	1	1	-
<u>The Truth about America:</u>	1	*	2
<u>Commentaries:</u>	*	*	1
<u>Other broadcasts:</u>	5	6	4
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	<u>55%**</u>	<u>64%**</u>	<u>21%**</u>

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

MOST INTERESTING PROGRAM OF RADIO BERLIN ...

Radio Berlin - the other major East controlled station - yields a program preference pattern something like that of Leipzig, with an indication, however, of slightly greater political effectiveness among its audience.

"Which of the programs of Radio Berlin interests you most?"
(asked of all who stated they listened to Radio Berlin mainly or sometimes)

	TOTAL EAST	East Zone	East Berlin
<u>Musical broadcasts:</u>	15%	12%	29%
<u>News:</u>	9	6	21
<u>Nothing:</u>	4	3	8
<u>Variety programs:</u>	2	1	5
<u>"Present day problems (Zeitprobleme):"</u>	1	1	1
<u>Commentaries:</u>	*	*	-
<u>Other political and economic broadcasts:</u>	*	1	-
<u>Other broadcasts:</u>	4	3	6
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	<u>35%</u>	<u>27%</u>	<u>70%</u>

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN PROGRAM PREFERENCES ...

Group differences in program preferences among the four stations examined (see Appendix B) appear to be rather minor and with the limited number of cases involved in the breakdowns are rarely reliably beyond chance.

* Less than one half of one per cent.

IV. STATION PREFERENCE IN NEWS LISTENING

WHAT STATIONS MAINLY LISTENED TO FOR NEWS?...

Because of its great political potency the pattern of station listening specifically in respect to news was subjected to a series of inquiries. The first of these - from which station do you mainly get the news? - shows again the great hold that RIAS has achieved on the East German audience. Eighty-three per cent - or over ten times the proportion of its nearest competitor - report that RIAS is the station they mainly depend on for the news.

"From which stations do you mainly get the news?"

"Do you sometimes listen to the news from other stations too?"

If "Yes": "From which stations?"

	TOTAL Main- ly	EAST Some- times	East Main- ly	Zone Some- times	East Main- ly	Berlin Some- times
RIAS	83%	7%	82%	8%	86%	6%
NWDR	8	17	10	15	2	23
Leipzig	6	24	6	29	5	2
BBC	4	3	3	4	6	1
Radio Berlin	2	17	2	14	2	27
Other Western stations	*	2	*	1	-	4
Other Eastern stations	-	*	-	*	-	-
Stations other than above	-	2	-	3	-	1
Don't listen to news	2	-	2	-	4	-
Don't get news from other stations	-	38	-	38	-	41
No answer	*	*	1	*	-	-
	105%**	110%**	106%**	112%**	109%**	105%**

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN STATION PREFERENCES FOR NEWS...

Just as was the case for overall station preference, group differences in station preferences for news listening, are not very appreciable (see following page). The picture is rather one of general similarity in the patterns of news listening preferences among the various population levels. Among all groups the great bulk listen mainly to RIAS for the news.

* Less than one half of one per cent

** A few respondents gave more than one answer

"From which station do you mainly get the news?"
 "Do you sometimes listen to the news from other stations too?"
 If "Yes", "From which stations?"

	RIAS	Loipzig	RFTG	Radio Berlin	BBC	Other Western stations	Other Eastern stations	Other stations	Don't listen to the news	No answer	No. of cases
Sex:											
Men	83% 9%	10% 23%	7% 28%	3% 3%	1% 17%	1% 2%	1% 1%	1% 3%	2% 3%	1% 2%	242
Women	61 4	5 9	4 19	5 3	2 16	1 1	1 1	1 1	3 1	1 2	202
Education:											
Elementary school	61 7	8 16	6 23	3 3	1 17	- 1	- *	- 2	3 1	- 1	345
Beyond elementary school	90 8	7 22	9 31	4 3	2 16	2 2	- 1	- 4	- -	- -	96
Income (per month):											
0 - 149 DM (East)	76 5	9 11	9 19	3 3	- 20	- 1	- 1	- 1	3 1	1 2	102
150 - 299 DM	83 10	9 15	4 23	4 2	2 19	1 1	- 1	- 2	1 1	- 1	209
300 DM and more	87 6	6 26	7 29	3 4	2 12	1 1	- -	3 3	2 -	- -	121
City size:											
0 - 9,999 pop.	86 6	7 16	4 29	4 2	- 18	1 1	- 1	- 3	1 1	1 1	102
10,000 - 99,999	61 7	12 14	8 26	4 2	- 14	- -	- 1	- 3	1 1	- -	134
100,000 and over	62 8	6 19	4 21	4 4	4 17	- *	- -	3 3	3 -	- 1	196
Occupation:											
Professionals, executives	92 8	6 23	8 29	4 6	2 16	2 2	- 2	- -	2 -	- -	51
White-collar workers	66 6	6 19	3 24	6 3	3 16	- 1	- -	- 5	2 2	- -	63
Manual workers	76 11	12 17	9 27	4 3	1 17	- 3	- 1	- 3	1 1	- -	140
Housewives	86 4	5 10	11 21	3 3	2 19	- 1	- -	- 1	2 -	- -	116
Unempl., pens.	79 6	8 16	11 22	- -	14	- -	- 2	- 2	5 -	- -	63
Age:											
Under 40 years	76 7	9 17	7 31	6 4	1 15	1 1	- 1	- 2	4 -	1 -	197
40 years and over	66 7	7 17	5 19	2 2	2 18	1 1	- -	- 2	1 -	- -	247

* Less than one half of one per cent

REASONS GIVEN WHY RIAS MAIN SOURCE OF NEWS...

The predominant reason respondents voice for obtaining their news mainly from RIAS is that here they get the truth. A third of the replies explicitly focus on this and most of the others imply the same sort of considerations in indirect ways. Only a very small proportion of the answers specified coercive non-choice kinds of reasons for listening mainly to RIAS news as, e.g., I can't hear any other stations, and the like.

"From which station do you mainly get the news?"

If "RIAS": "Why?"

TOTAL RIAS	East Zone	East Berlin
---------------	--------------	----------------

RIAS tells the truth: Because they tell us the truth; because I believe that they are telling the truth; RIAS, to hear the real truth and no made-up news; RIAS, because it seems more trustworthy to me than the Eastern radio stations; because their broadcasts are more in accordance with the truth than the broadcasts of the East; the truth - true presentation of the world situation; RIAS, because there the truth is quite obvious; we can hear the true news; because their news-service is according to the truth; they bring facts that are not turned upside down; because we hear the truth as it really is; because only RIAS is trustworthy; I have confidence in RIAS, Radio Leipzig stinks; because of what they bring, our own radio stations don't bring since they don't want to admit anything; just for control I listen to Radio Berlin occasionally, but the news presented by the RIAS is without any doubt the most objective; because RIAS is more objective; RIAS is more trustworthy; RIAS, we can rely upon them; etc.

36%	37%	29%
-----	-----	-----

Their news presents more variety and scope: RIAS is full of variety and not boring; they bring news from all over the world, also from Sudetenland, I am a refugee; RIAS, we hear something of the free world; RIAS, we get better information on Korea; RIAS, their news-service is many-sided, they bring the most important news from Germany while the Deutschlandsender brings only fractional reports; etc.

8	8	8
---	---	---

The Eastern radio stations lie: Because the news of the Eastern radio stations consist of lies; RIAS, because the Eastern broadcasting stations lie so much; the Eastern news doesn't interest me, it is just plain lies; RIAS, because the Eastern radio stations can't be trusted; RIAS, it is quite obvious that we can't believe Radio Leipzig, they lie so much; etc.

5	6	5
---	---	---

I only get RIAS on my radio-set: I can't hear any other stations; I got the best reception from RIAS; etc.

5	4	7
---	---	---

No slander propaganda on RIAS: RIAS, because it is the most reasonable radio station, no slandering; RIAS, because I believe they don't instigate so much there; the Eastern radio stations don't interest me, all they do is slander; RIAS, because they don't instigate in such a mean way; etc.

4	4	5
---	---	---

(Cont'd on next page)

TOTAL EAST	East Zone	East Berlin
---------------	--------------	----------------

Because RIAS corresponds to my pro-Western attitude:
 RIAS, because of their pro-Western attitude; RIAS, because I am for the West; RIAS, because I am against the East; because they are of the same political opinion as I am; because they are politically alright; because I object to the policy of the GDR; etc.

4%	4%	5%
----	----	----

RIAS news is up-to-date: RIAS is always up-to-date; exclusively RIAS, they bring the latest news; etc.

4	4	5
---	---	---

Because we are fed up with the Eastern programs:
 I am fed up with the propaganda of the East; I like RIAS better, we want to hear something besides politics all the time from Radio Berlin; RIAS, because I want to hear about something different than "activists" etc; RIAS, to hear the contrary of the Eastern programs; etc.

4	5	1
---	---	---

My radio is always set on RIAS: My radio is always set on RIAS because of the dance-music, and I also listen in to the news; I believe my son always turns on the RIAS; I always turn on the RIAS, so when I switch it off and then on again, I have it immediately; my radio is set on RIAS most of the time; etc.

2	1	6
---	---	---

They give us hope: RIAS, we are waiting for the day the West will really help us; RIAS, because we set all our hopes in them; etc.

1	1	2
---	---	---

Other reasons: I like RIAS best because they always meet my taste; RIAS, that is the only broadcasting station we have that informs us; RIAS is taken seriously; they do their broadcasts in such a natural way, nothing is arranged; because the news is made up especially for Berlin; RIAS, because they bring "Berlin spricht zur Zone" (Berlin Speaks to the Zone) afterwards; because we know that the West is better off, my daughter lives in Westfalen; etc.

7	6	15
---	---	----

Don't know, no comments, unintelligible or evasive answers: Don't know, I understand them best; I only say, we all know how far we can go; don't feel insulted, but that is too dangerous for me, you have no idea what's cooking here; etc.

$\frac{2}{82\%}$	$\frac{2}{82\%}$	$\frac{-}{88\%}$
------------------	------------------	------------------

* Some respondents gave more than one answer

REASONS GIVEN WHY OTHER WESTERN STATION MAIN NEWS SOURCE...

The small proportion of respondents who did not mention RIAS but specified some other Western station as their main source of news cited considerations similar to the foregoing for not getting their news mainly from Eastern sources.

"From which station do you mainly get the news?"
If Western stations other than RIAS named, "Why?"

	TOTAL EAST	East Zone	East Berlin
<u>The Western stations' news is more up-to-date, more interesting, more versatile and more extensive: Because the news is very interesting, well balanced and extensive, not as limited in scope as the Eastern news; Hamburg gives extensive news; gives a particularly clear survey enabling me to picture things well; because they are good and keep to facts; etc.</u>	2%	2%	2%
<u>The Western stations' news give the truth; are more in accordance with the truth and more objective: NWDR gives the news best; because one hears the truth; because they are least tinged; it is the most neutral one; etc.</u>	2	2	-
<u>My radio receives the Western stations best: I can hear NWDR best; can receive it best (Hamburg); etc.</u>	1	1	1
<u>The Western stations are not as propagandistic and don't agitate: Because they don't agitate; they are not as spoiled by propaganda as the Eastern stations; etc.</u>	*	1	1
<u>Radio always kept turned on Western stations: Is mostly kept turned on (NWDR); I keep the NWDR incessantly going; etc.</u>	1	*	1
<u>In the interest of comparison: Because the opinions (of NWDR and RIAS) differ from each other; both equally in the interests of comparison; etc.</u>	*	*	1
<u>Because of their Western attitude and because it agrees with my own opinion: Because I agree with their politics; because they have the same opinion as I have; etc.</u>	*	*	-
<u>Other reasons: I like them both equally, (RIAS, NWDR) without comments; I cannot listen to the Eastern stations because they disturb me; because the time of the news fits best into my own time schedule; etc.</u>	1	1	-
<u>No answer:</u>	* 7%	* 7%	* 6%

* Less than one half of one per cent

REASONS GIVEN WHY EASTERN STATIONS NAMED AS MAIN NEWS SOURCE...

Almost half of the reasons advanced by the small minority who specified some Eastern station as their main news source involved coercive non-choice considerations of radio reception. Some of the answers also clearly indicated that respondents are only listening to the East for comparison while relying on Western sources for more reliable re-
portage. Comparatively few of the answers unmistakably indicate a preference for Eastern news reporting.

"From which station do you mainly get the news?"
If Eastern station named: "Why?"

	TOTAL EAST	East Zone	East Berlin
<u>Reception of Eastern stations is best with my radio:</u> Because the reception of this one is best (Leipzig); because the others can't get through; because I can't get any other station; reception of other stations is impossible; the reception of RIAS is very poor because we have an old radio; Radio Berlin, because I can't get any other station; my friends listen to Leipzig most of the time because there they have the best reception; etc.	5%	5%	3%
<u>Eastern stations bring news of importance to the East Zone population and concerning the East Zone:</u> Because that concerns the East Zone most; because this news should be of most interest to us in the zone; Leipzig, because we are living in the zone and have to consider the things that happen here; because it brings everything that is important for us to know; etc.	2	2	2
<u>Listen to Eastern as well as Western stations in order to compare:</u> So as to be able to compare (RIAS and Radio Berlin); we can learn the truth from RIAS much better, yet one has to know what both have to say; for comparison RIAS and Berlin; I listen to the news from each station every day - RIAS and Leipzig - in order to compare; listen to both, RIAS and Leipzig for orientation; etc.	2	2	1
<u>News from the Eastern stations is objective and exact:</u> Because they really bring the facts; the most objective (Radio Berlin); they bring the best news in my opinion; etc.	1	-	4
<u>I listen to Eastern as well as Western stations (no specific comments):</u> I listen to both sides because I am politically indifferent; listen to Leipzig as well as RIAS; I listen to both alternately; I don't prefer any station, because I am not very interested in it; etc.	1	1	1
<u>Other reasons:</u> Because our company tunes in that station (Radio Berlin); anything that is tuned in because of the music; don't know, my husband just tunes in to Radio Leipzig; etc.	*	1	-
<u>No answer:</u>	$\frac{1}{12\%}$	$\frac{2}{13\%}$	$\frac{-}{11\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent

V. LISTENERSHIP TO SOME MAJOR WESTERN AND EASTERN POLITICAL PROGRAMS

WHICH POLITICAL PROGRAMS MOST WIDELY LISTENED TO?

With general station preferences established, the present study went on to consider the degree of responsiveness of the East Zone radio audience to some major Western and Eastern programs. The results suggest that Western programs are getting very good coverage among the elements of the East Zone population for which the present sample is representative. Three quarters of the radio listeners sampled indicate that they have recently heard both "Berlin speaks to the Zone" and the Voice of America broadcasts, the former of which is beamed thrice daily except Sunday to the East, and the latter thrice daily. A third report hearing Mr. Boerner's Commentary which is broadcast on a twice a week schedule.

"Which ones of these programs have you heard recently?"

	TOTAL EAST	East Zone	East Berlin
Berlin speaks to the Zone (RIAS)	83%	82%	88%
Voice of America (RIAS)	76	75	80
Mr. Boerner's Commentary (RIAS)	34	34	34
Truth about America (Leipzig)	20	22	12
This is Berlin (NWDR)	15	15	17
Mirror of the East (RIAS)	8	8	8
East German Program (BBC)	6	7	1
Current Problems (Radio Berlin)	5	5	6
	247%*	248%*	246%*

The Eastern program, "The Truth about America," it should be noted above, receives one in five listenership among the East Zone radio audience. This coverage is appreciable but very considerably outweighed by the political programs over RIAS.

* Most respondents cited more than one program.

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN POLITICAL PROGRAMS LISTENERSHIP ...

Of the three political programs with the most widespread impact on the East German radio audience, "Berlin speaks to the Zone" achieves the most even coverage among the various sectors of the population. Group differences are somewhat more marked in the VOA audience with slightly greater listenership among the more educated and informed elements of the radio audience - the men, the better schooled and the more affluent. Mr. Boerner's Commentary definitely achieves its widest impact among the opinion leading levels. Though the number of cases is too few to be entirely reliable, it is possible that better than half of East Zone radio listeners above elementary education are to be found in Mr. Boerner's audience.

"Which of these programs have you heard recently?"

	Berlin speaks to the Zone	Voice of America	Mr. Boerner's Comment- ary	Truth about America	Here speaks Berlin	Mirror of the East	East Ger- man Pro- gram of the BBC	Curr- ent Prob- lems	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>									
Men	84%	81%	40%	25%	20%	11%	7%	5%	242
Women	82	70	28	15	10	5	5	5	202
<u>Education:</u>									
Elementary school	81	73	28	19	14	7	4	4	345
Beyond element- ary school	90	86	55	24	21	12	14	7	96
<u>Income (per month):</u>									
0 - 149 M (East)	78	69	28	13	15	9	4	3	102
150 - 299 DM	84	77	34	23	14	8	5	6	210
300 DM and more	86	81	41	22	20	8	10	6	120
<u>City Size:</u>									
0 - 9,999 pop.	82	73	38	9	14	6	5	4	102
10,000 - 99,999	78	74	30	23	16	10	6	3	134
100,000 and over	87	79	34	24	16	7	7	7	196
<u>Occupation:</u>									
Professionals	90	82	55	24	25	14	12	4	51
Executives									
White collar workers	91	81	48	25	17	11	10	8	63
Manual workers	81	75	27	23	15	8	4	4	140
Housewives	84	73	27	15	8	4	4	5	118
Unemployed, pensioners	78	73	34	13	21	10	5	1	63
<u>Age:</u>									
Under 40 years	80	74	24	24	13	6	7	7	197
40 years and over	85	78	42	17	17	10	5	4	247

FREQUENCY OF LISTENING TO MAJOR POLITICAL PROGRAMS ...

The figures for frequency of listening among the East Germans sampled (see following page) are even more remarkable than the coverage returns. Forty-four per cent of the East Zone radio listeners report listening to "Berlin speaks to the Zone" five to six times a week - or substantially its entire weekly output. Approximately three quarters report listening twice a week or more.

The Voice of America shows similarly high frequencies of listening with 21 per cent of East Zone radio listeners saying that they hear it daily, and almost two thirds twice a week or more.

Mr. Boerner's total output - twice a week - is apparently heard by a quarter of East Zone radio listeners, and 32 per cent or substantially his entire audience report listening once a week or more.

Even if these figures on the major American programs beamed to East Germany are considerably discounted in the interest of caution on the score of sampling and other limitations inherent in East Zone surveying, they suggest widespread habitual listening to the Western radio output.

Reported listening to the major Eastern program included - The Truth about America - runs considerably under the figures that have been presented. Approximately 14 per cent of the East Zone radio audience report hearing this program once a week or more.*

* Program comprises two new shows a week, each of which is presented twice for a total of four presentations weekly over East Zone stations.

East Zone

East Berlin

Berlin speaks
to the Zone
Voice of America
Mr. Boerner's
Commentary
Truth about
America
Here speaks Berlin
Mirror of
the East
East German Program
Current Problems
Berlin speaks
to the Zone
Voice of America
Mr. Boerner's
Commentary
Truth about
America
Here speaks Berlin
Mirror of
the East
East German Program
Current Problems

[illegible]

• Less than one half of one per cent

VI. EVALUATION OF MAJOR WESTERN AND EASTERN POLITICAL PROGRAMS

PROGRAMS RATED MOST VALUABLE ...

The program most often considered of greatest worth - among the political programs presented for evaluation - was the RIAS production - "Berlin speaks to the Zone". Fifty-nine per cent of the East German radio listeners sampled lay the most worth on this program, and 11 per cent placed it second. The Voice of America followed in the rankings of most valuable with 14 per cent of the radio audience placing it in first and 39 per cent in second place. Mr. Boerner's Commentaries achieved the third ranking, with the remaining programs trailing rather far behind.

"On which of these programs do you place the most worth?
"And which one comes next?"

	TOTAL EAST		East Zone		East Berlin	
	1st place	2nd place	1st place	2nd place	1st place	2nd place
Berlin speaks to the Zone (RIAS)	59%	11%	61%	10%	53%	16%
Voice of America (RIAS)	14	39	11	38	23	42
Mr. Boerner's Commentary (RIAS)	4	12	4	13	5	10
Here speaks Berlin (NWDR)	3	2	4	3	-	-
Truth about America (Leipzig)	*	1	-	1	4	2
Current Problems (Radio Berlin)	*	1	*	*	1	2
East German Program (BEC)	*	2	*	2	-	-
Mirror of the East (RIAS)	-	1	-	*	-	1
No answer	<u>20</u> 100%	<u>31</u> 100%	<u>20</u> 100%	<u>33</u> 100%	<u>14</u> 100%	<u>27</u> 100%

Only a microscopic two per cent, it should be noted above, accorded the Eastern sponsored programs even second place in the judgment of most valuable.

GROUP DIFFERENCES OF MOST VALUABLE RATINGS ...

In the present judgments - as seem to be characteristic throughout this study - group differences are very minor (see following page). In all population levels examined, the rankings closely parallel the over-all figures for "Berlin speaks to the Zone" first, Voice of America second and Mr. Boerner's Commentaries third in the proportion who judge them to be of the most worth among the political programs that were listed.

* Less than one half of one per cent.

"On which of these programs do you place the most worth?"
 "and which one comes next?"

No. of
cases

	Berlin speaks to the Zone		Voice of America		Mr. Boerner's commentary		Here speaks Berlin		Truth about America		Current problems		East German pro- gram of the BBC		Mirror of the East		No answer		No. of cases
	1st place	2nd place	1st pl.	2nd pl.	1st pl.	2nd pl.	1st pl.	2nd pl.	1st pl.	2nd pl.	1st pl.	2nd pl.	1st pl.	2nd pl.	1st pl.	2nd pl.	1st pl.	2nd pl.	
Sex:																			
Men	60%	12%	14%	36%	5%	14%	4%	3%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	16%	29%	242
Women	50	11	12	41	4	10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	22	34	202
Education:																			
Elementary school	50	11	14	39	3	10	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	20	35	343
Beyond elementary school	61	13	12	39	9	22	3	*	-	-	1	-	-	4	-	2	14	20	96
Income (per month):																			
0 - 149 IM (East)	60	8	12	37	1	13	3	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	23	39	102
150 - 299 IM	58	13	15	41	5	10	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	-	18	30	210
300 IM and more	60	13	13	37	7	14	3	2	-	1	1	-	-	4	-	2	16	27	120
City size:																			
0 - 9,999 pop.	62	12	16	37	4	17	3	3	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	15	29	102
10,000 - 99,999	65	10	10	38	2	11	4	4	-	1	-	-	1	2	-	-	18	32	134
100,000 and over	54	12	14	41	6	10	2	*	2	2	1	1	*	2	-	-	21	32	196
Occupation:																			
Professionals,																			
executives	68	8	0	33	10	24	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	2	14	23	51
White-collar workers	60	18	13	37	6	16	4	3	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	13	25	63
Manual workers	57	14	16	39	4	9	4	2	1	1	2	-	-	1	-	1	17	31	140
Housewives	61	11	14	45	4	7	-	2	-	2	-	-	2	1	-	-	19	32	118
Unempl., pens.	59	3	11	38	-	16	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	23	40	63
Age:																			
Under 40 years	57	11	14	43	4	7	3	3	1	2	1	2	*	2	*	1	20	32	197
40 years and over	62	11	13	37	4	16	2	2	1	*	-	-	*	2	-	-	18	31	247

* Less than one half of one per cent

The major considerations advanced by those who judge the program "Berlin speaks to the Zone" to be of the most worth among political programs, are the reasons for preferring RIAS generally - that here one can get trustworthy news and hear the truth about the East. A considerable proportion of judgments of most worth for this program, however, spring from specific informational desires it seems to serve - detailed information about conditions in the East Zone; reports on spies; advice as to how to behave in various situations, and similar considerations.

"On which of these programs do you place the most worth?"
If "Berlins speaks to the Zone": "Why?"

TOTAL EAST	East Zone	East Berlin
---------------	--------------	----------------

<u>Because of its trustworthiness:</u> Because a great number of people learn the truth by that; everything they say is true - one can investigate that; because that is the only source of truth; we never hear about these things otherwise; because they correct the propaganda; the problems that are of most concern to us are treated in a way we are not used to - frankly and objectively; because they refute a lot of lies by the East; we learn the truth in regard to politics and things we get wrong information on by the East; etc.	17%	17%	15%
---	-----	-----	-----

<u>We hear the truth about the East Zone:</u> Because I want to hear the truth about the events in the East Zone; there we can hear what really happens in the East; we learn the real truth about the different forms of government; because they inform us about the true conditions in the East Zone; because we are interested in all news about the East Zone; there we always hear what really happens here, which is a big help to us; etc.	14	15	13
--	----	----	----

<u>It concerns us personally and is important to us:</u> Because we feel it is addressed to us personally; because we live in the East and therefore it is of personal concern to us; because I live in Germany and therefore I want to be informed about everything that happens here in Germany; they tell us a lot of things that are important to us; etc.	8	8	8
--	---	---	---

<u>Because of the information on spies:</u> Because they tell us the names of people we have to be careful about; because they reveal the names of the squealers; the warnings are very important to us; it is the best information service on spies - it has given us a lot of help; etc.	6	6	6
--	---	---	---

<u>They give us advice on how to behave:</u> We get advice from the West; they give us good advice on how to behave in case we are forced to join the SED; they advise us to keep quiet rather than publicly talk on politics; etc.	4	3	5
---	---	---	---

<u>Gives us hope:</u> It gives us in the East a glimpse of hope and keeps us going; because they comfort us that we might go back to our old homes; because they tell us exactly what we experience day in day out and we get new courage; etc.	4	4	2
---	---	---	---

<u>Because we can compare conditions in the East and the West:</u> Because we can see how things are coming along there and how they are coming along here; the contrast between East and West is clarified; etc.	2	3	1
---	---	---	---

<u>Because the news is timely:</u> Because it brings the latest news; etc.	2	1	2
--	---	---	---

<u>Other opinions:</u> Politically - Berlin is part of the East Zone as well and they feel with us; because it keeps us thinking; because they tell us something about the East Zone, no matter whether it is true or not - everybody overdoes it anyway; we just like to hear it; etc.	6	6	5
---	---	---	---

<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	* 63%**	1 64%**	- 58%**
--------------------------------	------------	------------	------------

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

REASONS GIVEN FOR RATING VOICE OF AMERICA MOST VALUABLE

The most prominent single reason advanced by the respondents who felt the Voice of America program to be the most valuable of the group listed was that here information about America is to be obtained. Other replies focused on truthfulness, variety, and the avoidance of slandering tactics.

"On which of these programs do you place the most worth?"

If "Voice of America": "Why?"

	TOTAL EAST	East Zone	East Berlin
<u>Because it gives information about America:</u> Because I want to inform myself about America; because I want to emigrate, therefore I am interested in information about the kind of life the Americans lead; how the people live that interests me; because they don't bring politics only, but also reports on life there; the free life is reported on that Americans lead, their social institutions and many other things; through it one learns about the country and the people; etc.	5%	4%	10%
<u>Tells the truth:</u> It appears to be truthful, generally; they tell the truth in all they say; because there one really hears the truth; because I don't think much of the Communist advertising; everything is brought the way it is; there one always hears the truth; etc.	2	3	5
<u>News is up-to-date and many-sided:</u> They bring the latest news about inventions, technical develop- ments, agriculture; it is interesting and many- sided; etc.	1	1	5
<u>No slandering:</u> No slandering like in Radio Berlin; etc.	1	1	1
<u>Other replies:</u> We learn something; there we hear how they deceive us; I like it very much, it is so interesting; the connection it provides with the West is most important to me; it brings politics as seen through the eyes of Americans; etc.	4	4	6
<u>Not ascertained / No opinion:</u>	$\frac{1}{14\%}$	$\frac{1}{12\%}^{**}$	$\frac{1}{23\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

To obtain more detailed evaluation and guidance on the three major American programs and insight into the attractions of the major Eastern competitor, listeners to each program were questioned as to what interests them in the program in question.

WHAT INTERESTS EAST GERMANS IN "BERLIN SPEAKS TO THE ZONE?...

As already covered in the reasons for judging "Berlin Speaks to the Zone" as the political program of the most worth, the specific information about East Zone conditions, spies and the like, and the general values of truthful reporting appear to be the major sources of attraction in this most popular of the American programs directed to Eastern Germany.

"What interests you in "Berlin Speaks to the Zone?"

	TOTAL EAST	East Zone	East Berlin
<u>Warnings on spies:</u> The warnings on spies; the information about spies in the East Zone; the names of the spies; etc.	16%	16%	17%
<u>Accurate portrayal of East Zone conditions:</u> In order to find out everything they do to us; in order to really learn the facts about the terrible conditions in the East Zone; there we really learn the truth about conditions here; that they give us a true picture of conditions here; that we learn the truth about the abductions; that RIAS is exactly informed about everything that goes on here in the East Zone; that all the problems in the East are revealed; etc.	14	13	18
<u>Everything is interesting and important:</u> Everything, it is our only comfort; everything is interesting; everything is interesting because everything concerns us; it is interesting to us and important as well; etc.	14	15	8
<u>The news:</u> The news and events in the zone; the very enlightening daily reports on East Germany; important, because of the news about the East Zone; to hear the news, that is the only program we listen to; news about events in the East zone; etc.	13	11	18
<u>Truthful reporting (general):</u> Because we see that they say the truth; because there we really hear what is happening in the world; because we can hear what they don't tell us here; political enlightenment; the facts which they want to hide in the East Zone; etc.	11	10	17
<u>The refutation of Eastern propaganda:</u> The refutation of the Eastern radio stations; they refute false information from the East; every evening they correct the false East Zone propaganda; the refuting of the information by "Radio Berlin" about the remilitarisation in West Germany and the training of officers in the West Zone; that they always point out the false promises by the Russians; etc.	4	4	1
<u>The advice:</u> We were advised on how to behave at the elections; etc.	3	4	1
<u>Evasive answers:</u> I can't say that, it is too dangerous, there are squealers everywhere and I could lose my head; nothing; etc.		*	4
<u>Information on the People's Police and the armament:</u> Daily news about the People's Police and armament; etc.		*	1
<u>Other reasons:</u> We would like to hear what they think about us; because it corresponds to my opinion; events in Berlin; that they feel sorry for us and want to comfort us until we are liberated; the attitude toward the fate of the East Zone; etc.	7	7	7
<u>No opinion / Don't know:</u>	4 07%*	5 05%*	2 02%*

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer

Interestingly enough reportage on American life is the type of material that the largest proportion of VOA listeners specify as what interests them most particularly in the Voice of America program. News follows, but with a considerably lesser proportion, and the remaining expressions of interest are distributed over a variety of other considerations.

"What interests you in the "Voice of America?"

TOTAL East East
ELST Zone Berlin

Reports on America, the country, the people, life, habits and customs: Life in America; the description of daily life in America; I like to hear about America; how much the American worker earns and how he lives; how they live there and how they got along with their money; news from America, that they lead a good life, earn a lot of money and about their households, all their equipment is electric; it is kind of exciting to hear something about a great foreign country where there is a lot of money and where they constantly make new inventions; to hear how things look over there and about their way of thinking; I would like to go to a foreign country that's why I take an interest in America; etc.

31% 30% 33%

News, commentaries, politics: The news service, the commentaries on Korea; their economic policy; their news concerning world policy, politics, news on political events so that I can compare them with the news I get; their economic and political reports in the evening and their news on Korea; etc.

12 11 16

Other specific programs or types of programs: Reports by individuals on their impressions in the U.S. (Stimmungsberichte); dance-music; Eva and Michael; etc.

5 4 8

Letters from the audience: Letters from the audience; answers to letters from the audience; to hear the workers talk in their letters; etc.

5 4 7

Nothing, nothing special: Nothing special in their daily program, I just happen to listen to it when my husband turns it on; I don't take much interest in this broadcast; etc.

4 3 6

About the East Zone (comparisons): The difference between the life of a worker in America and in the East Zone; their way of refuting the lies of the Berlin Radio station concerning rearmament and war-mongering in the West; about the East Zone, how people are there, etc.

3 4 2

Educational value of the reports: Very instructive, because thereby we hear what's going on in the world; the information is very nice and enlightening; etc.

3 3 1

Up-to-date, interesting and many-sided: The variety; they bring something about every field; etc.

2 2 5

The American attitude towards Germany: What the Americans think about us; the attitude of the American people towards us; to hear about the general attitude of America towards Germany; the general political attitude with respect to the German policy; etc.

2 2 1

Other reasons: We can learn a lot from America, especially in the technical field; everything is interesting; etc.

10 11 6

No opinion (No judgment): I can't remember anything; I don't know what to say; I can't give a reason; etc.

4 5 1

No answer:

* 1/2% ** 1/20% ** 1/25%

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer

The predominant position of Americans in the East German expression of interest in VOA provides considerable food for thought; it is not a simple matter to weigh its implications. One hasty conclusion that ought to be avoided in any case is that East Germans find accounts of American life more interesting than news. Obviously fresh, on-the-spot news can be readily obtained from other programs on the same station, and hence many RIAS listeners are likely to find VOA most interesting for what is most distinctive about it, and that cannot be readily obtained elsewhere, namely its concrete and authoritative detail about the mighty country across the Atlantic. But if this reasoning is convincing, it raises questions about the optimum programming of the East German VOA broadcasts. Should news be deemphasized, since apparently most of the interest in this is fed from other Western sources, and greater emphasis laid on Americana and other generalized propaganda? Or on the contrary, should greater efforts be made to compete for news interests so that this potent source of audience attraction will work more effectively for the VOA program?

WHAT INTERESTS EAST GERMANS IN MR. BOERNER'S COMMENTARIES?...

Aside from Mr. Boerner's analysis of current political events interest in this program is based on what respondents state is his clarity of presentation, and the accuracy and impartiality of his statements.

"What interests you in Mr. Boerner's Commentaries?"

	TOTAL EAST	East Zone	East Berlin
<u>His views and comments on politics:</u> That he deals with the most important questions in detail; commentaries on the latest events; the problems discussed are always new ones; his opinion on the current events; his attitude in regard to world politics; etc.	11%	10%	15%
<u>His clarity of presentation:</u> The way he explains everything; he is marvellous, so clear and comprehensible; that he pictures the political situation with expressive and short sentences; he talks calmly and composedly; good diction; etc.	6	8	1
<u>His truthfulness and impartiality:</u> He tells nothing but the truth; that he talks openly about all political problems; he is impartial; factual political commentaries; etc.	5	4	10
<u>Everything:</u> Everything; I am interested in everything; the whole criticism; etc.	3	3	1
<u>General statements (very interesting, versatile, informative):</u>			
<u>His versatility;</u> he is very interesting; everything is interesting; very informative; etc.	2	2	1
<u>That we get acquainted with the American point of view:</u> To hear what the American think about it; I try, of course, to sift the attitude towards Germany and towards world politics; etc.	1	1	1
<u>The topics are new and up-to-date:</u> The latest news; that everything is up-to-date; etc.	1	1	-
<u>Nothing special:</u> On Sundays - nothing special; etc.	*	1	1
<u>Other reasons:</u> Because it is a voice from a normal world; I cannot remember right now; etc.	2	2	1
<u>No opinion / Don't know / No answer:</u>	4 35%**	4 36%**	4 35%**

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer

WHAT INTERESTS EAST GERMANS IN "THE TRUTH ABOUT AMERICA?"...

A desire to compare and a desire to hear the lies being promulgated against the West are the most frequent reasons advanced by the East Germans sampled for their interest in "The truth About America" program. Only three per cent of the expressions of interest were unmistakably favorable to the East.

"What interests you in "The Truth About America?""

TOTAL EAST	East Zone	East Berlin
---------------	--------------	----------------

So we can compare: In order to compare; so as to compare with the Voice of America; I just listen so as to hear the other side; etc.

6%	7%	3%
----	----	----

To hear all the lies: Their overbearing stories; in order to hear how they lie I listen to it sometimes; we can only be surprised to hear how they instigate against the "Amis"; all the lies and what they say about the West being nothing compared to the East; nothing, I just laugh at their lies; they lie about the life of the American workers - I really know what they are up to now, because I have been to America; etc.

5	6	-
---	---	---

Nothing, I turn the radio off: I just turn the radio off as soon as they put on the program - they are all liars anyway; I don't listen to it most of the time; etc.

3	4	1
---	---	---

That we hear something about America: The truth, in order to hear something about America; how the workers live in America; etc.

2	1	5
---	---	---

I just listen: One merely listens to it; etc.

2	2	-
---	---	---

Everything:

1	1	-
---	---	---

Other reasons:

*	*	1
---	---	---

Don't know / No answer:

$\frac{1}{20\%}$	$\frac{1}{22\%}$	$\frac{2}{12\%}$
------------------	------------------	------------------

* Less than one half of one per cent

As a final attempt to obtain the last bit of information of value to program guidance, respondents were asked to voice whatever criticisms they might have to each of four major programs.

CRITICISMS OF "BERLIN SPEAKS TO THE ZONE"...

The majority of East Zone radio listeners stated that they had nothing to criticize about the program - Berlin Speaks to the Zone. While this undoubtedly reflects generalized satisfaction some part of the absence of criticism may derive from the fact of an already somewhat lengthy on-the-street interview. Further efforts to probe for criticisms and constructive suggestions will be made in future studies.

The criticisms that were brought forward are rather varied and fail to pile up to any appreciable extent, it will be noted, on any particular point.

"What is there to criticize in the program" Berlin Speaks to the Zone?"

	TOTAL EAST	East Zone	East Berlin
<u>Nothing to criticize:</u> Nothing, everything is clear; nothings; etc.	62%	61%	65%
<u>Broadcast is too short:</u> Should bring more, otherwise everything is o.k.; the broadcast is too short; should be extended; should come twice a day; etc.	2	3	2
<u>They exaggerate - too tendentious:</u> Their broadcasts should be more objective, one often gets the impression that they are tendentious; the conditions in the East Zone are described a little too much in the negative; they exaggerate too much; etc.	2	1	5
<u>They talk too much - should act instead:</u> Their telling us all that doesn't help at all, they have given us up anyway; they promise us too much, but we don't see any results; they shouldn't talk so much, but act instead so that we get better off; they tell the people to have courage but every single one hopes for actual help; they should not only reject Communism but should act and participate in preventing Communism; etc.	2	2	1
<u>Should be more aggressive - more propaganda:</u> Why don't they, really step up their propaganda, they are far too human; nothing, except that they are too reserved, they should really tell this East Zone government off; could be more frank and more radical; their language should be more aggressive; etc.	1	2	-
<u>Their program could be more detailed:</u> They could be more detailed in many respects; better explanation of certain ideas, for instance they should explain the meaning of remilitarization; etc.	1	2	-
<u>Their reports are not always in accordance with facts:</u> Not everything they tell is in accordance with the truth; I doubt their news about the number of People's Policemen escaping daily to the West; their "Warnmeldungen" (warnings) are often not based on facts; etc.	1	1	-
<u>Too much slander propaganda:</u> Too much slandering, just as it is done in the East, there is no difference; I can't stand that slandering; etc.	*	*	1
<u>Other opinions:</u> I have got a feeling as if this program has become worse lately, perhaps they lack the necessary information; I don't like the music; they should limit themselves to good advice, that is important for us; they should make comments on articles out of Soviet newspapers; they bring everything at once, they should talk about Saxony today and Thuringia tomorrow; etc.	2	1	1
<u>No opinion:</u>	10 0%	9 82%*	13 00%

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer

CRITICISMS OF VOICE OF AMERICA...

Most VOA listeners too held that they had nothing to criticize about the program. Just as was the case for the program "Berlin Speaks to the Zone" the criticisms that were offered were diverse and do not add up to any appreciable trends in objections. The comments, however, have been presented in some detail below for whatever value they may have by way of providing hints toward more effective programming.

"What is there to criticize in the Voice of America?"

	TOTAL EAST	East Zone	East Berlin
<u>Nothing to criticize:</u> I don't have any objections; no objections; they couldn't be better, nothing; the program is o.k.; everything is just fine; is allright; etc.	50%	48%	57%
<u>Dislike the music:</u> I don't know anything about jazz music, sounds too strange to me; this crazy Negro music is not my taste at all; the American music, they don't have any nice melodies; they bring too much music; etc.	3	3	2
<u>Bad reception:</u> Nothing, only the reception is pretty much disturbed sometimes; reception is often not clear; the Eastern radio stations try to jam this program; they need technical improvement, reception is not clear; bad reception but that is because my radio set is old, there is nothing wrong with the program itself; a lot of static; etc.	3	3	1
<u>They are not objective - too tendentious and propagandistic:</u> This program is by no means objective; they contradict each other in these broadcasts (The Truth About America), slandering from both sides - I can't check up with what is true and what isn't; I often have the feeling that the Voice of America only talks about the advantages but never about the misery that certainly also exists; too tendentious; sometimes these broadcasts don't seem to be according to the truth but rather exaggerated; they talk about equality of rights, but there is no such thing for the Negroes; they are too tendentious, not objective; makes too much propaganda for the West, this pertains also to the Eastern broadcasting stations who make propaganda for their parties; I would only be able to tell after I had studied the conditions in the country itself; how do I know whether everything they tell about America is true?; etc.	2	2	1
<u>They deal too much with American instead of German problems:</u> They don't show much understanding for the German mentality; they talk too much about America; they only deal with American problems instead of our problems; often too one-sided and not suited for German interests; often rather nice but not important for us; etc.	2	2	2
<u>The broadcast "Hoererbriefe" (Letters from the audience) should be shortened:</u> In this broadcast they often have to answer pretty stupid letters; some of the questions asked are so dumb that they shouldn't be answered at all; often those letters are so unimportant that they should save their precious time for something else; etc.	1	1	1

(Cont'd on next page)

TOTAL	East	East
EAST	Zone	Berlin

Bad pronunciation of the speakers: The accent of the speakers is too strong - they sound too self-conceited; they talk too much the American way; sometimes hard to understand because it is poor German; the accent is too strong; resent the speaker's voice; etc.

1%	1%	1%
----	----	----

Too few reports on American conditions: They should tell us more facts about America; they should tell more about American conditions in comparison with conditions in Germany; fewer political reports but only reports on the USA; tell us details about the various states; etc.

1	*	2
---	---	---

Too few political broadcasts: Talk too little about politics; could be more political; I miss a definite expression of their political opinion; they should give more information on the Russians preparing for war more than for peace; etc.

1	1	-
---	---	---

Generally unfavorable criticism: Sometimes they are just silly; they frequently talk rubbish; they go too much into details; they talk too much about stamps and that doesn't interest me; they should use intelligible terms, otherwise many people don't understand what they say; etc.

1	1	-
---	---	---

They don't talk enough about the American workers: They hardly talk about the American working class; they don't bring enough about the American workers; if possible they should let the American workers speak up, we are interested to know how well they are; etc.

1	1	-
---	---	---

Replies that request certain broadcasts: Why doesn't the Voice of America answer any requests from the Russian Zone?; they don't pay enough attention to the East; they should bring more music; a broadcast on new hit-tunes; that we seldom hear the broadcast "In Sendewagen durch Amerika" (in the radio car through America), that was always very interesting; etc.

1	1	-
---	---	---

Other opinions: The music at the beginning is too long, here in the East the neighbors might get suspicious if they hear the same music every evening; those who wish to hear the Voice of America, switch on their radio at 1900 hours anyway, they don't need any music; the broadcasts should be longer; this broadcast is too early, they should give it at 2030 hours; the night broadcast should be a little earlier; they don't talk enough about the Negroes; we are always told that the Negroes abroad are not regarded as human beings; etc.

1	3	2
---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

0	8	11
76%	75%	80%

* Less than one half of one per cent

CRITICISMS OF MR. BOERNER'S COMMENTARIES ...

Mr. Boerner's commentaries also elicited - nothing to criticize - as the most frequent response, and the criticisms that were advanced add up to no appreciable point.

"What is there to criticizing in Mr. Boerner's Commentaries?"

	TOTAL EAST	East Zone	East Berlin
<u>Nothing to criticize:</u> I have no objections, I just listen to it to hear other people's opinions; I couldn't think of anything; nothing at all; there is nothing to object to; etc.	23%	22%	27%
<u>He is good - I like the program:</u> Mr. Boerner is good; he is extraordinarily good; Mr. Boerner, I always like him; clear and objective; etc.	2	2	-
<u>The style and his manner of speaking could be improved:</u> That he all of a sudden interrupts his talk and says "Guten Abend"; his manner of talking is somewhat impertinent; he often does not talk clearly, American accent is too strong; he should express himself more clearly to make simple people also understand him; etc.	1	1	2
<u>Speaks too infrequently - too short:</u> He speaks too infrequently, too short; etc.	1	1	-
<u>He could be more comprehensive:</u> His commentaries could be more detailed; go into details more about the respective subject; he is too one-sided, he should offer more variety with respect to his topics, otherwise it gets too boring; etc.	1	1	-
<u>His opinion on the East is wrong:</u> He never criticizes the West but thinks that everything is marvellous, and that everything is terrible in the East; the danger from the East is not quite as threatening as he claims it is; etc.	*	*	1
<u>No opinion / Don't know / No answer:</u>	$\frac{6}{34\%}$	$\frac{7}{34\%}$	$\frac{4}{34\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

CRITICISMS OF "THE TRUTH ABOUT AMERICA"...

The fact that East Zone radio listeners who indicate listening to the Eastern program - The Truth About America - do so in the main for quite other than complimentary reasons, is amply indicated by the criticisms that were voiced of this program. The bulk of the replies emphasized either that the program did not tell the truth or that it was filled with one-sided and exaggerated "slander-propaganda".

"What is there to criticize in "The Truth About America"?"

TOTAL EAST	East Zone	East Berlin
---------------	--------------	----------------

They don't tell the truth: It lacks truthfulness; it is all lies, they just tear down everything; it is pure swindle to start with; those blunt lies just disgust me; they use the most outrageous lies, for instance that Russia is a paradise and all other countries are just nothing compared with it; nothing, it is a well-known fact that one can't believe everything they say; it is all lies, we just laugh about it; they tell lies and I don't appreciate it; the introduction music is vulgar, their reports not in accordance with the facts, too many lies; they couldn't tell better lies; this program is by no means objective; etc.

8%	10%	2%
----	-----	----

Program consists of slander propaganda - one-sided and exaggerated: They are out of their mind, their slandering stinks; the whole broadcast is set up for propaganda purpose and insults; we just laugh about it because they tell outrageous things about the West Zone; their exaggerations are too obvious to be believed; they should not bring it at all since it consists of slander-propaganda; it shows strong political tendencies; it is merely propaganda and slandering, should be eliminated altogether; they exaggerate in such a way that we don't believe anything, but it is cleverly done; it is just propaganda; etc.

5	6	2
---	---	---

Nothing to criticize: Nothing; etc.

3	2	6
---	---	---

Don't listen to it - switch it off (general aversion): I don't want to listen to such nonsense; we don't listen to it, we just switch it off, they tell lies; we turn that off; that is nonsense; etc.

1	1	-
---	---	---

Other opinions: All these political broadcasts bring slander propaganda, both sides, I can't tell what's true and what isn't; that they always say the contrary of what RLS says; everything, but they shouldn't improve it, I just listen to it to be able to compare; they should inform the people better about the decline of the free economy in the East Zone; etc.

1	*	1
---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{2}{20\%}$	$\frac{3}{22\%}$	$\frac{1}{12\%}$
------------------	------------------	------------------

* Less than one half of one per cent

IX. EXTENT OF VERBAL DISSEMINATION OF WESTERN RADIO NEWS

HOW OFTEN IS WESTERN RADIO INFORMATION PASSED ON? ...

One of the closing inquiries in the present study sought to obtain some insight into the frequency with which information received from Western stations was passed on by word of mouth to others in the East Zone. Half the East Zone population sampled stated that such verbal dissemination happened "very often," another quarter said that such happened "often," the remainder gave lesser estimates or volunteered no opinion.

"Does it happen that information by Western stations is spread from mouth to mouth? Does this happen very often, often, not very often, or seldom?" (Asked of everyone, i.e. inclusive of non-radio-listeners)

	TOTAL EAST		East Zone		East Berlin	
	Radio listeners	Total population	Radio list.	Total pop.	Radio list.	Total pop.
Happens very often	55%	(51%)	56%	(54%)	51%	(44%)
Happens often	23	(23)	22	(21)	25	(25)
Does not happen very often	8	(8)	9	(9)	6	(5)
Happens seldom	4	(5)	3	(4)	7	(9)
Does not happen	6	(6)	6	(6)	4	(5)
No opinion	4	(7)	4	(6)	7	(12)
	100%	(100%)	100%	(100%)	100%	(100%)

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN JUDGMENTS ON DISSEMINATION ...

The opinion leading levels of the population were considerably more inclined than their counterparts to hold that mouth to mouth transmission of Western radio information was very frequent.

"Does it happen that information by Western stations is spread from mouth to mouth? Does it happen very often, often, not very often, or seldom?"

	Happens very often	Happens seldom	Happens not so often	Happens seldom	Happens very seldom	No answer	No. of cases
Sex:							
Men	62%	21%	6%	5%	3%	3%	261
Women	40	23	11	4	10	12	229
Education:							
Elementary school	48	24	8	6	6	8	388
Beyond element. school	68	13	8	1	6	4	99
Income (per month):							
Under 149 DM (East)	39	24	12	5	7	13	125
150 - 299 DM	53	25	6	8	8	6	226
300 DM and more	62	18	9	3	6	2	125
City Size:							
0 - 9,999 pop.	43	23	15	3	2	7	119
10,000 - 99,999	57	23	7	4	4	5	141
100,000 and over	54	21	6	6	5	8	216
Occupation:							
Professionals and Executives	67	17	6	2	4	4	52
White collar workers	62	20	1	11	5	1	66
Manual workers	51	20	11	5	5	8	161
Housewives	41	29	10	3	8	0	124
Unemployed, pens.	47	24	8	4	8	9	76
Age:							
Under 40 years	51	23	9	4	7	6	213
40 years and over	52	22	8	5	5	8	277

* Breakdowns based on whole population, i.e. inclusive of non-radio-listeners.

WHAT KIND OF INFORMATION USUALLY PASSED ON? ...

The type of information that is passed on by word of mouth appears from the respondents' replies to embrace the gamut of the politically significant - news of general political interest, information about informers, reports on East Zone conditions, political and economic news about West Germany and the West, and the like.

"What kind of information is usually passed on? (Could you give some examples)?"

	TOTAL EAST	East Zone	East Berlin
<u>News of general political interest:</u> Political news; information on politics; facts about the world situation; one discusses all aspects of politics; daily events in the world - naturally including news of the East Zone as well; special events in politics, news about the situation in Paris; the whole political situation news from RIAS - Foreign Ministers' conference; etc.	24%	25%	20%
<u>Warnings about spies and informers (news about kidnappings and arrests):</u> Warnings about stool pigeons and squealers; warnings of spies and news of people who left for the West, names of people who are being tried in the East Zone; that there were kidnappings again in the East Zone; names of spies; etc.	15	16	11
<u>Reports on conditions in the East Zone:</u> News about the East Zone; conditions in the East Zone; about the true happenings in the East Zone - for instance the confiscations of personal property; that the farmers have to leave their homes because they can't meet the requirements; about the "People's Police" who flee to the West and then their names are mentioned; also when Russians take off for the West Zone and work against the East from there and abuse the East Zone; when the "People's Police" control the trains and cyclists as well to see if they have Western goods; about Pieck and Grotewohl - how they really are is told by RIAS; every time one of the SED functionaries has done something really scandalous again; news we don't hear about - i.e. the war preparations in the East Zone; etc.	14	13	18
<u>News about Korea (Russia, Far East):</u> The truth about the war in Korea - that the North Koreans are guilty of starting the war; everything that comes in the news about Korea; the latest news about Korea; many people don't have a radio and want to know the news about events in the Far East - this news is interesting because it brings us new hope; etc.	14	14	12
<u>Political and economic news about West Germany and the West:</u> The prices in the West in comparison to the prices in the East; we tell each other everything we hear about the West, i.e. how the people live there, about conditions for work, etc.; the living standard in the West; political news from the West; about the present attitude of the Western powers toward the political situation in Germany and the West Zone in regard to the ERP relief and whether they will continue to help and for how long; news about Western politics and how the West regards Eastern politics; etc.	10	10	9

(cont'd on next page)

TOTAL EAST	East Zone	East Berlin
---------------	--------------	----------------

Everything (by RIAS): Everything they tell us on RIAS; the people always tell each other what they hear in RIAS broadcasts, sometimes quite openly even; we talk about everything, especially economic news; we mostly talk about everything; etc.

6%	7%	-5
----	----	----

News about remilitarization and rearmament: Military news; news about war and remilitarization; daily news about the rearmament; the question of remilitarization in the West Zone and whether West Germany will become an equal partner of the Western powers; etc.

3	4	3
---	---	---

News about the economy (general): Economic news; industrial production; the daily market; the prices and standards over here; etc.

3	3	5
---	---	---

Local news - everything concerning us: Everything that happens here; everything that concerns us; etc.

3	4	1
---	---	---

Everything that is not Communistic and therefore not publicised here: Everything that is not Communistic, all news that is not made public here and that is therefore of most interest to all of us; etc.

2	1	5
---	---	---

Everything that contains hope for us: Everything containing hope for us; the promises by RIAS that we will be better off here in the East again and that we should keep on hoping; etc.

2	2	-
---	---	---

Other opinions: RIAS said that the people should go to the elections; everything about the plebiscite; we discuss the senselessness of the final examination in school; I couldn't say, most of it is propaganda anyway; how good everything is over here; how good conditions are in the West and the things everybody can buy for one DM; etc.

7	7	8
---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

6	6	7
109%	112%	97%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

I. EAST ZONE INFORMATION DESIRED

The final query in the present study sought to obtain whatever comments the respondents might offer as to what the East Zone population wants to be informed about by the West. The relevant answers indicate in a general way that the present Western informational efforts are by and large attuned to the needs and desires of the East German population. However, a considerable proportion of the comments is more expressive of feeling than of logic as they ask for answers to the unanswerable, e.g. when will the East be liberated, when will East and West Germany be united, etc.

"As far as you know, what does the East Zone population want to be informed about by the West?"

	TOTAL EAST	East Zone	East Berlin
<u>The truth about politics:</u> The truth about everything in politics; what the general situation is really like; about everything that happens in the world, because we don't hear anything true; the truth about politics in the East and the West; news about Korea, America and the true situation in the East Zone; etc.	18%	19%	11%
<u>Political and economic conditions in the West:</u> About everything that happens in the West; about the daily life, we are not only interested in politics, we are also interested in the life in the West; living standard and working conditions for the workers in the West and how much they earn; how the economic recovery of the West is possible and whether there isn't any possibility of trade with the East Zone - unemployment, prices; inventions in all fields - automobiles, machines, etc.; the true difference of conditions in the East and West Zone; about freedom in the West; the rights of the people in the West; etc.	19	18	17
<u>What the West is doing for us - when and how they'll help us:</u> When will the West finally help the East Zone; we want to see action; how long shall we keep going in the East Zone? They always tell us that we should wait, but how much longer?; we want to know whether the West really knows the conditions here and how they'll help us; when will the West see to it that we have a free election without control; etc.	13	12	15
<u>How soon the West will liberate the East Zone:</u> How long we have to wait yet until we'll be liberated and why the West doesn't do anything; how soon the West will liberate the East; how soon the Americans will free us; how long it'll be until we'll be freed - that includes everything; when will they drive the Russians out of here; how much longer we have to be enslaved by the Russians; how much longer the DDR will continue to exist and when they intend to eliminate it; etc.	10	11	8
<u>When are East and West Germany (East and West Berlin) going to be united?:</u> That Germany will be united again; when will the zone borders cease to exist?; whether West Germany desires the unification of Germany under a free government as much as the people in the East do; broadcasts that boost the hope for unification of East and West; if the Russians will leave and when we'll get to be together again; if and when East and West Berlin will be united; etc.	9	8	14

(cont'd on next page)

	TOTAL East Zone	East Zone	East Berlin
<u>Whether there will be war or peace: What the war situation looks like; whether there'll be a war; whether they are able to avert the danger of war; so peace will be preserved - they only talk of war - we want to know whether the West will attack the East; etc.</u>	4%	4%	7%
<u>Information on the remilitarization in the West Zone:</u> Whether the newspapers in the East Zone write the truth about the remilitarization in the West Zone - we want exact information on that; there is much talk about the remilitarization - the people should be informed about the necessity of this rearmament; exact information about the progress of rearmament in the West; whether every youth will be drafted into the army - whether the Western powers rearm because the East is doing it or whether they'd rather wait and start with it later; etc.	4	4	5
<u>What our attitudes should be:</u> They should show us the way we have to go and tell us how we should behave under the pressure; they should help us in our attitude toward the peace plebiscite for example - we are not sure about anything here; they should give us advice what attitude we should take toward the plebiscite; etc.	3	3	3
<u>The RIAS programs give enough information:</u> The news by RIAS is extensive enough; about nothing more - we learn enough from RIAS; everybody listens to this station in spite of their saying that those who listen to RIAS listen to the enemy; etc.	3	3	3
<u>Whether the refugees can hope to ever return to their homes:</u> News about our returning to our old homes; the refugee situation and whether they can hope to return to their homes - it is also of interest to learn how conditions are in our home countries; what will become of the East Zone refugees; etc.	1	2	1
<u>Information on the purposes and strength of the People's Police:</u> They should bring exact information on the People's Police - especially their military training and their number in order to convince some of those stupid ones who are still convinced of Communism - they should tell us how the West feels about it as well; about the strength of the People's Police, because the population doesn't know enough about it; etc.	1	1	-
<u>Other opinions:</u> About comical things because everything is so sad here; I don't want to have anything to do with it, - it's my husband's job, I am interested in the housekeeping; I don't know, both sides lie - it's of no use; I don't want to hear anything, - they don't ask us workers anyway if they want to do something with us; the only thing I know is that the West Zone is much more bitter toward the East than we are; what is happening to our POW's in Russia; etc.	13	14	11
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	10 107%	9 108%	11 106%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

APPENDIX A: Composition of East German Sample

	No. of Cases in Eastern Sample		% in Obtained Sample			
	Cases obtained in West Berlin	Cases obtained in Helmsedt	Total	West Berlin %	Helmsedt %	Total %
East Berlin	99	1	100	25%	1%	20%
East Zone	296	92	388	75	99	79
Brandenburg	154	4	158	39	4	32
Thuringia	23	6	29	6	7	6
Saxon-Anhalt	28	57	85	7	61	17
Saxony	86	24	110	22	26	23
Mecklenburg	5	1	6	1	1	1
Not ascertained	2	-	2	*	-	1
	397	93	490	100%	100%	100%
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men			261			53%
Women			229			47
			490			100%
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school			388			79%
Beyond elementary school			99			20
Not ascertained			3			1
			490			100%
<u>Income (per month):</u>						
0 - 149 DM (East)			125			26%
150 - 299 DM			226			46
300 DM and more			125			25
Not ascertained			14			3
			490			100%
<u>City Size:</u>						
0 - 9,999 pop.			119			24%
10,000 - 99,999			141			29
100,000 and over			216			44
Not ascertained			14			3
			490			100%
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals, Executives			52			11%
White-collar workers			66			14
Manual workers			161			33
Housewives			124			25
Unemployed, pensioners			75			15
Not ascertained			12			2
			490			100%
<u>Age:</u>						
Under 40 years			213			44
40 years and over			277			56
			490			100%

APPENDIX B: Group Differences In Program Preferences On Major Western and Eastern Stations

Which one of the programs of RLS interests you most?

News "John Muschel Berlin Common- Variety The Voice Other Special Every- Other No- Record
with programs Speaks tales programs of America polit- broad- thing broad- answer
us" to the Zone" easts easts easts easts easts easts
Zone"

Age:	Men	Women	Education:	Elementary school	Beyond elementary school	Income (per month):	0 - 1,99 DM (East)	150 - 299 DM	300 DM and more	City size:	0 - 9,999 pop.	10,000 - 99,999	100,000 and over	Occupation:	Professionals,	Executive	White-collar work-	Manual workers	Housewives	Unemployed, pens.	Age:	Under 40 years	40 years and over		
49%	24%	19%	17%	10%	7%	4%	7%	2%	3%	3%	12%	6	6	8	10	10	5	4	4	4	12	8	4	14	197
34	35	25	12	8	12	7	4	10	6	7	11	5	5	8	10	5	5	4	4	4	11	9	5	16	247
45	28	22	13	8	8	5	5	5	7	3	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	11	9	5	16	102
35	31	22	23	13	10	5	5	5	7	3	4	4	3	4	12	5	8	14	9	7	13	9	5	16	120
41	24	17	12	12	10	6	7	3	7	3	4	4	3	4	10	4	8	14	9	7	13	9	5	16	102
44	30	27	14	9	8	10	3	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	10	4	8	14	9	7	13	9	5	16	210
42	31	18	19	8	6	6	7	3	7	4	4	4	3	4	12	5	8	14	9	7	13	9	5	16	120
44	26	17	16	12	7	7	8	5	7	3	4	4	3	4	13	5	8	14	9	7	13	9	5	16	102
44	30	19	19	6	8	11	5	5	7	4	4	4	3	4	10	4	8	14	9	7	13	9	5	16	134
41	31	26	12	10	10	5	5	5	7	3	4	4	3	4	12	5	8	14	9	7	13	9	5	16	196
37	27	12	19	6	8	8	10	5	7	3	4	4	3	4	12	5	8	14	9	7	13	9	5	16	51
49	30	27	16	14	5	3	5	4	7	3	4	4	3	4	12	5	8	14	9	7	13	9	5	16	63
45	24	16	16	8	5	11	4	4	7	3	4	4	3	4	12	5	8	14	9	7	13	9	5	16	140
40	36	20	12	10	13	8	10	5	7	3	4	4	3	4	12	5	8	14	9	7	13	9	5	16	110
40	27	14	13	8	11	5	10	5	7	3	4	4	3	4	12	5	8	14	9	7	13	9	5	16	69
40	30	22	13	10	7	8	6	5	7	3	4	4	3	4	12	5	8	14	9	7	13	9	5	16	197
40	28	21	16	8	10	8	5	5	7	3	4	4	3	4	12	5	8	14	9	7	13	9	5	16	247

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer

Which ones of the programs of the NWDR interests you most?

	Musical programs	News	Variety programs	Common- sense	"This is Berlin"	Special broad- casts for house- wives & children	Other political & economic broad- casts	Nothing special	Every- thing	Other broad- casts	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:												
Men	16%	13%	5%	5%	1%	1%	2%	1%	4%	10%	4%	242
Women	17	4	3		2	1	1	2	1	5	1	202
Education:												
Elementary school	16	10	4	3	2	1	1	2	1	7	1	245
Beyond elementary school	17	6	5	5	1	1	-	3	1	12	-	96
Income (per month):												
0 - 149 M (East)	18	12	5	2	2	1	1	3	1	8	-	182
150 - 299 M	16	10	3	3	1	1	1	1	2	6	1	210
300 M and more	14	6	6	5	2	1	2	2	-	11	-	120
City size:												
0 - 9,999 pop.	11	7	2	5	1	2	2	1	1	9	1	102
10,000 - 99,999	14	10	7	3	1	-	1	2	1	7	-	134
100,000 and over	21	9	4	3	3	-	1	2	1	8	1	196
Occupation:												
Professionals, Executives	17	8	4	8	-	2	-	2	2	12	-	51
White-collar work:	19	6	3	3	2	2	-	2	1	6	-	63
Manual workers	11	13	4	4	2	1	2	2	1	5	-	140
Housewives	18	3	2	2	1	-	1	2	1	5	2	116
Unemployed, pen.	19	17	6	3	2	2	2	3	-	11	2	63
Age:												
Under 40 years	15	9	6	6	2	1	2	-	1	9	-	197
40 years and over	17	9	3	2	1	1	-	3	1	7	1	247

* Less than one half of one per cent

Which ones of the programs of Radio Leipzig interests you most?

	Musical programs	Nothing	News	Other political & economic broadcasts	Variety programs	"The Truth About America"	Common-places	Other broadcasts	No answer	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>										
Men	26%	15%	10%	1%	1%	1%	1%	2%	4.62%	242
Women	32	7	3	1	1	-	1	2	4.9%	202
<u>Education:</u>										
Elementary school	28	11	7	1	1	*	1	6	1	345
Beyond elementary school	32	14	6	1	2	2	-	4	-	96
<u>Income (per month):</u>										
0 - 149 DM (East)	27	9	7	-	1	-	1	6	2	102
150 - 299 DM	20	10	9	1	-	1	-	4	-	210
300 DM and more	31	17	3	2	2	2	1	7	-	120
<u>City size:</u>										
0 - 9,999 pop.	30	15	9	-	1	-	-	6	1	102
10,000 - 99,999	30	25	8	1	1	1	1	9	-	134
100,000 and over	28	7	5	1	1	1	*	3	-	196
<u>Occupation:</u>										
Professionals, Executives	25	16	2	-	-	-	-	12	-	52
White-collar workers	32	10	3	2	-	2	-	3	-	63
Manual workers	28	14	12	1	1	1	-	7	-	140
Housewives	30	6	4	1	2	1	1	1	*	118
Unemployed, pens.	30	9	6	-	-	-	2	6	2	63
<u>Age:</u>										
Under 40 years	39	10	6	2	2	2	1	6	*	197
40 years and over	21	13	6	-	-	-	-	5	*	247

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer

"Which class of the program of Radio Berlin interests you most?"

	Musical programs	News	Nothing	Variety programs	"Present-day problems"	Other political & economic broad-casts	Commentaries	Other broad-casts	Don't know	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>										
Men	15%	9%	3%	2%	1%	1%	1%	3%	1%	242
Women	15	9	5	1	1	-	-	4	1	202
<u>Education:</u>										
Elementary school	16	9	5	1	1	-	-	4	1	345
Beyond elementary school	12	8	1	3	1	-	1	3	-	96
<u>Income (per month):</u>										
0 - 149 IM (East)	14	6	5	4	-	1	-	3	-	102
150 - 299 IM	17	13	4	1	1	*	*	6	1	210
300 IM and more	16	6	4	2	2	-	-	1	-	120
<u>City Size:</u>										
0 - 9,999 pop.	14	9	4	-	-	-	-	4	-	102
10,000 - 99,999	13	4	1	2	1	1	-	3	1	134
100,000 and over	16	11	7	3	1	1	-	4	-	196
<u>Occupation:</u>										
Professionals										
Executives	6	8	4	*	-	2	-	2	-	51
White-collar workers	17	14	2	2	3	2	2	2	1	63
Manual workers	19	10	3	1	-	-	-	4	1	140
Homeseives	13	8	5	3	2	-	-	6	-	110
Unemployed, pens,	9	5	8	2	-	-	-	-	-	63
<u>Age:</u>										
Under 40 years	15	8	2	3	2	1	1	5	1	197
40 years and over	16	10	5	1	-	*	-	2	-	247

01026

WEST GERMAN ATTITUDES ON SOME CURRENT POLITICAL ISSUES

Classification changed
Official Use Only
by authority of Leo P. Crespi
PUB/RAS.

Report No. 91
Series No. 2
August 6, 1951

C O N F I D E N T I A L

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION ...

The present report summarizes findings obtained in a survey of West German attitudes on some major East-West issues particularly as they relate to the United States and the Soviet Union. The survey, conducted between July 9, and 21, 1951, utilized the 800 case probability sample established by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, for rapid coverage of opinion trends.

The present survey forms a part of a seven-nation international study being conducted for the Department of State by International Opinion Research Inc. The forthcoming IPOR report will present a detailed analysis of the data which will emphasize comparisons of attitudes among the countries surveyed.

Rather than allow the data to grow cold, however, it was thought that a brief presentation of the German findings immediately upon their receipt would serve useful informational purposes without in any way diminishing their value for the projected international comparisons.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

I. THE U.S. AND THE WEST VIS-A-VIS RUSSIA

- ... The moral advantage in the present East-West struggle is given predominantly to the U.S. rather than Russia, with 60% saying "America is more in the right" than Russia. But as many as two in ten (18%) claim to see no difference between the two, and an equally large proportion withholds judgments. Only 3% consider the Soviets more in the right.
- ... A preponderance (54%) believes the U.S. is doing all it can to prevent a war, but a quarter take a negative stand, and a fifth fail to express an opinion.
- ... The minority asserting that America is not doing everything possible largely suggests such steps as the following: come to terms with the Russians, stop re-arming or get out of Germany. No one advocates increased re-armament as a preventive measure.
- ... A six in ten majority holds that Soviet Russia is not doing all she can to prevent a war, but one in ten believes the Soviets are doing everything possible in this direction, and three in ten do not know.
- ... Suggestions on what Russia should do to stop a war follow much the same patterns as those made regarding the U.S., the difference being largely one of frequency of mention. Additional suggestions are that the Russians should withdraw from the satellite countries, release PW's, give up their dictatorial government, and so on.
- ... As to the present relative military strength of the U.S. and Russia, a slight preponderance considered the U.S. the stronger. However, when the proportion holding that the two countries are now equally strong is added to that considering Russia the stronger, the result is that expressed confidence in present U.S. military strength vis-a-vis Russia does not markedly predominate in West German thinking.
- ... Notwithstanding these views on the relative military strength of the U.S. and the USSR, it is the predominating opinion (56%) that if a war should break out right now, the West would win in the end. Only 12% foresee an ultimate Communist victory under these circumstances.

- a -

- ... Substantially the same division of opinions occurs when asked to judge the likelihood of success in the event a potential war were postponed for a year, thus giving both sides more opportunity to re-arm.

II. ATOMIC WARFARE

- ... Preponderant opinions (49%) are that the U.S. would not take the initiative in launching atomic warfare but would wait to use the A-bomb until after an enemy had first used it.
- ... Opinions divide on whether or not the Russians would withhold the use of atomic bombs until their opponents had first done so.
- ... While more people expect the Russians than the U.S. to be atomic aggressors, it is worthy of note that about a quarter (22%), believe the U.S. will be the first to use the bomb.
- ... Opinions divide on the use the Americans should make of the A-bomb in the event of a Russian invasion of West Europe. Thirty-five per cent advise immediate use of the bomb against the Russians, and 36% advise waiting until Russia has first used the A-bomb. The remainder have qualified or no opinions on the problem.

III. THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE LIKELIHOOD OF ANOTHER WORLD WAR

- ... A seven in ten preponderance claim to have heard of the UN, but only about half of these people are able to describe its broad purposes - e.g. an association of nations geared to preserve peace and negotiate differences. The view that the organization is anti-Communist in purpose is not too infrequently held.
- ... Among those aware of the UN, the belief that it can help prevent another world war greatly outweighs the contrary opinion, but many who see it as helpful in this regard appear to believe the help it can render will be inconsiderable rather than considerable.
- ... As many West Germans (26%) believe a new world war is not probable within the next three or four years, as think one is probable (28%). At the extremes, 18% are certain there will be no war during this time, and 12% are certain there will be a war. The remaining 16% do not express an opinion.

IV. SATISFACTION WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

- ... Dissatisfaction with the Bonn Government's efforts to improve living conditions, outweighs satisfaction by 51% to 39%.
- ... Economic problems are considered paramount by the majority of West Germans, greatly outweighing in total mention political issues as the "most important problem" facing West Germans at present. However, the second most frequently stated single problem is the "preservation of peace" named by 17%, thus closely following the problem of high prices, high taxes and cost of living, mentioned by 23% of the West German public.

I. THE U.S. AND THE WEST VIS-A-VIS RUSSIA

WHO IS MORE IN THE RIGHT — U.S. OR USSR? ...

A six in ten preponderance of the West German public states that in the present East-West struggle, America is more in the right than Russia. Only 3% make this claim for the Soviets. However, it is important to note that as many as two in ten assert there is no difference between the two — "both are equally in the right," and an equally large proportion is unable to form a judgment.

"Which country, in your opinion, is more in the right in the present East-West struggle, America or Russia?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
America	60%	58%	64%	61%
Russia	3	2	2	1
Both equally	18	19	17	16
No opinion	19	21	17	22
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

IS U.S. DOING EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO PREVENT WAR? ...

A quarter of the West German public believes that the U.S. is not doing everything it can to prevent a war, though the preponderance takes an affirmative position, asserting that the Americans are exerting every effort to prevent a war.

"In your opinion, is America doing everything it can to prevent a war or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Is doing everything	54	51%	59%	53%
Is not doing everything	24	24	23	20
No opinion	22	25	18	27
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

... Reasons advanced by the minority which considers American efforts to prevent a war inadequate suggest very strongly that present American defense efforts are not regarded as preventive in nature. No one advocates increased defense measures as a way to prevent a war. On the contrary, the Americans are advised to come to terms with the Russians, stop re-arming, get out of Germany, and so on.

As a scrutiny of the comments below will reveal, the tendency to advance arguments with which the Communist powers would find little fault is apparent.

"What, for instance, should America do?" (Asked of those who said "U.S. is not doing everything" to previous question)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>Should seek understanding with Russia - more compromises with the East:</u> A more intelligent policy toward all the East-European countries; should make peace with Russia; they should try to agree with Russia - should make more compromises and negotiate with them accordingly so the tensions will be solved peacefully; they should not provoke Russia so much and not meddle in everything - not even in Korea; should try to seek better understanding - should give in for a change; they could contribute to peace by not always sticking to their viewpoints; should stop instigating against Russia; etc.	6%	6%	7%	3%
<u>Should stop re-armament:</u> Should produce less arms; America should not arm so much; stop production of weapons; should stop arming and making profits by it; etc.	4	4	3	3
<u>Should grant Germany equality and independence - withdraw - stop meddling:</u> Germany should have more freedom; above all they should withdraw their troops from Germany; what should I say to this? they should stop meddling and the Americans should go back to their own country; they should leave Germany alone - would do less harm; etc.	2	2	2	3
<u>Should start a worldwide social - economic policy for the relief of poor nations:</u> The social aid program should be the most important goal of the whole Western world, so as to deprive Communism of the ground it has gained; should try to solve the economic problem and use the money saved by that for housing construction and the relief of poor nations; should produce goods for the masses; etc.	2	2	1	-
<u>More active and more skillful policy toward the East:</u> Should discontinue their present policy - be more aggressive and not sacrifice any more people - nothing comes of it anyway; should show a better psychological comprehension for Russian ideology and fend it off accordingly; should be more energetic about a united Europe; etc.	2	1	3	-
<u>Should give up the war-mongering policy:</u> Should not give the Jews so much influence in America, they want war because it means profit to them; they should not grant the war-industrialists as much influence; etc.	1	1	1	1
<u>Should give up their imperialistic policy:</u> Should give up their plans to achieve world power; should stop exploiting other nations; should quit their imperialistic tendencies; etc.	1	1	1	-

(cont'd on next page)

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

Should desist from re-militarizing West Germany:
Should not rebuild the German Wehrmacht; should
not establish an independent army in West Germany;
etc.

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
4	6	2	8
3	3	4	3
25%**	27%**	24%**	21%**

Other opinions: Should try to end the war in
Korea; should keep out of politics; I can't say
anything about that since America and Russia repre-
sent two different ideologies; should be more
broadminded; etc.

No opinion / No answer:

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
4	6	2	8
3	3	4	3
25%**	27%**	24%**	21%**

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

IS RUSSIA DOING EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO PREVENT WAR? ...

While a six in ten majority holds that the Russians are not doing everything they can to prevent a war, this is a smaller preponderance than usually obtained among the West German public, when given an opportunity to judge Russian actions or policies. Also, about one in ten (8%) are of the opinion that the Soviets are doing all in their power to prevent a conflict, and as many as three in ten are undecided on the point.

"In your opinion, is Russia doing everything she can to prevent a war or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Is doing everything	8%	8%	8%	4%
Is not doing everything	63	63	65	63
No opinion	29	29	27	33
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Suggestions as to what Russia could do to prevent war largely follow much the same pattern as those made regarding the U.S., the difference being largely one of frequency of mention. Additional suggestions for the Russians are that they withdraw from the satellite countries, release PW's, give up dictatorship, etc.

"In your opinion, is Russia doing everything she can to prevent a war or not?"

If "Is doing everything"; "What should Russia do for instance?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

Should seek agreement with the West (America) - more compromises: The Russians should learn to compromise and to give up their distrust of the West; they must meet the West half-way and make certain concessions too; should show the West more of their good will and not always block negotiations; they should keep up better relations with the UN; should agree with the Western powers - give in; Russia should deviate from her program and compromise with the West; should learn to be satisfied with less; etc.

14%	12%	17%	20%
-----	-----	-----	-----

Should give up their imperialistic policy: They only think of their plans for conquering the world - yet they should really not try to make the world happy with that; Russia should stop her imperialistic ideas; should give up their plans of expansion, the idea of Communism; should give up their intentions of conquering Western Europe; should stop trying to introduce Bolshevism in the whole world; etc.

8	8	8	8
---	---	---	---

Should give the oppressed countries (satellites) their freedom - not meddle in the affairs of other nations: Russia should withdraw from the foreign countries and leave each nation alone; should give up their control over the East European countries; Russia should change her whole policy - the many small countries in the East should not be suppressed; should stay neutral concerning internal matters of the Eastern nations; should quit instigating the Koreans and withdraw from there; Russia should give the other countries their freedom; should withdraw behind her borders; etc.

7	7	6	7
---	---	---	---

Should stop re-armament: Should arm less; should not train the People's Police into a military force - should not establish armament factories in the East Zone; they are arming which they should not, especially not in the East Zone; should quit re-armament along with America; etc.

7	6	8	6
---	---	---	---

(cont'd on next page)

WEST British US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

Should act more humanely, peacefully, honestly:

The question of humanity has to be treated in a different way by the Russians - in the long run the Western nations cannot tolerate that; they should recognize human rights and not establish camps for PW's where they are not allowed to speak - they should stop having concentration camps and abducting of people as is the case in Russia; be human and act human; should eliminate the idea of absolute submission and show regard for the individual opinion; I don't see any reason why Russia has to quarrel all the time - they have land enough and should be satisfied with it; etc.

7% 6% 10% 2%

Should withdraw from Germany and stop oppressing the population in the East Zone: Should withdraw their troops from Germany; should go back where they came from; they should leave Germany, then there wouldn't be any quarrels about Germany anymore; should go back to their own country and free our country; should treat the population in the East Zone better; should not torture and persecute the population in the East Zone; etc.

6 7 6 5

Should release the Prisoners of War: Should send the prisoners home; above all the release of the PW's; etc.

6 6 6 7

Should stop their instigation against the West: Should stop instigating; should quit with their propaganda against the West; etc.

5 5 6 4

Should return the German East - lift the Iron Curtain: They should return our homelands first, then they are fit to negotiate with us; free the East German territories; should return East Germany, so the refugees in West Germany will calm down; etc.

4 4 3 3

Should eliminate dictatorship in their own country: Should eliminate dictatorship in their own country; they insist on their own ideas - they should create a new government in their country, then Europe would not have to suffer; rid themselves of their regime which menaces our world; etc.

2 2 1 2

Other opinions: Should make better provisions for the working class; should prove that their alleged peaceful intentions are really peaceful; should ease the tension between East and West and lift the Iron Curtain; etc.

4 4 3 2

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{6}{76\%}$ $\frac{7}{74\%}$ $\frac{5}{79\%}$ $\frac{7}{73\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON WHICH IS MORE IN RIGHT - U.S. AND RUSSIA ...

Aside from the greater tendency of younger people in contrast to older people to judge America more in the right than Russia, and of men as compared with women to rate the moral position of the U.S. and Russia as the same, no appreciable group differences are apparent. In all groups, the weight of opinion favors the United States, but appreciable fractions say there is no difference between the two.

"Which country, in your opinion, is more in the right in the present struggle between East and West, America or Russia?"

	America	Russia	Both the same	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	61%	4%	23%	12% ... 100%	372
Women	60	1	13	26	427
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	59%	3%	17%	21%	659
Beyond elementary school	66	1	22	11	140
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	60%	2%	17%	21%	547
300 - 399 DM	60	4	21	15	136
400 DM and more	65	3	19	13	106
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	66%	2%	16%	16%	331
40 years and over	56	2	20	22	457
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	67%	3%	19%	11%	174
CDU/CSU	75	1	13	12	152
FDP	72	2	21	5	43
Other parties	60	7	26	7	55
No party	48	2	24	26	220
Don't know	53	1	11	35	150
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	73%	-%	17%	10%	30
Businessmen	61	1	18	20	91
White collar workers	58	3	20	19	99
Skilled laborers	61	4	15	20	144
Semi-skilled laborers	59	2	18	21	123
Farmers	69	1	18	13	105
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	56	2	19	23	130
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	62%	2%	16%	20%	380
Protestants	59	2	19	20	378
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	59%	3%	18%	20%	642
Refugees, Expellees	64	1	20	15	157

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON U.S. EFFORTS TO PREVENT WAR ...

The better educated and the upper income groups are more inclined than others to say that the U.S. is not doing everything it can to help prevent another war, though among them as with all groups holding opinions on the matter, the predominating view is that America is doing everything possible.

"In your opinion, is America doing everything it can to prevent a war or not?"

	Is doing everything	Is not doing everything	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	57%	28%	15% ... 100%	372
Women	51	20	29	427
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	53%	21%	26%	659
Beyond elementary school	57	34	9	140
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	54%	20%	26%	547
300 - 399 DM	55	27	18	136
400 DM and more	52	40	8	106
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	55%	25%	20%	331
40 years and over	53	22	25	457
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	61%	27%	12%	174
CDU/CSU	65	20	15	152
FDP	60	33	7	43
Other parties	56	27	17	55
No party	47	28	25	220
Don't know	40	13	47	150
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	60%	30%	10%	30
Businessmen	54	30	16	91
White collar workers	53	31	16	99
Skilled laborers	52	24	24	144
Semi-skilled laborers	50	24	26	123
Farmers	54	18	28	105
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	59	18	23	130
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	56%	22%	22%	380
Protestants	53	23	24	378
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	53%	26%	21%	642
Refugees, Expellees	59	12	29	157

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON RUSSIAN EFFORTS TO PREVENT WAR ...

Among all groups, the prevailing opinion is, that Russia is not doing everything in her power to prevent another war. This view is held more frequently among the better educated, the upper income levels, the men, and the younger people (under 40) than by other population segments. But as the following table reveals, about one in ten of the men, the better educated and the upper income groups state that Russia is doing all she can in this regard.

"In your opinion, is Russia doing everything she can to prevent a war or not?"

	Is doing everything	Is not doing everything	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	12%	69%	19% ... 100%	372
Women	5	58	37	427
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	7%	61%	32%	659
Beyond elementary school	13	74	13	140
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	6%	61%	33%	547
300 - 399 DM	10	65	25	136
400 DM and more	12	75	13	106
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	7%	70%	23%	331
40 years and over	8	58	34	457
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	8%	71%	21%	174
CDU/CSU	6	78	16	152
FDP	2	79	19	43
Other parties	18	64	18	55
No party	9	57	34	220
Don't know	.6	44	50	150
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	10%	70%	20%	30
Businessmen	9	69	22	91
White collar workers	9	66	25	99
Skilled laborers	10	63	27	144
Semi-skilled laborers	6	65	29	123
Farmers	8	60	32	105
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	6	62	32	130
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	9%	65%	26%	380
Protestants	7	61	32	378
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	8%	63%	29%	642
Refugees, Expellees	8	65	27	157

WHICH IS MILITARILY STRONGER - AMERICA OR RUSSIA? ...

Somewhat more people in West Germany as a whole consider the U.S. to be militarily stronger than Russia at the present. However, when the proportion holding that the two are equally strong is added to that which considers Russia the stronger, it becomes clear that confidence in U.S. military strength does not markedly predominate in West German thinking at present.

As will be noted in the table which follows, opinions in the US Zone divide between America and Russia.

"Which country, do you think, is stronger at the moment from a military viewpoint?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
America	36%	38%	34%	34%
Russia	25	21	30	26
Both the same	16	15	18	12
No opinion	23	26	18	28
	100%	100%	100%	100%

These findings invite comparison with results obtained in a survey done in early May,* in which a question of somewhat similar tenor was included. Queried "Which appears to you, all things considered, to be stronger at the moment: the Communist powers or the Western powers?", the Western powers received a 45% preponderance, with 19% claiming the Communists the stronger, 14% both equally strong, and 22% had "no opinion." The results in the present survey should, however, not be regarded as indicative of a decline in confidence. The present question differs from the previous question in that it is confined to the relative military strength of the U.S. and Russia at present. As the comments recorded in the May survey demonstrate, West Germans judging the strength of the West as compared with that of the Communists emphasize not the purely military advantages of the West, but its basic reservoir of power inherent in its technical and economic resources, its intellectual and moral superiority and so on.

* See, "The Present State of West-German Confidence in the West," Report No. 83, Series No. 2, (June 12, 1951).

WHO WOULD WIN, IF WAR BROKE OUT NOW? ...

But though as many consider Russia now to be militarily as strong or stronger than the U.S., the predominating view is that should a war break out today between Russia and the West, the West would have the better chance of ultimate victory.

"In case a war between the West and Russia would break out in Europe today, who would have the better chance or finally winning this war?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
West	56%	54%	56%	58%
Russia	12	12	15	4
Qualified replies	5	6	4	7
No opinion	27	28	25	31
	100%	100%	100%	100%

WHO WOULD WIN, IF WAR BROKE OUT NEXT YEAR? ...

The chances of a final Western victory are not seen as better-- or worse if a possible war were postponed for a year thus giving both sides more time to arm.

Whether or not these judgments are based on the belief that the West is now already sufficiently armed, or an uncritical optimism cannot be readily determined by the data on hand. However, the latter appears more likely, since at least as far as concerns the U.S., many express doubt of its present military supremacy over Russia.

"In case a war would break out a year from now, after both sides have had more time to arm, who would then have the better chance to win a war?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
West	56%	59%	54%	51%
Russia	10	7	15	5
Qualified replies	4	4	4	4
No opinion	30	30	27	40
	100%	100%	100%	100%

When the issue of potential victory in the East-West struggle is given a broader frame of reference, West Germans express confidence in the West even more frequently. This was ascertained in the May study previously referred to when 64% saw ultimate Western success in replies to a query phrased as follows: "According to your view, who has the better chance finally to win the upper hand in the East-West struggle, the Communist powers or the Western powers?", only 8% named the Communists, another 8% said both had an equal chance, and 20% were not prepared to judge.

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON RELATIVE STRENGTH OF RUSSIA AND THE U.S. ...

As between the U.S. and Russia at present, the weight of opinion favors the U.S. as the stronger. Men, the better educated and younger people (under 40) more frequently than their opposites give the advantage to the Americans. However, when the number stating that both countries are now militarily on a par is added to that deeming Russia to be the stronger, it appears that within all groups as many think that Russia is as strong or stronger than the U.S. as think the U.S. is the stronger militarily.

"Which country, do you think, is stronger at the moment from a military viewpoint?"

	America	Russia	Both the same	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	43%	27%	17%	13% ... 100%	372
Women	30	23	15	32	427
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	34%	24%	16%	26%	659
Beyond elementary school	44	29	16	11	140
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	33%	25%	15%	27%	547
300 - 399 DM	45	20	20	15	136
400 DM and more	40	31	16	13	106
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	44%	24%	14%	18%	331
40 years and over	31	25	17	27	457
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	44%	28%	18%	10%	174
CDU/CSU	42	22	14	22	152
FDP	47	25	19	9	43
Other parties	44	29	16	11	55
No party	33	25	17	25	22
Don't know	21	21	12	46	150
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	30%	33%	13%	24%	30
Businessmen	51	23	12	14	91
White collar workers	40	25	12	23	99
Skilled laborers	43	19	17	21	144
Semi-skilled laborers	33	28	18	21	123
Farmers	34	23	22	21	105
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	29	26	14	31	130
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	36%	26%	14%	24%	380
Protestants	37	23	18	23	378
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	37%	24%	16%	23%	642
Refugees, Expellees	32	27	15	26	157

Chances for the ultimate victory of the West over Russia should a war break out right away are more frequently seen by men in contrast to women, and the upper income as against the lower income groups. No other differences which appear are beyond chance, aside from the fact that the predominant opinion in all groups is that the West would be the final victor.

"In case a war between the West and Russia would break out in Europe today, who would have the better chances of finally winning this war?"

	West	Russia	Qualified replies	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	68%	12%	5%	15% ... 100%	372
Women	45	13	5	37	427
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	55%	11%	5%	29%	659
Beyond elementary school	61	17	6	16	140
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	52%	12%	6%	30%	547
300 - 399 DM	63	12	3	22	136
400 DM and more	66	17	4	13	106
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	58%	12%	5%	25%	331
40 years and over	53	13	5	29	457
<u>Party Preferences:</u>					
SPD	68%	14%	5%	13%	174
CDU/CSU	68	13	2	17	152
FDP	63	7	11	19	43
Other parties	51	22	4	23	55
No party	47	14	8	31	220
Don't know	39	7	4	50	150
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	63%	10%	10%	17%	30
Businessmen	66	12	3	19	91
White collar workers	65	15	3	17	99
Skilled laborers	50	13	6	31	144
Semi-skilled laborers	56	13	7	24	123
Farmers	64	7	4	25	105
None; pensioners, students, retired, etc.	46	14	6	34	130
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	58%	12%	4%	26%	380
Protestants	54	12	7	27	378
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	55%	13%	5%	27%	642
Refugees, Expellees	56	12	4	28	157

If another year should elapse before the outbreak of a war, the prevailing anticipation is of ultimate Western success, with the men, the better educated and the higher income groups more frequently than their opposites of this opinion.

"In case a war would break out a year from now, after both sides have had more time to arm, who would then have the better chances to win a war?"

	West	Russia	Qualified answers	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	68%	12%	5%	15% ... 100%	372
Women	46	8	3	43	427
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	54%	10%	4%	32%	659
Beyond elementary school	67	11	4	18	140
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	52%	10%	4%	34%	547
300 - 399 DM	63	10	4	23	136
400 DM and more	68	12	5	15	106
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	60%	9%	4%	27%	331
40 years and over	53	10	4	33	457
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	67%	13%	4%	16%	174
CDU/CSU	67	8	3	22	152
FDP	72	7	-	21	43
Other parties	64	11	9	16	55
No party	45	13	6	36	220
Don't know	41	4	2	53	150
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	63%	17%	-%	20%	30
Businessmen	65	9	3	23	91
White collar workers	67	6	5	22	99
Skilled laborers	55	11	6	28	144
Semi-skilled laborers	51	12	4	33	123
Farmers	59	10	3	28	105
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	52	9	3	36	130
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	57%	10%	4%	29%	380
Protestants	55	10	4	31	378
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	57%	9%	4%	30%	642
Refugees, Expellees	53	13	3	31	157

II. ATOMIC WARFARE

WHO WILL USE A-BOMB FIRST — THE U.S. OR THE USSR? ...

Preponderant opinions are that the United States would not take the initiative in launching atomic warfare but would only use the A-bomb after a possible enemy had used it first.

As to Russian use of the atom bomb, West German opinions as a whole are almost evenly divided on whether or not the Russians would use the bomb first or wait until the enemy had done so before retaliating.

It will be noted, however, that while more people expect Russia to be the atomic aggressor, as many as a quarter of the West German public believe that the U.S. will be the first to use the bomb.

"Do you think it likely that America will use the atom bomb immediately in a new war, or would America use the atom bomb only after the enemy has used it?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Immediately	23%	21%	24%	30%
After the enemy has used it	49	52	50	39
Partly - partly	3	2	3	3
No opinion	25	25	23	28
	100%	100%	100%	100%

"And what would Russia do in a new war — would she use the atom bomb immediately, or would Russia use the atom bomb only after the enemy has used it?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Immediately	37%	37%	35%	44%
After the enemy has used it	33	31	37	28
Partly - partly	2	2	2	2
No opinion	28	30	26	26
	100%	100%	100%	100%

SHOULD THE U.S. USE A-BOMB FIRST? ...

Opinions divide as to whether the U.S. should not wait for Russia to use the atom bomb, but should use it first against the Russians in the event of a Russian invasion of Western Europe. Thirty-five per cent say the U.S. should use the bomb immediately under such circumstances, and 36% advocate waiting until the Russians have first used it.

"Supposing Russia would invade one of the West European countries, - would you then be in favor of America using the atom bomb against Russia immediately, or should America use the atom bomb only after Russia has used it?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Use immediately	35%	32%	39%	36%
Only after Russia has used it	36	38	33	33
Partly - partly	5	5	4	4
No opinion	24	25	24	27
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Better educated people are almost as likely to say that the U.S. will use the atom bomb first as say the U.S. will not use the bomb until the enemy has done so. In all other groups, except in a few where differences are not beyond chance, the prevailing opinion is that the U.S. will not be the first to unleash atomic warfare.

"Do you think it likely that America will use the atom bomb immediately in a new war, or would America use the atom bomb only after the enemy has used it?"

	Immediately	After the enemy has used it	Partly/ partly	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	28%	55%	4%	13% ..100%	372
Women	19	45	1	35	427
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	20%	51%	3%	26%	659
Beyond elementary school	38	42	3	17	140
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	21%	47%	3%	29%	547
300 - 399 DM	26	56	3	15	136
400 DM and more	30	54	3	13	106
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	24%	53%	2%	21%	331
40 years and over	23	46	3	28	157
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	26%	58%	2%	14%	174
CDU/CSU	27	53	3	17	182
FDP	28	56	9	7	43
Other parties	27	53	4	16	55
No party	21	48	3	28	220
Don't know	17	35	1	47	160
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	37%	40%	4%	23%	30
Businessmen	30	48	4	18	91
White collar workers	25	57	3	15	99
Skilled laborers	19	56	2	23	144
Semi-skilled laborers	20	55	3	22	123
Farmers	21	48	5	26	106
None: pensioners, stud- ents, retired, etc.	28	32	2	38	120
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	25%	48%	3%	24%	380
Protestants	22	51	2	25	378
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	24%	49%	3%	24%	642
Refugees, Expellees	21	51	1	27	157

Within population groups, women, CDU sympathisers, persons without occupation (retired, pensioners, etc.), are more frequently inclined than others to believe that Russia is more likely to launch an atomic attack than to wait for a possible enemy to use the A-bomb first.

"And what would Russia do in a new war - would she use the atom bomb immediately, or would Russia use the atom bomb only after the enemy has used it?"

	Immediately	After the enemy has used it	Partly/ partly	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY					
Sex:					
Men	36%	41%	3%	20% .. 100%	372
Women	38	25	2	35	427
Education:					
Elementary school	36%	33%	2%	29%	659
Beyond elementary school	43	32	3	23	140
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	37%	29%	2%	32	547
300 - 399 DM	37	42	2	19	136
400 DM and more	38	39	4	19	106
Age:					
Under 40 years	39%	35%	2%	24%	331
40 years and over	35	31	3	31	457
Party Preference:					
SPD	37%	44%	1%	18%	147
CDU/CSU	45	29	4	22	152
FDP	42	32	5	21	43
Other parties	44	40	5	11	55
No party	30	37	2	31	220
Don't know	36	15	1	48	150
Occupation:					
Professionals	30%	30%	-%	40%	30
Businessmen	44	34	4	18	91
White collar workers	37	40	1	22	99
Skilled laborers	35	36	1	28	144
Semi-skilled laborers	36	33	2	29	123
Farmers	32	32	3	33	106
None: pensioners, stud- ents, retired, etc.	42	24	2	32	130
Religion:					
Catholics	36%	35%	2%	27%	380
Protestants	37	31	2	30	378
Origin:					
Natives	37%	33%	2%	28%	642
Refugees, Expellees	38	33	2	27	157

Within almost all population groups, opinions divide nearly evenly on whether the U.S. should use the atom bomb immediately if Russia were to invade West Europe or whether the U.S. should refrain from using the bomb even under such circumstances unless Russia used one first. Exceptions occur among the better educated and among persons without occupation, i.e. retired persons and those living on pensions or independent incomes. Among both groups appreciably more advocate American use of the bomb first to waiting to see what Russia might do.

"Supposing Russia would invade one of the West European countries, - would you then be in favor of America using the atom bomb against Russia immediately, or should America use the atom bomb only after Russia has used it?"

	Use immediately	Only after Russia has used it	Partly/ partly	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY					
Sex:					
Men	40%	40%	6%	14% ... 100%	372
Women	31	32	3	34	427
Education:					
Elementary school	33%	38%	4%	25%	659
Beyond elementary school	46	27	6	21	140
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	34%	35%	4%	27%	547
300 - 399 DM	37	39	5	19	136
400 DM and more	43	37	7	13	106
Age:					
Under 40 years	37%	39%	3%	21%	331
40 years and over	34	33	6	27	457
Party Preference:					
SPD	34%	49%	4%	13%	174
CDU/CSU	45	35	3	17	152
FDP	51	28	5	16	43
Other parties	35	45	5	15	55
No party	33	33	7	27	220
Don't know	25	23	5	47	150
Occupation:					
Professionals	30%	30%	13%	27%	30
Businessmen	41	36	5	18	91
White collar workers	36	42	2	20	99
Skilled laborers	31	41	4	24	144
Semi-skilled laborers	31	41	5	23	123
Farmers	39	34	2	25	105
None: pensioners, stud- ents, retired, etc.	43	21	4	32	130
Religion:					
Catholics	36%	36%	4%	24%	380
Protestants	35	35	6	24	378
Origin:					
Natives	35%	36%	5%	24%	642
Refugees, Expellees	36	36	2	26	157

III. THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE LIKELIHOOD OF ANOTHER WORLD WAR

AWARENESS OF THE UNITED NATIONS ...

A seven in ten preponderance claims to have heard of the United Nations, an extensive awareness especially since West Germany is not a member of the organization.

"Have you heard of the United Nations, the so-called UN?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Yes	68%	67%	72%	65%
No	30	29	28	34
No answer	2	4	-	1
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

AWARENESS OF PURPOSES OF THE UN ...

Not all the people who have heard of the UN are able to describe its functions, but the large preponderance of those who make the effort correctly designate it as an association of countries geared to preserve peace and negotiate differences.

"Have you heard of the United Nations - the so-called UN?"

If "Yes": "Could you tell me the main purpose of the UN?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

Preserve peace - prevent war and aggression -

peaceful solutions to existing conflicts: Perhaps the main purpose is to bring the nations together and to solve conflicts peacefully; they want to preserve world peace; to prevent wars and bring the wars in progress to an end; to prevent certain powers who want to start war in the world from doing so; an international police force that will oppose any military aggression; the main purpose of the UN is to establish a common bulwark against any aggression; they want to unite the various nations so there won't be wars anymore; etc.

31%	34%	28%	30%
-----	-----	-----	-----

Union of nations (for negotiation of common problems):

Successor to the League of Nations; to bring about a unification of all nations; they want to bring everything together; it is a union of all nations in order to further understanding among peoples; to solve political problems in the world by way of negotiations; all nations are to send representatives so they can confer about all difficulties together; the UNO wants to be a mediator among the various powers; etc.

5	7	3	6
---	---	---	---

Front against Russia or Communism: They want to unite all nations against the Russians; the main purpose of the UN is to unite all countries and thereby exterminate Communism; the general protection of the world against Communism; the UN is a union among the Western nations to fend off Russian aggression; it's an alliance against the Soviet Union - they want to help each other in case of Russian aggression; etc.

5	5	7	-
---	---	---	---

Union of Western Europe:

A union of the West European nations to further understanding; a union of the West European nations with the aim of solving the East-West conflict; etc.

3	3	3	1
---	---	---	---

Economic unity: They want to keep world trade at a high; economic union in the interest of all nations; they provide work - protection of gold and currency; etc.

2	2	1	1
---	---	---	---

Other opinions: So that they can employ even more characters who want to be lazy; to be prepared against danger in the West; they take care of the Germans abroad; the whole mess is a fraud and an exploitation - they want to prevent wars and at the same time they demand them indirectly so as to get more capital for America; etc.

4	4	3	4
---	---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

19 69%	13 68%	27 72%	23 65%
-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CAN THE UN PREVENT ANOTHER WORLD WAR? ...

Among those who are aware of the United Nations, the view that the organization can help to prevent a third world war greatly outweighs the view that it can do nothing in this respect. However, among those who believe the UN can be helpful in preventing war, a fairly large proportion is of the opinion that its help will not be considerable.

"Are you of the opinion that the United Nations can help to prevent a third world war, or don't you think so?"
(Asked of those who have heard of the United Nations)*

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Help considerably	29%	29%	30%	22%
Help, but not considerably	19	18	19	27
Cannot help	7	8	7	5
No opinion	13	12	16	11
	<u>68%</u>	<u>67%</u>	<u>72%</u>	<u>65%</u>

* Those respondents who answered "Help" were asked:
"Do they help considerably or not?"

LIKELIHOOD OF ANOTHER WORLD WAR ...

If the likelihood of a new world war within the next three or four years is used as a measure of optimism - pessimism, it appears that as many West Germans are pessimistic as optimistic. At the extremes, 18% say there will not be a world war during this time, and 12% regard such a war as a certainty. In between, are 28% who think there probably will not be a war within the next three or four years, and 26% who think there probably will be one.

"Do you think that a new world war will break out within the next 3 - 4 years?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
No war within the next 3-4 years	18%	23%	14%	10%
Probably no war within the next 3-4 years	28	30	25	31
Probably war within the next 3-4 years	26	21	32	33
War within the next 3-4 years	12	10	14	10
No opinion	16	16	15	16
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Awareness of the UN follows the familiar pattern of information queries, with the men, the better educated, and the upper income groups claiming much more frequently than other population elements to have heard of the organization.

"Have you heard of the United Nations, the so-called UN?"

	Yes	No	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	86%	14%	*% ... 100%	372
Women	54	43	3	427
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	63%	35%	2%	659
Beyond elementary school	94	5	1	140
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	61%	36%	3%	547
300 - 399 DM	82	17	1	136
400 DM and more	91	8	1	106
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	74	24%	2%	331
40 years and over	63	34	3	457
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	78%	21%	1%	174
CDU/CSU	72	27	1	152
FDP	95	5	-	43
Other parties	78	20	2	56
No party	68	30	2	220
Don't know	45	50	5	150
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	87	13	-	30
Businessmen	81	18	1	91
White collar workers	86	13	1	99
Skilled laborers	72	26	2	144
Semi-skilled laborers	63	35	2	123
Farmers	63	35	2	105
None; pensioners, students, retired, etc.	53	43	4	130
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	64%	33%	3%	380
Protestants	71	28	1	378
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	70%	28%	2%	642
Refugees, Expellees	62	36	2	157

Most inclined to believe that the UN can render considerable aid in the preservation of peace are the men, the upper income and educational groups. It is, however, the prevailing view of all population groups who have an opinion on the subject that the UN can do something rather than nothing to maintain peace.

"Are you of the opinion that the United Nations help to prevent a third world war, or do you not think so?" (Asked of those who knew of UN)

	Help considerably	Help, but not very considerably	Do not help	No opinion or Not asked	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY					
Sex:					
Men	40%	26%	10%	24% .. 100%	372
Women	20	13	5	62	427
Education:					
Elementary school	26%	18%	6%	50%	659
Beyond elementary school	44	26	13	17	140
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	22%	20%	5%	53%	547
300 - 399 DM	43	16	9	32	136
400 DM and more	47	20	11	22	106
Age:					
Under 40 years	32%	20%	8%	40%	331
40 years and over	27	18	6	49	457
Party Preference:					
SPD	38%	23%	6%	33%	174
CDU/CSU	37	19	6	38	152
FDP	42	19	18	21	43
Other parties	22	24	14	40	55
No party	24	21	8	47	220
Don't know	17	12	2	69	150
Occupation:					
Professionals	43%	30%	7%	20%	30
Businessmen	39	15	13	33	91
White collar workers	39	19	9	33	99
Skilled laborers	32	22	6	40	144
Semi-skilled laborers	24	17	6	53	123
Farmers	20	26	6	48	105
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	24	14	5	57	130
Religion:					
Catholics	30%	15%	9	46%	380
Protestants	27	22	6	45	378
Origins:					
Natives	30%	20%	7%	43%	642
Refugees, Expellees	25	18	6	51	157

No marked group differences which can be considered reliably beyond chance occur in opinions on the likelihood of another world war within the next three or four years. Within all groups, the proportions not foreseeing a war and foreseeing a war divide rather evenly.

"Do you think that a new world war will break out within the next 3 - 4 years?"

	No war within the next 3-4 years	Probably no war within the next 3-4 years	Probably war within the next 3-4 years	War within the next 3-4 years	No opin- ion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY						
Sex:	23%	28%	27%	16%	7% .. 100%	372
Men	15	29	25	8	23	427
Women						
Education:						
Elementary school	18%	28%	26%	12%	16%	659
Beyond elementary school	19	29	29	11	12	140
Income (per month):						
0 - 299 DM	16%	27%	26%	13%	18%	547
300 - 399 DM	18	30	27	12	13	136
400 DM and more	26	31	27	8	8	106
Age:						
Under 40 years	18%	31%	26%	12%	13%	331
40 years and over	18	26	26	12	18	457
Party Preference:						
SPD	18%	33%	30%	14%	5%	194
CDU/CSU	24	30	24	10	12	152
FDP	30	14	33	14	9	43
Other parties	13	35	42	5	5	55
No party	19	26	24	14	17	22
Don't know	10	26	20	10	34	150
Occupation:						
Professionals	13%	40%	20%	7%	20%	30
Businessmen	22	24	34	8	12	91
White collar workers	26	28	24	11	11	99
Skilled laborers	17	29	28	11	15	144
Semi-skilled laborers	16	28	23	19	14	122
Farmers	15	28	32	10	15	105
None: pensioners, stu- dents, retired, etc.	16	27	25	11	21	130
Religion:						
Catholics	20%	25%	27%	11%	17%	380
Protestants	16	33	24	12	15	378
Origin:						
Natives	19%	29%	26%	11%	16%	642
Refugees, Expellees	15	24	29	15	17	157

IV. SATISFACTION WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

BOON'S EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF IMPROVED LIVING CONDITIONS ...

A preponderance of the West German public assert their dissatisfaction with the Bonn government's efforts to improve West German living conditions. However, a relatively large minority (39%) claim to be satisfied with what the Federal Government is doing in this respect.

"Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with what the West German Federal Government is doing to improve living conditions of the West German population?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Satisfied	39%	39%	41%	31%
Dissatisfied	51	50	51	55
Partly - partly	1	1	1	-
No opinion	9	10	7	14
	100%	100%	100%	100%

MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM FACING WEST GERMANY ...

Economic issues lead by a wide margin as "most important" current problems to the West German people when queried on the point. Taxes and prices are named as the most pressing problem by a quarter of the respondents, with unemployment, the general economic situation and housing also being mentioned frequently. In all, over 60% of the total mentions deal with economic matters. In the non-economic category "preservation of peace" leads with a 17% mention, followed by the refugee problem, the partition of Germany, achievement of equality and independency, the Communist peril, and inner unity, in that order.

"And what do you think is the most important problem for the West German population at the present time?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>Taxes and prices too high - wages too low - lack of money - price policy:</u> That there will be lower prices soon, so everybody can live decently; prices are steadily increasing; the increase in living costs; life is too expensive - we should be able to get more for our money; the problem of wages - wages are too low in relation to prices; the price policy - should create a sound economic policy and provide for lower prices; should counter discontent among the working class by providing better wages and lower prices - so the worker knows what he is living for; a stable currency, then everybody would be able to save money; one should earn more money - then I could buy something for myself; etc.	23%	23%	21%	24%
<u>Preservation of peace:</u> That it won't come to a war; protection of the borders and preservation of the peace; peace and freedom is most important for us; that peace and order do not exist yet; absolute neutrality should be observed; etc.	17	15	19	23

(cont'd on next page)

Betterment of economic conditions - improvement of the living standard - relief for certain groups:

The general economic crisis, which affects agriculture too; economic pressure; the government should provide funds for economic revival; creation of sound economic conditions, so everybody can live well; more aid to the farmers, because it depends on us whether the people will have enough to eat; etc. 16% 17% 14% 18%

Elimination of unemployment: The unemployment problem; all people should get work; lack of money, since wage earning opportunities are scarce; to get jobs for youth; see that we'll have enough work and bread; see that we have decent opportunities for work; etc. 15 16 13 15

Refugee problem (repatriation, etc.): A solution to the refugee problem; to aid the refugees in their social needs with all available means; the refugee problem - I hope that we'll be able to return to our homes one of these days; repatriation of all Germans to their homes; the refugee problem - they want to get back to their homelands since their rights are not recognized here; liberation, so that everybody can go back home; etc. 9 8 12 4

Construction of housing: Procurement of housing; build homes - then the people would be more satisfied with their lot; the housing problem; reconstruction of housing in order to eliminate the housing shortage; etc. 8 10 6 5

Partition of Germany: The division of Germany; unification of the two zones; the creation of a unified German Reich; that East and West Germany will be reunited; etc. 6 6 8 2

German equality and independence - withdrawal of the occupation forces - peace treaty: All of us want to achieve peace and therefore we must become an independent nation - all foreign powers should leave; the question that they recognize our equality; independence - the occupation powers should not do as they please - if we regain our independence, we'll get by somehow; a peace treaty with the Western powers; that the occupation powers will leave; etc. 4 3 3 6

Defense against Communism: That Communism won't gain ground here; that the West German population will be protected against Communism; the settlement of social issues and protection against Communism; etc. 2 2 2 1

More unity with Germany: We should have fewer parties - party hatred hinders our development - unity is the most important thing at this hour; that they all will agree and that there will be fewer parties, they only quarrel; they should try to achieve more unity among the various parties; etc. 1 1 1 1

Other opinions: Solution to the Saar problem; we have to work ourselves back to the top; unification of Europe; our coal should not be exported but should be sold to us at home - should not be imported into Germany through back channels; good cooperation of government and people's representatives; that they'll take religion more seriously; the prisoner of war question; the remilitarisation which would affect most men since they would be forced to become soldiers against their will; etc. 8 9 7 10

No opinion / No answer: 11 10 11 16
120% 120% 117% 124%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

CDU and FDP adherents, as might be expected since their parties are in power, tend to express satisfaction with the federal government's economic activities more frequently than dissatisfaction, as do professional people. The upper income group, farmers, Catholics (largely CDU affiliates), and refugees divide between satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Dissatisfaction prevails over satisfaction in other population groups (note especially SPD sympathizers) but the differences are not too great on the whole and in certain cases not reliably beyond chance.

"Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with what the West German federal government is doing to improve the living conditions of the West German population?"

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Partly/ partly	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	37%	55%	2%	6% ... 100%	372
Women	40	47	1	12	427
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	39%	50%	1%	10%	659
Beyond elementary school	39	55	*	6	140
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	37%	51%	1%	11%	547
300 - 399 DM	41	52	2	5	136
400 DM and more	44	49	1	6	106
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	41%	48%	2%	9%	331
40 years and over	37	52	1	10	457
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	32%	63%	1%	4%	174
CDU/CSU	56	38	1	5	152
FDP	58	40	-	2	43
Other parties	27	65	4	4	55
No party	28	57	2	13	226
Don't know	45	36	-	19	150
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	80%	20%	-%	-%	30
Businessmen	41	55	-	4	91
White collar workers	33	59	3	5	99
Skilled laborers	40	46	2	12	144
Semi-skilled laborers	32	59	*	9	128
Farmers	41	44	-	12	106
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	33	53	*	14	136
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	43%	47%	1%	9%	380
Protestants	36	53	1	10	378
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	36	52	1	11	642
Refugees, Expellees	50	45	1	4	157

CONFIDENTIAL

Classification changed
Officially
by authority of Leo P. Giesse
PUB/RAS.

WEST GERMAN REACTIONS

KOREAN ARMISTICE NEGOTIATIONS

Report No. 92

Series No. 2

August 20, 1951

C O N F I D E N T I A L

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION ...

In a survey conducted between July 27 - August 8, 1951, West German reactions to the Korean armistice negotiations were measured by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs. The 800 case stratified probability sample established by RAS for rapid coverage of West German opinions on significant current developments was used.

As will be the pattern in future RAS studies, interviewing was performed under German auspices under contract with a newly established German opinion research organization - Deutsches Institut fuer Volksumfragen (DIVO).

High standards of work are assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that most of the members are ex-RAS interviewers with several years of experience in the techniques of survey research.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

I. THE KOREAN TRUCE TALKS AND THE EAST-WEST STRUGGLE

- ... Awareness of the Korean armistice negotiations is widespread (79%) among the West German public.
- ... Skepticism based apparently on a realistic appraisal of the situation prevails over an easy optimism regarding the outcome of the negotiations. Illustrative of the tenor of this skeptical viewpoint are the following:
 - ... The view that the Communist bid to negotiate a truce had ulterior motives — to win time, to delude their opponents, to seek another arena of conflict — outweighs by ten points the view that the Communists, realizing they had lost, desire to call quits in Korea.
 - ... The preponderance (42%) doubts that a Korean armistice will result from the talks, though three in ten are optimistic.
 - ... If there is an armistice, the prevailing sentiment (47%) is that it will only ease the East-West tensions temporarily. But 18% believe it will have no effect at all on the larger East-West struggle. Only a minority of 17% would regard a Korean truce as a "real step on the road to lasting peace."
- ... However, the armistice discussions are seriously regarded by the West German public. Their failure would result in an extension of the Korean war according to a large preponderance (52%). Only 16% believe that if no armistice is achieved, it will be possible to confine the conflict to Korea.
- ... Those who foresee a broadened conflict largely base their reasoning on an awareness of the fundamental nature of the East-West struggle. Implicit is the premise that failure to negotiate the end of the Korean war would simply underscore the fact that Korea is only a phase in the larger conflict which will continue on in Korea and other places until its ultimate resolution.

- 2 -

CONFIDENTIAL

II. THE TERMS OF THE KOREAN ARMISTICE

- ... In general, the West German public supports the position taken by the UN negotiators regarding armistice terms.
- ... Rejection of the Communist demand that a condition of armistice be the withdrawal of all foreign troops is supported by a preponderance of three to one. Arguments advanced for rejecting the demand strike a familiar note, following closely the line of reasoning West Germans have previously given for opposing the Russian proposal that all occupying forces withdraw from Germany - with the claim that withdrawal would leave Korea a prey to the Communists leading in frequency of mention.
- ... The 17% who would advocate acceptance of the Communist demand argue simply that this would leave the Koreans alone and in peace and would bring an end to bloodshed.
- ... The preponderance (40%) also agree that the 38th parallel should not be accepted as the demarcation line, although the survey was completed before the UN pronouncement to this effect. Only a quarter (23%) would find the 38th parallel an acceptable dividing line, but 37% have no opinion.
- ... Opponents of this division appear to regard any decision to leave Korea divided as an unworkable solution. Advocates of it, on the other hand, reason that any solution is acceptable as long as it ends the fighting.
- ... However, acceptance of the 38th parallel by the negotiators would not be regarded by the West German public as a Communist victory. Reactions are mixed as to which side would be the gainer in such a contingency. The largest single group (29%) finds that such a settlement would constitute a draw, 20% feel the Communists would have won the advantage, and 15% say the UN would then have gained the most.
- ... Both those who think the Communists would gain more by a return to the old dividing line in Korea and those who think the UN would have gained more, argue in much the same fashion. One group claims the Communists would have prevented the UN from reaching their goal, the other claims that the UN would have prevented the Communists from attaining theirs.
- ... Optimism as to the final outcome of the negotiations prevails despite the skeptical eye with which many Germans view the truce talks. A two to one preponderance gives the UN a better chance than the Communists to determine the conditions of the armistice.
- ... The strength of the UN (and especially of the United States) in general, as well as militarily, economically and in unity of purpose, are the main reasons stated by those who give the UN the better chance to decide on armistice terms.
- ... The unyielding stubbornness of the Communists, their strength, and the compliance of the UN form the basis of the arguments advanced by those who believe the Communists will impose the conditions.
- ... In retrospect, the intervention in Korea of the UN is judged to have been right by more than four times the number considering it as wrong (58% to 12%).

I. THE KOREAN TRUCE TALKS AND THE EAST-WEST STRUGGLE

WIDESPREAD AWARENESS OF KOREAN TRUCE TALKS ...

Interest in recent Korean developments is attested by the fact that the bulk of the West German public (79%) have heard of the cease-fire negotiations.

"Have you heard about the armistice talks in Korea?"*

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Yes	79%	80%	77%	81%
No	<u>21</u> 100%	<u>20</u> 100%	<u>23</u> 100%	<u>19</u> 100%

ALL POPULATION GROUPS GENERALLY AWARE ...

Awareness is extensive among all population groups, reaching as many as nine out of ten in the opinion leading elements - the better educated, upper income brackets and the men. Comparative figures are presented in the table on the following page.

- * Respondents who were unaware that an armistice was being negotiated in Korea were informed as follows: "The high command of the UN forces and the Communist troops are at present discussing a cease-fire in Korea." Subsequent questions on the Korean truce negotiations were asked of all respondents, those who were not aware of the talks in addition to those who were.

CONFIDENTIAL

"Have you heard about the armistice talks in Korea?"

	Yes	No	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY			
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	91%	9% ... 100%	373
Women	68	32	426
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	76%	24%	662
Beyond elementary school	94	6	138
<u>Income (per month):</u>			
Under 299 IM	75%	25%	531
300 - 399 IM	86	14	161
400 IM and more	94	6	96
<u>Age:</u>			
Under 40 years	81%	9%	364
40 years and over	77	23	433
<u>Party Preference:</u>			
SPD	89%	11%	179
CDU/CSU	79	21	122
FDP	89	11	37
Other parties	78	22	63
No party	78	22	235
Don't know	67	33	162
<u>Occupation:</u>			
Professionals	91%	9%	22
Businessmen	79	21	90
White collar workers	90	10	125
Skilled laborers	79	21	156
Semi-skilled laborers	81	19	103
Farmers	72	28	92
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	72	28	131
<u>Religion:</u>			
Catholics	76%	25%	388
Protestants	81	19	380
<u>Origin:</u>			
Natives	79%	21%	627
Refugees, Expellees	80	20	172

SKEPTICISM OF COMMUNIST MOTIVES PREVAILS ...

But the larger proportion of the West German public appears to regard the negotiations warily. A skepticism apparently based on a realistic appraisal of the situation is the prevailing attitude.

Examination of the reasons advanced to explain the Communist bid to negotiate an armistice illustrates the tenor of this skepticism. The view that the Communists are impelled by ulterior motives - to win time, to delude their opponents, to seek another arena of conflict - outweighs by ten points (35% to 25%) the view that the Communists, knowing they have lost, desire to call quits in Korea.

"What do you think - for what reasons were the Communists willing to negotiate a peaceful solution to the Korean conflict now?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
17%	15%	19%	14%

ULTERIOR MOTIVES:

In order to win time and to prepare new attacks:
Russian tactics of delay; in order to win time for military aggression at a later date; so as to win time for a larger offensive; they didn't see a way out anymore and wanted to win time; they want to get a breathing spell in order to recover and reassemble their forces; in order to win time and to cook up new plans; in order to win a few years to catch up with the Western powers; the Russians just want to win more time in order to rearm and achieve military superiority over the Western powers; I believe that the Communists want to win time in order to prepare new attacks against the Western world; the Communists are not ready yet to seek a peaceful solution; the only objective of the Communists and Russia as well, is to win time; so they can prepare a new offensive in the meantime; etc.

17% 15% 19% 14%

So as to start a new war some other place in the world: To start something in another corner of the world since they didn't get anywhere in Korea; because they want to transfer the front somewhere else; so as to have a rest in Korea and to create trouble in some other place; because they are looking for some other place where they can start a disturbance; because they haven't succeeded in defeating America and therefore they'll probably try to attack from another point; the Russians want to have their peace in Korea in order to attack in some other place in the world; they have other interests again - want to start somewhere else; in order to quieten things down there and to have more time for us; because they've got another goal now - perhaps Persia; in order to renew agitation in Persia; Korea was preparation for Persia - Russia wants to have some rest before the storm; etc.

9 9 9 11

(cont'd on next page)

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

In order to fool the others: It's a maneuver to fool the others; one can't trust the Communists either - who knows what's behind it all; they have something else up their sleeves and want to bluff us; I can't think anything about it - the Russians are false; they want to fool the people and pretend their will to peace; that is Russian diplomacy - the Russians want to show that they desire peace - but only for propagandistic reasons; that is just a trick, so the Western powers will withdraw their troops and then the Communists would have a free hand; etc.

9%	8%	11%	6%
----	----	-----	----

DESIRE TO CALL QUILTS:

They have realized the futility of their efforts in Korea and come to know the strength of the West: They have realized that they can't beat the Americans; they realized that they won't reach their goal this way; they have seen that they won't get anywhere this way and that they might have a better chance if they try something else; because the Communists believe that the situation in Korea does not serve their purposes; the Russians have realized that they can't get anywhere in Korea with their world revolution; they saw that the war turned out to their disadvantage; because they fear defeat; because they realize the futility of their efforts; the Communists seem to have lost the war; they consider themselves not strong enough after all - they thought that the war would be much easier; etc.

14	15	15	12
----	----	----	----

Their losses were too heavy (manpower and material), they cannot go on: They have realized that their losses were too heavy; they probably lost too many people and therefore they want to put an end to it; because they are fed up with their many losses; etc.

7	7	7	12
---	---	---	----

They want peace - tired of war (general comments without specific tendencies): To make peace; I suppose that they want peace too; they want peace now; they've had enough of war; I think that they'll be fed up with war pretty soon; because they are tired of war - just like the Western powers; the Communists are sick of war too; because the Communists want to end the war; etc.

4	4	3	5
---	---	---	---

OTHER OPINIONS:

They probably want to be the clever ones, they know the phrase "The better person always gives in"; the situation got to a critical stage - they didn't want to make as big an issue of the matter - they don't always want to be reproached for being the eternal negotiators; in consideration of public opinion among their own people; because the present commander has a more lenient attitude toward the Communists than MacArthur; not the Russians were willing, but the Americans - they were tired of war - couldn't go on; because Korea does not seem so important to them anymore; etc.

4	4	4	6
---	---	---	---

NO OPINION / NO ANSWER:

$\frac{42}{100\%}$	$\frac{44}{100\%}$	$\frac{40}{100\%}$	$\frac{38}{100\%}$
--------------------	--------------------	--------------------	--------------------

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

MANY DOUBTFUL OF SUCCESS OF TRUCE TALKS ...

Many West Germans view with pessimism the chances of an armistice being achieved, the preponderance (42%) believing that the truce talks will fail. However, three in ten are optimistic on this score.*

"Do you think that these negotiations will lead to an armistice or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Yes, armistice	31%	34%	28%	25%
No, no armistice	42	44	42	35
No opinion	27	22	30	40
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

KOREAN TRUCE WILL NOT END EAST-WEST TENSIONS ...

If a Korean armistice were concluded a majority of West Germans are under no delusion that this alone would mean the end of the larger East-West struggle. East-West tensions would be eased only temporarily, according to the preponderance (47%), and 18% go so far as to say that an armistice would have no effect on East-West tensions at all. Only 17% believe that the end of the Korean fighting would mean a "real step to lasting world peace," as is revealed in the selections of three alternative statements set forth in the question below.

"How would you regard a conclusion of the Korean conflict?" (CARD)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
As a real step forward on the road to lasting world peace	17%	16%	18%	21%
As only a temporary easing of East-West tension	47	47	48	48
As an event of no significant influence on East-West tension	18	19	17	20
No opinion	<u>18</u> <u>100%</u>	<u>18</u> <u>100%</u>	<u>17</u> <u>100%</u>	<u>11</u> <u>100%</u>

* The break in the truce talks, resulting from General Ridgway's demand that the neutrality of the Kaesong area be respected by the Communists, occurred during the time this survey was in the field.

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON LIKELIHOOD OF AN ARMISTICE ...

There is no clear cut pattern among population groups on whether or not the current Korean talks will result in an armistice, though the tendency is generally more frequent among the various groups to take a negative rather than an affirmative position.

"Do you think that these negotiations will lead to an armistice or not?"

	Yes, armistice	No, no armistice	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY				
Sex:				
Men	34%	53%	13% ... 100%	373
Women	29%	32	39	426
Education:				
Elementary school	29%	43%	29%	662
Beyond elementary school	39	46	15	138
Income (per month):				
Under 299 DM	27%	42%	31%	531
300 - 399 DM	40	41	19	161
400 DM and more	38	47	15	96
Age:				
Under 40 years	31%	45%	24%	364
40 years and over	31	40	29	433
Party Preference:				
SPD	33%	51%	16%	179
CDU/CSU	31	39	30	122
FDP	35	54	11	37
Other parties	34	49	17	63
No party	29	45	26	235
Don't know	28	26	46	162
Occupation:				
Professionals	36%	50%	14%	22
Businessmen	33	36	31	90
White collar workers	34	41	25	125
Skilled laborers	33	49	18	156
Semi-skilled laborers	30	44	26	103
Farmers	27	39	34	92
Nono: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	25	39	36	131
Religion:				
Catholics	29%	43%	29%	388
Protestants	31	42	27	380
Origin:				
Natives	33%	39%	29%	626
Refugees, Expellees	26	53	21	173

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON EFFECT OF TRUCE ON EAST-WEST TENSIONS ...

No very marked differences in opinion occur among the various population segments as to the significance of a Korean truce to the East-West struggle. The difference in frequency of choices is largely a function of having or not having an opinion on the matter.

"How would you regard a conclusion of the Korean conflict?" (CARD)

	Real step forward to lasting world peace	Temporary easing of East-West tension	Event of no signi- ficant in- fluence on East-West tension	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	13%	55%	25%	7% ... 100%	373
Women	21	41	12	26	426
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	18%	45%	17%	20%	662
Beyond elementary school	16	58	22	4	138
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Under 299 DM	19%	44%	16%	21%	531
300 - 399 DM	15	51	23	11	161
400 DM and more	14	57	26	3	96
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	14%	54%	19%	13%	364
40 years and over	21	42	17	20	433
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	15%	56%	20%	9%	179
CDU/CSU	25	44	18	13	122
FDP	11	65	21	3	37
Other parties	13	46	24	17	63
No party	17	46	20	17	235
Don't know	20	37	10	33	162
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	14%	68%	14%	4%	22
Businessmen	11	50	25	14	90
White collar workers	13	53	21	13	125
Skilled laborers	16	52	21	11	156
Semi-skilled laborers	19	47	16	19	103
Farmers	18	41	21	20	92
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	26	36	14	24	131
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	20%	45%	18%	17%	368
Protestants	16	48	18	18	380
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	18%	48%	17%	17%	627
Refugees, Expellees	17	42	23	18	172

FAILURE OF NEGOTIATIONS MEANS EXTENSION OF WAR ...

The armistice negotiations are, however, seriously regarded by the German public. If they should fail the extension of the war beyond Korea is foreseen by the large preponderance of West Germans (52%). Only 16% express the belief that the fighting could be confined to Korea following a failure to negotiate an armistice there.

"Supposing the armistice talks in Korea fail, do you think that the war will remain limited in Korea or do you think it likely that the war will spread beyond Korea?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Limited to Korea	15%	18%	15%	13%
Spread beyond Korea	52	53	53	50
No opinion	32	29	32	37
	100%	100%	100%	100%

REASONS WHY CONFLICT WILL SPREAD ...

Those who believe that a failure to arrive at a Korean truce will mean extension of the war beyond the borders of Korea appear to base their stand on an awareness of the fundamental nature of the East-West struggle. Implicit, though seldom stated, is the premise that failure to end the Korean conflict would simply point up the fact that Korea is merely a phase in the larger conflict which will continue in Korea and elsewhere until the final conclusion is reached.

If "Spread beyond Korea": "Why do you think so?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>Russia is striving for world power and will not abandon this goal:</u> Russia has to solve the problem of how to get at world power either through cold or hot war; the Russians want all of Europe; the Russians and, above all, the Communists want to introduce Communism everywhere in the world; because Russia wants to start international warfare by it; because of the aggressive policy of Bolshevik Russia; the Russians want to rule the Balkans and all of Asia; because the Russians aren't satisfied with what they've got; the Russians aren't satisfied with Korea - they want everything; etc.	13%	12%	15%	10%

The battle for Korea signifies the final East-West struggle: Because Korea is the beginning of a new world war; two great powers confront each other there who will incite war all over the world; because I believe that the Third World War will start there; because it will grow into the great conflict between East and West; two ideologies confront each other there who will pursue their goal to the end - therefore the war cannot be localized; here Capitalism - there Communism - sufficient trouble spots in the world - the final struggle cannot be avoided; we learned it from the past - wars always spread; because it looks as if there'd be another world war soon; because the experience of the past years has shown us that a long drawn-out war will always spread; Communism and democracy will never go together - the negotiations are only a Russian farce; etc.

9 11 5 18

(cont'd on next page)

- 8 -

CONFIDENTIAL

WEST	British	US	French
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone

Russia wants war and agitates everywhere in the world (her will to peace and to negotiate are just a pretense): Because the Russians are interested in starting insurrections everywhere; because the war in Indo-China started again and the Communists will never stop making trouble; there has to be a war somewhere, the Russians don't want peace; because the Russians want it that way; Russia will take care that they find other reasons for starting a war with America in order to put their policy of conquest into action; because the Soviet Union is interested in splitting the Western powers and thus undermining their strength; the Communists have won time by those negotiations; because the Communists negotiate as a pretense only; etc.

8%	7%	10%	6%
----	----	-----	----

The war will spread to (Persia) (Indo-China, etc.): The Communists are not interested in having an agreement between Persia and England - the Russians want the oil for themselves and get rid of the English; because of the oil conflict in Persia - all of them want their own advantage, the Persians, the English, and the Russians; I think that the oil conflict in Teheran is connected with that - the war will concentrate there; because already other places in the world are aflame - Persia, Indo-China, and India; the situation in Persia and Formosa has turned very serious; the Russians will try to cut off the West from oil; because the situation in Persia is very serious; etc.

5	5	6	3
---	---	---	---

The struggle for world power between America and Russia began in Korea: The Americans won't let the Russians have world-power; after all it's the struggle for power by two systems; America and Communism are struggling for world power - where the quarrel starts is secondary; because none of them has enough, each wants power; the Americans as well as the Russians tested each other in Korea before they'll begin the war for world-power; because the war for world-power can only have one of the Big powers as the victor and the war has to be carried out between them; etc.

4	4	4	2
---	---	---	---

The great powers are arming and preparing for a war: One doesn't hear anything else but that the great powers are preparing for a war; because armament is so far advanced - they won't dump it into the sea; there's so much talk about disagreement and rearmament; because there is no other course - all of them are arming; because they are finished with their armament and can start at any time any place - everywhere are preparations for war; etc.

2	2	3	1
---	---	---	---

Both opponents will try with all means to win the war (America has to destroy their supply bases in China): The war will spread, since the Western powers have to attack and destroy the supply bases in China; the United Nations can't limit themselves to Korea if they want to be successful; China wants to preserve her prestige and pursue her aims with all available means; because the war will grow even more serious; because then the Communists will become desperate and do everything in order not to lose the war; etc.

2	1	3	5
---	---	---	---

(cont'd. on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

Other countries will interfere in the war or be dragged into it: Because both powers would continue to fight with new allies - the Western powers might even use Japan on their side; because other nations will participate in the war; perhaps another nation will interfere yet since the Chinese are in it; etc.

1%	1%	2%	2%
----	----	----	----

International capital wants war in order to benefit by it: Because all of them want to get rid of their ammunition - war is always for money's sake; because international capital wants to profit by the war; I always consider war a matter of business - one part is always interested in that angle; because America's industries are converted into war industries - to America war means just an increase in capital and good business - the big shots of armament industries will do everything to get orders; etc.

1	1	1	1
---	---	---	---

Other opinions: Because economic interests are not only affecting Korea but are based on the Korean conflict; because all the people in Asia are dissatisfied and have not enough to eat - then everyone will revolt because it's the last chance then; the immense number of people in the Chinese army seem to imply that the war won't stay limited to Korea; in the East, since China has an economic interest in it; etc.

6	7	4	3
---	---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{2}{53\%}$	$\frac{2}{53\%}$	$\frac{2}{55\%}$	$\frac{1}{52\%}$
------------------	------------------	------------------	------------------

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

REASONS WHY CONFLICT WILL NOT SPREAD ...

The leading argument of those who believe that the conflict can be confined to Korea even if the armistice negotiations fail, is that no country wants war or wants to become a battle ground. Other and probably more cogent reasons advanced are that the Russians are not yet sufficiently prepared for a war, and neither the U.S. nor Russia wants a war now.

If "Limited to Korea": "Why do you think so?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

The world is fed up with war and no country is interested in another war: Because no country is interested in being the battleground; because neither America nor Russia is interested in a new world war; I think that everybody is fed up with war; because the rest of the world is tired of war; because I don't think that any of them wants to be responsible for carrying the war any further; because both sides suffered heavy losses; because no country on earth could stand another war; it is impossible that there should always be war in the world; etc.

6%	6%	6%	4%
----	----	----	----

The Russians are not yet sufficiently prepared: Because the Russians have not finished rearmament yet; because I consider the military armament of Russia not completed yet; the war will remain limited to Korea at the present time, since Russia is too clever to start a war at two fronts; at the present it is just a Russian maneuver - they are just gambling - I don't think it will spread out yet, since Russia can't afford it; etc.

3	2	4	3
---	---	---	---

Korea has only tactical interest to the Americans and the Russians: For purely tactical reasons; because America does not want to attack all of China and the Communists want to tie the Allied Forces in Korea only; it's troop exercise for both powers; because it is out of the way and not the focal point of interest; because both sides are interested in it - America wants to preserve world peace and Russia wants to keep strong forces occupied; etc.

2	2	1	2
---	---	---	---

Neither America nor Russia wants war now: Neither the Western nor the Eastern nations and their satellites desire expansion at the present time; the time for a world war is not favorable for either side; their strength is balanced at the moment and thus it'll go to and fro for a while; they are too much afraid of each other - besides they are not armed well enough for a bigger war; etc.

1	2	1	2
---	---	---	---

Other opinions: God won't let it happen that new mass murders occur; Therese von Konnersreuth predicted it; the more horrible the weapons the less probable a war; so far the world war didn't break out, therefore it can't get any worse now; etc.

3	4	3	1
---	---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{1}{16\%}$	$\frac{2}{18\%}$	$\frac{*}{15\%}$	$\frac{1}{13\%}$
------------------	------------------	------------------	------------------

* Less than one half of one per cent.

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON CHANCES OF EXTENDED CONFLICT ...

In all population groups, the view predominates that if the armistice talks result in an impasse, the war is likely to spread beyond Korea. Though the weight of opinion among leadership groups is also strongly in this direction, it will be noted in the table below that more of them than of their counterparts express the opinion that even if there is no Korean armistice the war can be confined to the peninsula.

"Supposing the armistice talks in Korea fail, do you think that the war will remain limited to Korea or do you think it likely that the war will spread beyond Korea?"

	Limited to Korea	Spread beyond Korea	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	23%	61%	16% ... 100%	373
Women	10	45	45	426
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	14%	51%	35%	662
Beyond elementary school	27	59	14	138
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Under 299 DM	13%	49%	38%	531
300 - 399 DM	22	58	20	161
400 DM and more	24	64	12	96
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	16%	56%	28%	364
40 years and over	16	50	34	433
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	21%	60%	19%	179
CDU/CSU	16	58	26	122
FDP	22	62	16	37
Other parties	13	68	19	63
No party	14	51	35	235
Don't know	14	35	51	162
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	32%	59%	9%	22
Businessmen	17	55	28	90
White collar workers	28	49	23	125
Skilled laborers	13	61	26	151
Semi-skilled laborers	17	49	34	103
Farmers	12	52	36	92
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	12	47	41	131
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	13%	55%	32%	388
Protestants	20	48	32	380
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	16%	52%	32%	627
Refugees, Expellees	15	54	31	171

II. TERMS OF THE KOREAN ARMISTICE

WEST GERMAN OPINIONS AGAINST WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS FROM KOREA ...

The UN rejection of the Communist demand that the withdrawal of foreign troops be a condition for a Korean armistice is strongly seconded by the West German public. Disagreement with the demand overweighs agreement by a ratio of three to one.

"The Communists demanded the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea as a condition for an armistice. Should the United Nations have agreed to this condition or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Should have agreed	17%	18%	16%	13%
Should not have agreed	51	50	53	53
No opinion	32	32	31	34
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

ARGUMENTS AGAINST WITHDRAWAL ...

Arguments advanced for rejection of the demand strike a familiar note, following closely the line of reasoning West Germans have customarily given for opposing Russian suggestions that all occupying powers withdraw from Germany.* Leading in frequency is the claim that withdrawal would leave Korea the prey to further Communist aggression. Most of the other reasons advanced are more detailed observations on the same theme, as will be noted in the listed comments that follow on the next page.

* See "West Germans View the East-West Struggle, II. Trends and Current Attitudes on Withdrawal of the Occupying Powers," Report No. 19, Series No. 2, (22 May 1950).

CONFIDENTIAL

"The Communists demanded the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea as a condition for an armistice. Should the United Nations have agreed to this condition or not?"

If "Should not have agreed": "Why should the United Nations have not agreed to this condition?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
--------------	--------------	---------	-------------

It would expose Korea to renewed Communist (Red-Chinese, Russian) aggression! At that moment the Communists would be in the saddle, then Communists would win the upper hand there; very soon there would be unrest again in Korea, instigated by Russia and managed by the Communists; then everything will be up-side down in Korea since the Communists will be sole rulers; it would open all doors to the Communists to get power; the Communists would start war immediately; then the Communists would have a free hand and it could be that all of Korea would turn Communist; if the Americans leave, all of Korea would turn Communist; the Russians would try to enforce Communism in Korea; as soon as the UN would leave, the Communists would come and influence the whole country in their belief; then the Communists would get what they want and occupy all of Korea; etc. 23% 24% 20% 28%

The Russians (Communists) cannot be trusted: One can't trust the Russians; it could be a trap - it would be unwise; I experienced it myself when I was expelled from my old home in the Sudetenland that one can't trust the Russians; one can't trust the Communists, they want world power; I know for sure that the Russians mean no good; it would be too daring - one never knows what the Russians are up to - one has heard too much about their dishonest intentions; I don't believe Red China will keep the agreement; because the conditions are just a trap; because the Russians will surely make further conditions; Communism would use the situation to its own advantage; etc. 7 4 11 11

It would mean denial of UN principles, loss of prestige, admission of weakness and victory for the Communists: If one has started something one cannot pull out all of a sudden; the Communists would have a free hand then and the UN would deviate from their principles; otherwise the Russians would have their way and would not be punished for their aggression; if they withdrew, a final solution to the conflict would not be possible anymore - it would be an inconsequence; because they can't do it for reasons of prestige - the war would then have been in vain; they would suffer a loss of prestige and thereby encourage the Communists; because they should not give in all the time; then the armistice would have been a farce; that would mean Communist victory; etc. 6 8 4 6

(cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

Withdrawal would mean expansion of the Communist would power in Asia (Japan) and Germany: Then all of Asia would be abandoned to Communism; they would give the Russians a free hand for their plans to conquer Asia; then the Communists would attempt to invade South Korea again and then try to get a foothold in Japan; Communism would be strengthened by that and would spread even further; that would be a direct invitation to the Russians and the Communist powers for further aggression, since they won't stick to a treaty anyway; then the Communists and the Russians would do the same thing here in Germany as they did in Korea; etc.

6%	6%	7%	1%
----	----	----	----

Then the Korean war would have been in vain: Then the whole war would have been useless - they needn't have started a war then; because then the fight to stop Communism would have been in vain; because all the losses would have been for nothing; then the same conditions as before the war would exist again; then they would have given up all their advantages - the reason for this war was that America withdrew its troops too soon from Korea; etc.

4	3	5	4
---	---	---	---

Because America would lose a strategic position: By that they would have given up a strategic base; then they would have lost their foothold in East Asia; because Russia wants to force an evacuation of Korea, since Korea as a strategic base for America is too dangerous for the Russians; then the Western powers would not have a foothold anymore and it would be dangerous to Japan as well; because the Russians are geographically much closer to their goal in Korea - the Americans will lose by being so far away from it; etc.

2	2	3	1
---	---	---	---

Because a withdrawal should only be considered if the Red Chinese withdraw too: By that the Chinese are not out of Korea - only under this condition should the UN agree to it; because a withdrawal of the defenders of South Korea is only possible if there is sufficient guarantee; Korea must not be evacuated without a guarantee; etc.

1	1	1	2
---	---	---	---

Other opinions: Then the Americans would have to leave Germany too - as well as the UN and the Red Chinese have to leave North Korea and South Korea; etc.

2	2	2	1
---	---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{1}{52^{**}}$	$\frac{1}{50^{**}}$	$\frac{1}{54^{**}}$	$\frac{1}{54^{**}}$
---------------------	---------------------	---------------------	---------------------

*Less than one half of one per cent.

**Some respondents gave more than one answer.

ARGUMENTS FOR WITHDRAWAL ...

Advocates of withdrawal argue that this would leave the Koreans alone and in peace, would prevent the spread of the war, and prevent further bloodshed. (The continued presence of a large "Korean" Communist army apparently is ignored.)

"The Communists demanded the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea as a condition for an armistice. Should the United Nations have agreed to this condition or not?"

If "Should have agreed": "Why?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

So Korea can settle down and be left alone -
strangers have no call to be in Korea, peace and order will be reestablished; then there'd be order in the country; because a unified Korea is not possible unless all foreign troops are withdrawn; it would be better if the Koreans were left by themselves and not influenced by anybody; so that this country could get reunited under one government by its own decision; so the people will finally be free of any influence; foreigners have no call to be in Korea; they should be left to work it out for themselves - besides the people in Korea want peace - what do the Americans know about Korea?; the Koreans want to live by themselves and therefore all troops should leave; etc.

7%	8%	6%	7%
----	----	----	----

In order to end the war and achieve peace: Then the war would be ended; in order to make peace there; I consider this a peaceful solution; then it would have come to a solution of the Korean conflict; so the reasons for the conflict are eliminated; so the seed of the unrest would be destroyed; etc.

5	4	6	4
---	---	---	---

In order to avoid further conflicts between East and West: Because otherwise everything would start all over again; because it would mean another step toward peace between East and West; perhaps a third world war would be avoided by that; because there would be less opportunities for further tensions; etc.

2	2	2	1
---	---	---	---

In order to make compromises for the sake of agreement: Every opportunity to reach an agreement should be observed; because they also should contribute to the efforts to end the war; because each power should admit and commit something if there is to be peace; if they want to achieve peace they have to give in; etc.

1	1	1	-
---	---	---	---

In order to avoid further bloodshed: In order to avoid further bloodshed; so mankind will be spared further bloodshed and misery; I believe that every mother who has her son in the war has no greater wish but to see the war ended; etc.

1	1	1	-
---	---	---	---

Other opinions: Because today, nothing's impossible - it would be easy to get over there again real quick - no problem to land again; etc.

1	2	*	-
---	---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{1}{17\%}$	$\frac{1}{19\%}$	$\frac{1}{16\%}$	$\frac{1}{12\%}$
------------------	------------------	------------------	------------------

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN TROOPS ...

Again it is the usually better informed segments - men, the better educated, and those in higher income brackets - who more frequently than their counterparts state that the withdrawal of foreign troops should not be a requisite of an armistice. But there, too, the difference in frequency largely results from having no opinions on the matter; the direction of opinions is the same among all groups.

"The Communists demanded the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea as a condition for an armistice. Should the United Nations have agreed to this condition or not?"

	Should have agreed	Should not have agreed	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	18%	67%	15% ... 100%	373
Women	16	38	46	426
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	17%	48%	35%	662
Beyond elementary school	17	66	17	138
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Under 290 DM	19%	44%	37%	531
300 - 399 DM	14	65	21	161
400 DM and more	15	67	18	96
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	21%	51%	28%	364
40 years and over	13	52	35	433
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	18%	63%	19%	179
CDU/CSU	15	54	31	122
FDP	19	76	5	37
Other parties	16	60	24	63
No party	17	46	37	235
Don't know	17	36	47	162
<u>Occupations:</u>				
Professionals	32%	64%	4%	22
Businessmen	17	54	29	90
White collar workers	14	62	24	126
Skilled laborers	21	51	28	156
Semi-skilled laborers	24	47	29	103
Farmers	12	46	42	92
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	11	51	38	131
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	18%	50%	32%	388
Protestants	14	53	33	380
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	17%	50%	33%	627
Refugees, Expellees	16	58	26	172

CONFIDENTIAL

PREPONDERANCE OPPOSES DIVISION ON 38th PARALLEL ...

Although this study was completed prior to the UN announcement that the 38th parallel is unacceptable as a demarcation line, the preponderance of the West German public agreed in advance with this stand, 40% of them stating they would regard a restoration of the former dividing line as unsatisfactory. Only a quarter (23%) think it would be a satisfactory solution, but a large proportion (37%) withhold opinions.

"Would you consider it a satisfactory solution or not, if the Korean conflict were ended by restoring the former situation of a Korea divided approximately as it was in the past?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Satisfactory	23%	25%	20%	27%
Not satisfactory	40	40	39	40
No opinion	37	35	41	33
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

UNDIVIDED KOREA PREFERRED ...

Comments of those who oppose a settlement based on division at the 38th parallel suggest that they would find any division of Korea an unsatisfactory solution. The basis of their reasoning is various: a divided country breeds conflicts; a divided Korea would be as unfortunate as a divided Germany, and create the same problems; it would mean that all the sacrifices had been in vain; it would give the Communists a chance to agitate and control Korea, and so on.

If "Not satisfactory": "Why do you think so?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>A divided country breeds conflicts:</u> A divided country is always bound to cause trouble, the situation should be clarified; if a country is divided, and administered by two different governments it will never have peace; it would breed danger of another conflict; the two parties would find themselves face to face with each other and struggle; new troubles would germinate; the tension would remain the same; it would bring peace for the time being, but I wonder how long it would last; it is always the same: two political tendencies grimly fighting each other; the hatred of either parties will be deepened and stocked up; I don't know, but there is the possibility and the danger of the same kind of trouble starting again; etc.	13%	14%	12%	17%

A divided Korea would be as unfortunate as a divided Germany: The country belongs together just as Germany does; it is like East and West in Germany - a failure; it would put Korea into the same kind of state as Germany is now, which is no good; the same conditions would result as we have in Germany - the Koreans are one people just as we are, one people belong together; I think it would create similar conditions as in Germany where neither part is able to exist by itself, neither West nor East Germany, the borders of which were arbitrarily fixed; the same conditions as in West and East Germany with one people who belong together - silly right from the beginning; you can see the success of a divided Germany - Korea must unite, but by peaceful settlement; parallels to the division of Germany are too obvious as to agree with the repetition of this idiom; etc.

7 9 6 2

(cont'd on next page)

- 18 -

CONFIDENTIAL

Korea should be re-united and not remain divided (general answers): It would leave Korea divided, the country should be re-united; an undivided Korea is preferable to a divided one; this divided state is unbearable in the future; a parallel is no border-line, the people should live together freely; it is an arbitrary border-line and no proper division; one cannot keep a country divided in two parts; the people do not want to be separated, it is the people who always have to suffer; etc.

6% 6% 5% 9%

Establishment of the former status would be a denial of all sacrifices: All sacrifices of West and South Korea would have been an absurdity; all sacrifices would have been in vain; the war in Korea would have had no sense, thinking that so many people had to give their lives; the sacrifices would be in vain and it would still remain a trouble spot; what was the whole war for?; I lost two sons in the last war, for nothing - all bloodshed in Korea would have had no sense; the cause of the conflict was the division of Korea; etc.

5 4 6 6

Communists would be able to agitate and control Korea: The Russians will certainly interfere as soon as the other powers have left Korea; the Russians are behind the scene, they won't stop stirring up trouble; the Communists will continue to agitate; the Communists would take up fighting and that would mean one more front for the Americans in case of a new world war; the Communists will not give way and will start trouble again; once the Americans leave Korea it will become Communist; the Communists try to set the world on fire by the Korean conflict; the Communists will not keep quiet; China would not agree, they want to annex parts of Korea; the East would not be content in the long run; etc.

4 3 5 4

The Koreans should decide their own future: Korea to the Koreans, everything else, even a division, will cause tensions; Korea should be left alone and be occupied neither by Americans nor Russians; each country should rule itself, and no Russian, no Chinese and no American should interfere; Korea to the Koreans without Eastern or Western influence; the Koreans should be left alone and their country be returned to them; the solution can be nothing but a Korea in one piece under a government of her own, otherwise the trouble would start all over again; no foreign power is entitled to divide another country; etc.

2 2 2 2

The division is disadvantageous economically: A divided Korea is unable to exist economically; the country has been paralyzed; Korea must be united which is necessary in view of politics and economy; etc.

1 1 1 -

Other opinions: It would remain a shooting range to both parties to try their new weapons; the Communists started the war in Korea; it is indispensable that the UN troops should not slacken; the times are over in which Korea belonged to the Koreans only; each one wants the power, doesn't give way and the poor people have to sacrifice their lives; not Korea but the power over the world is at stake; etc.

1 1 2 1

No opinion / No answer:

(10% of respondents) 1/40% 1/41% 1/40% 1/41%

* Some respondents gave more than one reason.

ADVOCATES OF ACCEPTANCE OF 38th PARALLEL ARGUE "ANYTHING FOR PEACE" ...

Advocates of the status quo ante bellum generally appear to consider any solution satisfactory that would end the Korean fighting. Indeed the most frequent argument is simply that acceptance of the 38th parallel as a demarcation line would end the fighting. Other claims are that it should work now because it had worked previously; it is the only possible solution; the Koreans can get together after everyone else leaves, and so on.

"Would you consider it a satisfactory solution or not, if the Korean conflict were ended by restoring the former situation of a Korea divided approximately as it was in the past?"

If "Satisfactory solution": "Why do you think so?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

It would at least end the state of war; it might mean peace; bloodshed would come to an end; To bring about peace; to avoid further blood shedding; at least war would come to an end; peace is the primary thing; everything would be a right solution if it puts an end to this cruel war; it is preferable in order to get peace; to end the killing; it would mean a peaceful solution and end the killing; no more sacrifices would be demanded; etc.

9%	10%	8%	11%
----	-----	----	-----

Division worked before: If it was like this before it might be the best solution; this division has worked before and people were content with it, it should also work now; they lived like this before and should be able to do so now; because it would restore the former status; everything would be more settled even if it were only a passing phase; etc.

4	5	3	5
---	---	---	---

It is the only possible solution as neither side wants to yield: Otherwise no solution would be reached, none of them gives way; it would save them giving way; every party wants to keep what it got, the argument would never come to an end; it would satisfy all parties; everybody would get what he had before; it would be best for both sides, they would not go on struggling; it would not hurt anybody, either of them would get what he had before; no one, neither North nor South Korea would have a reason for further demands; it would be best to leave Korea divided, both systems could work out for themselves; etc.

3	2	4	3
---	---	---	---

North and South Koreans would come to an agreement if left alone: I suppose North and South Koreans would come to an agreement if the Communists would let them; what is the foreigners' business in Korea - they all should clear Korea and leave the Koreans to govern themselves, it would benefit the country; if the North and the South Koreans meet on a basis of peace not under the influence of foreigners, they would come to an agreement; etc.

2	2	3
---	---	---

It would be of political-strategical advantage to the West: The Americans would not scatter their forces; they waste their strength in Korea and leave too little of it for Europe; that the Western powers and we would win time; to bind the Russian forces in the East, the division of Korea might easily cause a new conflagration and it might keep them off from setting fire on Europe; etc.

1	1	1
---	---	---

(cont'd on next page)

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

At least part of the country would be safe of the Communists: Because the Americans would stay in the country and prevent the Russians from invading South Korea; at least part of the country would be spared Communism; etc.

*%	1%	*%	-%
----	----	----	----

Other opinions: Because it would have no influence on the political world situation; by dividing they might come to an agreement; etc.

3	3	2	3
---	---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{1}{23\%}$	$\frac{2}{25\%}$	$\frac{*}{21\%**}$	$\frac{4}{27\%}$
------------------	------------------	--------------------	------------------

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON 38th PARALLEL AS DIVIDING LINE ...

The direction of opinions is similar among the various population groups, with the predominant sentiment opposing a restoration of a Korea divided along the 38th parallel. The differences of degree are again largely a function of "no opinion."

"Would you consider it a satisfactory solution or not, if the Korean conflict were ended by restoring the old situation of a Korea divided approximately as it was in the past?"

	Satisfactory	Not satisfactory	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	25%	55%	20% ... 100%	373
Women	22	26	52	426
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	23%	37%	40%	662
Beyond elementary school	27	51	22	138
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Under 299 DM	22%	35%	43%	531
300 - 399 DM	25	49	26	161
400 DM and more	28	52	20	96
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	22%	42%	36%	364
40 years and over	24	38	38	433
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	25%	48%	27%	179
CDU/CSU	21	39	40	122
FDP	38	46	16	37
Other parties	38	33	29	63
No party	20	43	37	235
Don't know	19	26	55	162
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	36%	46%	18%	22
Businessmen	31	37	32	90
White collar workers	17	49	34	125
Skilled laborers	24	45	31	156
Semi-skilled laborers	27	41	32	103
Farmers	11	46	43	92
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	26	27	47	131
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	22%	39%	39%	388
Protestants	24	39	37	380
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	24%	37%	39%	627
Refugees, Expellees	24	45	31	172

ACCEPTANCE OF 38th PARALLEL WOULD MEAN A DRAW ...

Although the predominant opinion in West Germany is that a division of Korea along the 38th parallel would be unsatisfactory, a settlement based on that division would not necessarily be considered a Communist victory. Reactions are mixed among the West Germans as to who would have come out best with such a solution. The largest single group (29%) finds that such a settlement would be a draw, 20% feel the Communists would have won the advantage, and about as many (15%) say the West would have gained the most. The remaining 36% withhold opinions.

"Supposing Korea would be divided approximately as in the past through this armistice, - who would then have gained more, in your opinion, - the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Communist powers	20%	19%	22%	17%
Western powers	15	16	13	14
Both the same	29	31	27	31
No opinion	36	34	38	38
	100%	100%	100%	100%

SIMILAR ARGUMENTS ADVANCED TO SUPPORT BOTH VIEWS ...

Nearly parallel arguments are advanced by those who believe the Communists and by those who believe the West will have gained more if the decision is to retain the old North-South division of Korea. Thus those who feel the Communists would be the greater gainers by such settlement, reason that the Communists thereby prevented the West from reaching their goal, they would be able to retain a base for future operations, they gained prestige, etc. Those who argue that the West would win the advantage by retaining the former partition line, also claim that the Communists were prevented from reaching their goal, and that the West gained prestige. Replies of both groups listed in detail follow.

If "Communist powers": "Why do you think so?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>The Communists would win a partial success - the prestige of the West (the Americans) would be weakened, as they have not reached their goal:</u>				
<u>They managed to be partial victors, so to speak, because they pushed the Americans back; it means partial victory for the Russians; they have carried through their point and remain there; the purpose of the UN was to re-unite Korea, and the Russians have spoiled that; all efforts made by the West would have been in vain; the former status would result; because the Americans will have to leave North Korea; the Western powers would have to give away the territory they won and battled for; the Americans have again given way; the Western powers' prestige would suffer throughout the world; it would mean a defeat for the Americans, they talked big and intended to turn the Communists out of Korea; etc.</u>				
		7%	8%	7%

(cont'd on next page)

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

The Communists' chances to win influence (and power) over the whole of Korea would grow: They could be more active and could not be stopped; they could stir up trouble between the North and the South Koreans; they use discontent to incite the people against the government and to seize power themselves; they would start all over again and know better how to take advantage; sooner or later Korea would be in Communist hands; they would be able to spread their ideas; their's is the better position to start a new attack on Korea; South Korea would still be within the sphere of Communist scheming; they would use the opportunity to return over the sea with the Russians; as Communist China borders upon Korea the plan to make Korea Bolshevik would be easy to realize; etc.

6%	5%	7%	4%
----	----	----	----

The Western powers had greater losses of men and material: While the UN had great losses, the Russians have not lost a single soldier; the Russians had no losses at all, they used the Chinese; they got what they wanted - the Western powers furnished Korea with material; the Western powers spent more on Korea than the Communist powers; etc.

2	2	3	1
---	---	---	---

The Communists had a prestige success - propaganda success: Russia proved to the world that she pushed them into the defensive; because they proved that they can maintain themselves against the whole world, as the UN means the whole world; Russia would use this for her propaganda and represent the Western powers as not being strong enough to stand up for their interests; etc.

2	2	2	1
---	---	---	---

The Communists have won time and with it a better chance to plan new aggressions: They would be able to make better plans for a new war; they have won time; the Russians would have the better chance to fortify their strongholds; they feel united now and think they have gained more power; etc.

1	1	1	1
---	---	---	---

Other opinions: That is what they wanted; because Korea is none of the Americans' business; the Americans want a no-man's-land between North and South Korea; previously never a Communist power had ruled in Korea; one can see clearly that the Communists have the advantage; they must conclude that the Americans don't mind giving way and renouncing their advantages if it serves to prevent war; etc.

$\frac{2}{20\%}$	$\frac{1}{19\%}$	$\frac{2}{22\%}$	$\frac{4}{17\%}$
------------------	------------------	------------------	------------------

"Supposing Korea would be divided approximately as in the past through this armistice, who would then have gained more, in your opinion, the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

If "Western powers": "Why do you think so?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

Because they repelled the Communist attack (North Korean, Russian, Chinese, Eastern attack) - the Communist powers would have virtually been defeated as they did not attain their goal: The Western powers drove the Communists out of South Korea and saved one more country from Communism; they succeeded in restoring the former democratic status; they repelled the Communist attack; the Russians did not win ground; the Western powers stopped the Russian policy of conquest; the Communists wanted the whole of Korea for themselves but did not get their way; so virtually the Western powers succeeded; the Communists invaded South Korea in order to conquer the whole country; it would have meant a step forward, they would have won then, I think that is what they want; the Communists have been pushed back to their starting point; etc.

8%	8%	8%	9%
----	----	----	----

Prestige and strength of the Western powers have grown: Their prestige has grown immensely on account of their interference; they proved that they don't want to be played with; the Russians will at least respect the West; the fact that the Western powers opposed the Communist aggression has made them keep their prestige; the Western powers have clearly shown that they are not willing to take everything, they won confidence; etc.

3	3	2	2
---	---	---	---

Because the West proved superior to the Communists - the West is stronger: The Western powers are much stronger than the Communists; South Korea in alliance with the Western powers was superior to North Korea in the long run; etc.

1	1	*	1
---	---	---	---

Other opinions: They have not been in this country before, so it might be called their success; they have at least not lost anything; because they have at least brought about part of a peace; etc.

1	1	2	1
---	---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{2}{15\%}$	$\frac{3}{16\%}$	$\frac{1}{13\%}$	$\frac{1}{14\%}$
------------------	------------------	------------------	------------------

* Less than one half of one per cent.

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON WHO WOULD GAIN BY 38th PARALLEL DIVISION ...

Opinions as to which side would gain more in an armistice based on the 38th parallel, generally follow two tendencies among the various population groups - either the preponderance holds that both sides would then have gained the same, or opinions divide three ways. (In sum, both these tendencies add to the same thing - opinions as to the gainer would be inconclusive among most population groups.) An exception to the two tendencies occurs among West German men as a group among whom as many see the advantage going to the Communists as see neither side the gainer over the other. (Other apparent exceptions which may be noted in the following table are not reliably beyond chance.)

"Supposing Korea would be divided approximately as in the past through this armistice, who would then have gained more, in your opinion, the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

	Communist powers	Western powers	Both the same	No opinion	No. of cases;
WEST GERMANY					
Sex:					
Men	31%	19%	32%	18%	373
Women	10	11	27	52	426
Education:					
Elementary school	19%	14%	29%	38%	662
Beyond elementary school	21	21	33	25	138
Income (per month):					
Under 299 DM	16%	12%	30%	42%	531
300 - 399 DM	28	17	30	25	161
400 DM and more	26	31	29	14	96
Age:					
Under 40 years	20%	13%	34%	33%	364
40 years and over	20	16	26	38	433
Party Preference:					
SPD	20%	20%	36%	24%	179
CDU/CSU	23	10	22	45	122
FDP	22	32	30	16	37
Other parties	25	17	37	21	63
No party	21	13	33	33	235
Don't know	12	10	21	57	162
Occupation:					
Professionals	18%	23%	36%	23%	22
Businessmen	19	23	27	31	90
White collar workers	21	15	32	32	125
Skilled laborers	25	16	32	27	156
Semi-skilled laborers	18	14	33	35	103
Farmers	22	7	27	44	93
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	15	12	27	46	131
Religion:					
Catholics	21%	13%	26%	40%	388
Protestants	17	16	34	33	380
Origin:					
Natives	19%	14%	28%	39%	627
Refugees, Expellees	21	16	36	27	172

UNITED NATIONS HAVE BETTER CHANCE TO DETERMINE ARMISTICE ...

Despite the skeptical eye with which many West Germans view the Korean truce parley, optimism as to the outcome is the prevailing sentiment among those who express opinions on the matter. The United Nations are seen as having a better chance than the Communists to get their conditions for a truce accepted by a two to one preponderance. When the proportion thinking that both sides have an equal chance is added to that giving the UN the advantage, almost half of the respondents (46%) give the UN as good or a better chance to have the final word about the armistice.

"In your opinion, who has more of a chance to their conditions for a solution of the Korean problem accepted, the Communists or the United Nations?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Communists	13%	14%	11%	15%
United Nations	30	29	32	27
Both the same	16	17	15	17
No opinion	41	40	42	41
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

UN WILL NAME CONDITIONS BECAUSE THEY ARE STRONGER ...

Those who believe that the United Nations have a better chance than the Communists to get the kind of truce they want largely base their arguments on a similar theme: the strength of the UN (and especially of the United States) in general, as well as militarily, economically, and in unity of purpose. Listed comments follow on the next page.

"In your opinion, who has more of a chance to get their conditions for a solution of the Korean problem accepted, the Communists or the United Nations?"

If "United Nations": "Why do you think so?"

WEST	British	US	French
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone

The United Nations represent a stronger power (general): Because I see a greater power behind the UN; because there is more power behind the UN than behind the Communists; the United Nations have become stronger now; because the United Nations are stronger than the Communists; I believe that the United Nations are stronger than Russia and through it are able to carry out their interests; the Russians will have to give in somehow, because the Western powers together are stronger; because in spite of everything, I consider the UN have more strength to assert themselves; they are so strong now that they won't get the better of them anymore; because they are stronger than the North Koreans at the present time; the Communists see things dissolve under their fingers, therefore they try to rescue whatever there is to rescue; in the end the Russians are not so strong as the others; I believe the Russians are not so strong after all; etc.

9%	8%	9%	13%
----	----	----	-----

The UN (Americans) are superior militarily and technically: The United Nations are technically superior to the Russians; because the United Nations can make conditions on account of their technical superiority in every way; because they are stronger and because they have the most modern arms; the Americans have more modern arms and are better in warfare; because they represent a greater arming capacity, so that they can put strong pressure on the Communists with threatening and atomic arms, etc.; they are far ahead in their technic for defeating Communism; the United Nations are able to offer even better arms so the Communists are forced to give in; because they have superior weapons; because the United Nations are militarily stronger; etc.

6	7	6	3
---	---	---	---

Many nations side with the UN: Through the connection of the South Koreans with America, the Western Allies and their active aid; because of the number of participating countries and their leading men they are in a position to conduct more skillful and more cunning negotiations (meaning diplomacy); on the American side there are many nations all asking the same conditions, perhaps there the Russian will give in; because behind them there is the whole world; they have absolutely more possibilities of asserting themselves if they agree and act decidedly; they have many more countries and people on their side; etc.

4	.3	5	5
---	----	---	---

(cont'd on next page)

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

The Americans (UN) are superior economically and financially: Because there is capital and that general wins; I think that they are able to invest more material and are more unyielding, don't let the Russians have a free hand anymore; because the Americans are financially stronger, and was as well as peace is ruled by money; because they are economically stronger - and China is not in a position to wage a long war; because they are financially much stronger, capitalism certainly is the world power; because behind the American there is capital, and through it anything can be attained; because jointly they are wealthier and also stronger; because in the long run nobody is a match for the inexhaustible resources of America; etc.

3%	3%	3%	-
----	----	----	---

The UN are more decent and in the right - they have the confidence of the whole world: I hope and believe it, because they are more respectable; the United Nations are more esteemed and trusted; they are esteemed more than the Communists; because the freedom of mankind is guaranteed by it; because the freedom-minded world is behind them; because the viewpoint of the UN is more justified; etc.

2	3	2	2
---	---	---	---

The Communists (Russians) are now more yielding: Because the Communists seem to be more yielding at the moment; the Communists have finally seen that they have to yield somewhat; the Communists have tried to negotiations because they have seen that the United Nations are better armed than they themselves; because the Communists only have a big mouth with not much behind it; etc.

2	2	3	1
---	---	---	---

This time the UN (Americans) will and must carry through their conditions and won't yield: They won't lessen their efforts until they have attained their conditions; because this time they don't yield; the Russian knows that war would go on if the conditions asked for are not fulfilled, he will act accordingly; the Americans are firmly working towards it and are not yielding as much as formerly; he has become wise to the Russian; if they persist in their viewpoint, the UN should only be unyielding; because they have to, otherwise Europe will also be lost; etc.

2	2	3	-
---	---	---	---

At the present the UN have advantages (passing of the 38th parallel): They have been advantageous now, because they are past the 38th parallel; the plus there was the result of the whole warfare; because the UN banished the others from South Korea and stand north of the 38th parallel; so far they have won something and through it have more claims; etc.

1	*	1	1
---	---	---	---

The UN is making favorable and acceptable conditions: Because they don't make too severe conditions so the Communists could accept; because they do make the more favorable conditions; etc.

*	*	-	2
---	---	---	---

Other opinions: Dictatorship doesn't last so long, once it is collapsing; the conditions of the UN promise the best living conditions to the Koreans; I can't say why, it's just my feeling; they will have more support by the Koreans - those won't keep too much to the Communists; etc.

2	2	1	2
---	---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

1/32**	1/31**	1/34**	2/29**
--------	--------	--------	--------

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

REASONS WHY COMMUNIST CONDITIONS FOR TRUCE WILL PREVAIL ...

The stubbornness of the Communists, their strength, and the alleged compliance of the United Nations are the reasons advanced by those who believe the Communists will impose the conditions for the armistice.

"In your opinion, who has more of a chance to get their conditions for a solution of the Korean problem accepted, the Communists or the United Nations?"

If "Communists": "Why do you think so?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>The Communists (Russians) are more stubborn and aggressive:</u> They are more stubborn, they will run their heads through a wall; the Communists want world power and endeavor to attain it by all means; the Communists are cheekier, and a cheeky person always gets his way; developments up to now have proved that the Communists succeed; their skulls are the harder ones and they have always carried their point through; they use more pressure, and even the Americans are scared in the end; etc.	5%	5%	4%	6%
<u>The Communists are stronger and united:</u> The Communists are stronger in Korea than the Western powers; because the Chinese are in the play and have the greater potential in Korea; because the Communists are more united; the Chinese are in the vicinity and the Americans are having great difficulties with the climate and their supplies; the Communists are radical and need not listen to other opinions as the UN have to do where everybody does as he likes; etc.	4	5	4	1
<u>The UN (Americans) yield more easily:</u> The Americans are of a more complaisant nature, particularly towards their former Allies, the Russians; the UN will give way for the sake of peace; America is interested, for innerpolitical reasons, in compromising as soon as possible; the Americans may be inclined to make concessions for the sake of peace, and the Communists will take advantage of this; etc.	2	2	1	4
<u>The Russians (Communists) are smarter negotiators:</u> Their tactics are to hoax the Americans; the Russians have the lead, they are able and smart enough to get their way in the end; they are smart and wait, time is working in their favor; the Asiatic people are smart negotiators, they don't lose face; etc.	1	*	2	2
<u>The Communists have greater understanding of the Asiatics:</u> The Communists are nearer to these peoples and their influence on the Asiatics is greater; the Russians have a better knowledge of the Korean mentality and know how to use the time; etc.	1	*	1	1
<u>Other opinions:</u> I take it from conversations; they got Soviet Russia on their side; the Americans are not interested in spending any more money on Korea; in my opinion they got the better chances because the UN have not fully used their diplomacy, I cannot understand why; etc.	$\frac{1}{14}^{**}$	$\frac{3}{15}^{**}$	$\frac{1}{13}^{**}$	$\frac{1}{15}$

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON WHICH SIDE WILL IMPOSE CONDITIONS ...

Proportionately more people in each of the population groups anticipated that the United Nations will have a better chance than the Communists to determine the conditions of the Korean armistice. However, the following name the Communists more frequently than do their counterparts - the better educated in contrast to the lesser educated, the upper income group as compared with the lower income group, and people under 40 years of age as compared with those over 40. (The distribution among professional people is based on too few cases to be reliable beyond chance.)

"In your opinion, who has more of a chance to get their conditions for a solution of the Korean problem accepted, the Communists or the United Nations?"

	Communists	United Nations	Both the same	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	13%	41%	23%	24%..100%	373
Women	13	21	11	55	426
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	11%	30%	15%	44%	662
Beyond elementary school	21	31	23	25	138
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Under 299 DM	11%	27%	16%	46%	531
300 - 399 DM	13	38	15	34	161
400 DM and more	22	34	21	23	96
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	19%	27%	17%	37%	364
40 years and over	8	33	15	44	433
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	11%	40%	17%	32%	179
CDU/CSU	15	31	13	41	122
FDP	13	46	30	11	37
Other parties	22	30	21	27	63
No party	15	27	15	43	235
Don't know	8	20	14	58	162
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	46%	18%	18%	18%	22
Businessmen	15	23	21	41	90
White collar workers	14	33	14	39	125
Skilled laborers	17	37	15	31	156
Semi-skilled laborers	11	29	18	42	103
Farmers	11	28	19	42	92
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	8	32	10	50	131
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	13%	31%	13%	43%	388
Protestants	13	28	19	40	380
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	13%	29%	15%	43%	627
Refugees, Expellees	15	34	19	32	172

UN INTERVENTION IN KOREA WAS RIGHT ...

Finally, a further note of confidence is struck when the question of the correctness of the UN decision to intervene in the Korean conflict is raised. In retrospect, the intervention of the United Nations is judged to have been right by more than four times the number considering it as wrong (56% to 12%).

"When you consider the Korean conflict as a whole, do you think it was right for the United Nations to have intervened in Korea or was it not right in your opinion?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Right	56%	57%	55%	57%
Not right	12	12	12	10
No opinion	32	31	33	33
	100%	100%	100%	100%

CRITICS OF UN INTERVENTION GIVE THEIR REASONS ...

The minority believing the United Nations had no right to intervene in Korea brings up a variety of arguments most of which appear to be based on a common failing of memory: that the intervention of the UN followed North Korean aggression against South Korea. From the reasoning of this group it could be assumed that all would have been peacefully negotiated in Korea had the UN kept out.

If "Not right": "Why are you of this opinion?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

UN (Americans) have no right to interfere:

Because Korea was no business of the Americans; they had not lost anything out there; they should not have interfered; everybody should look after his own business - I think that they had enough to do in their own country; the Americans carry quarrels and unrest everywhere in Germany as well as in Korea - they never had anything to do with Korea; it was none of the business of the United Nations to meddle in the affairs of a people; etc.

4% 5% 3% 4%

Koreans (Asiatics) should settle their differences

by themselves: They should beat each other up alone - why meddle?; without interference the Koreans would have settled everything in their country; that should have been left up to the Koreans; they are Asian people - one should not be concerned with every unlaid egg - Korea to the Koreans, America to the Americans; the Koreans are responsible for their own country; etc.

3 3 3 1

(cont'd on next page)

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

A peaceful solution should have been attempted - interference brought considerable increase of tensions: Could have been solved peacefully - at least it should have been attempted; they only increased the conflict by interfering; then matters would not have gotten out of hand; perhaps the war will spread out now; the danger of war increased considerably - they should have left it to the Koreans to settle; etc.

2%	2%	3%	2%
----	----	----	----

Result was the senseless loss of human lives and the devastation of the country: Because then great bloodshed would have been avoided; they have shown too many weaknesses already and many human lives were sacrificed; many people were needlessly lost - what's it to us whether Korea is Communist or not?; the country is devastated and the people homeless - nothing has come of it; if the United Nations had not interfered, the people would not have suffered so much; etc.

2	2	2	1
---	---	---	---

Other opinions: Because the capitalists suppressed the South and America supported them; since they didn't reach their goal it was wrong; they did not reach their objective - America should have fought by herself in South Korea as a protective power - they would have learned then whether they were up to it or not; because of this interference the strength of the United Nations is too divided; because the Soviet Union will get what she wants anyway; etc.

$\frac{2}{13\%}$ *	$\frac{1}{13\%}$ *	$\frac{1}{12\%}$	$\frac{2}{10\%}$
--------------------	--------------------	------------------	------------------

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON UN INTERVENTION

The preponderant sentiment among all segments of the West German population is that it was right that the United Nations intervened in Korea.

"When you consider the Korean conflict as a whole, do you think it was right for the United Nations to have intervened in Korea, or was it not right in your opinion?"

	Right	No right	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	68%	13%	19% ... 100%	373
Women	46	11	43	426
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	54%	11%	35%	662
Beyond elementary school	64	17	19	138
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Under 299 DM	52%	12%	36%	531
300 - 399 DM	65	9	26	161
400 DM and more	71	16	13	96
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	62%	12%	26%	364
40 years and over	51	12	37	433
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	61%	19%	20%	179
CDU/CSU	63	7	30	122
FDP	86	-	14	37
Other parties	63	13	24	63
No party	52	12	36	235
Don't know	41	11	48	162
<u>Occupations:</u>				
Professionals	68%	14%	18%	22
Businessmen	59	9	32	90
White collar workers	56	16	28	125
Skilled laborers	61	13	26	156
Semi-skilled laborers	56	13	31	103
Farmers	65	8	27	92
None; pensioners, students, retired, etc.	44	13	43	131
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	56%	11%	33%	388
Protestants	56	12	32	380
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	54%	13%	33%	627
Refugees, Expellees	64	9	27	172

Classification cancelled
by authority of Leop. C.
PUB/RAS

A NOTE ON WEST GERMAN
REACTIONS TO ENDING THE STATE OF WAR

August 23, 1951

R E S T R I C T E D

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

RESTRICTED

INTRODUCTION

As part of a larger survey on current political issues, the West German public was queried regarding the recent Allied decision to end the state of war with Germany. The survey in which the questions were included utilized the stratified probability sample of 800 cases representing a scientifically constructed cross-section of the West German public.

Interviewing was done under German auspices under contract with a newly established German opinion research organization - Deutsches Institut fuer Volksumfragen (DIVO).

High standards of work are assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that most of the members are ex-RAS interviewers with several years of experience in the techniques of survey research.

THE FINDINGS IN BRIEF

- ... Seven in 10 know of the Allied decision to end the state of war with Germany.
- ... Contrary to views expressed by various West German publicists and politicians, six in 10 West Germans regard this step as signifying marked progress toward the achievement of German equality.

THE FINDINGS IN DETAIL

THE MAJORITY KNOWS OF THE ALLIED DECISION TO END STATE OF WAR ...

Awareness of the Allied step is extensive - seven in 10 West Germans know that the three Western Occupying powers have decided to end the state of war with Germany.

"Have you heard that several Allied nations recently ended the state of war with Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Yes	68%	70%	66%	64%
No	32	30	34	36

The customary pattern in informational queries prevails, leadership groups being more frequently informed than their counterparts. Worthy of note is the finding that the "native" Germans show less awareness of the Allied move than do refugees and expellees.

"Have you heard that several Allied nations recently ended the state of war with Germany?"

	Yes	No	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>WEST GERMANY</u>				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	85%	13%	2%	373
Women	52	45	3	426
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	64	33	3	662
Beyond elementary school	84	15	1	138
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	60	37	3	531
300 - 399 DM	80	19	1	161
400 DM and more	90	8	2	96
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	68	31	1	364
40 years and over	68	29	3	433
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	80	18	2	179
CDU/CSU	61	37	2	122
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	84	16	-	37
Other parties	71	29	-	63
No party	70	27	3	235
Don't know	51	46	3	162
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	91	9	-	22
Businessmen	74	21	5	90
White-collar workers	84	14	2	125
Skilled laborers	71	28	1	156
Semi-skilled laborers	61	38	1	103
Farmers	51	48	1	92
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	66	20	6	131
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	65	33	2	388
Protestants	69	29	2	380
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	66	31	3	627
Refugees, Expellees	84	15	1	130

PREVAILING ATTITUDE APPRECIATIVE OF THE MOVE ...

Contrary to the views expressed by many newspaper and radio commentators, as well as by certain politicians, the prevailing attitude of the public is that the Allied move represents a considerable step toward West German equalization with other countries.

This finding underscores the general caution that publicists' expression of attitudes does not necessarily represent the general climate of public opinion.

"Do you consider this fact a considerable step forward on the road to equality for West Germany or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Considerable step forward	59%	59%	62%	49%
Not very considerable	18	19	15	21
No opinion	23	22	23	30
	100%	100%	100%	100%

The pessimistic expressions of the minority which takes a doubtful view of the Allied move seems to be based largely on a skepticism toward the intent of the Allied nations - that is, that the step is a mere formality signifying no real change in the German-Allied relationship; that it was done only to appease the Germans and to buy them for Western rearmament purposes; etc.

"Do you consider this fact a considerable step forward on the road toward equality for West Germany or not?"

IF: "Not very considerable": "Why are you of this opinion?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
--------------	--------------	---------	-------------

Nothing has been changed (the occupation of Germany is continued, Germany has no say and is still being used): Nothing has been changed so far; it will not bring about a change, the same tactics of using Germany are being applied; the attitude of other nations towards Germany will not alter, see France; nothing was changed, for instance France keeps the same attitude; it does not mean a thing as long as the occupation authorities have got the say; because in spite of everything we have nothing to say, our Bundes Chancellor gets his orders from the Petersberg; we are an occupied country and shall remain so in the future; as the occupation army is staying on; that is nothing - Germany remains split up, we shall not be asked our opinion in the Saar problem or about the coal question; etc.

6% 8% 7% 9%

It was a mere formality and a gesture:

Because it is nothing but a formal gesture as the state of war has not been officially ended; in spite of all this Germans continue to be considered as war criminals; for the time being it is a beautiful gesture, but we want to see action; a mere formality, actually the war did end more than 6 years ago; it is a mere formality, everything remains as it was; it is a gesture without consequences, nothing else; etc.

3 3 3 6

(Cont'd on next page)

WEST British US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

Because this is no real peace as we want it: As long as we have no real peace we are handicapped; it was necessary, but we need real peace; we have no real peace yet; to end the state of war does not mean peace; because it is no real peace treaty yet; it does not mean a thing to us as long as we have not got a proper peace treaty; we don't know the conditions for the peace treaty yet which we shall have to comply with; no peace negotiations have been made yet; etc.

3% 3% 3% 2%

It was merely done in order to make us pliant to their purposes, especially in view to re-militarization: It was done to counter-act the opposition to military life, it is meant to buy us; we still have got nothing to say, the others just want to use this measure, they don't really take an interest in us; it is just a momentary act of policy from the American side to win us over to their purposes; what should be changed - I have not noticed anything yet, they will still take more advantage of us under the cloak of an army; it is just a pretext in order to win Germany over for remilitarization; etc.

2 3 1 1

It will remain useless unless all states participate and change their attitude:

Russia did not share in it, so it is of no use; as long as not all powers participate we shall not gain anything; as long as our ex-enemies don't make peace with us it will remain a fictitious solution; etc.

1 1 1 -

Others:

The Western powers admit it themselves; to end the state of war with Germany is nothing but a necessary evil as everything has to come to an end sooner or later; the attitudes of the states concerned differ too much from another; etc.

1 1 1 3

No answer / No opinion

* 16% * 19% - 16%** 1 22%**

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

In no case does a group depart from the general attitude, although in some segments there is a fairly large number who express no opinion.

"Do you consider this fact a considerable step forward on the road to equality for West Germany or not?"

	Considerable step forward	Not very considerable	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	66%	25%	9%	373
Women	53	11	36	426
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	57	17	26	662
Beyond elementary school	65	23	12	138
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	50	14	28	531
300 - 399 DM	61	25	14	161
400 DM and more	60	24	0	96
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	58	20	22	364
40 years and over	60	16	24	433
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	69	19	12	179
CDU/CSU	71	11	18	122
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	65	19	16	37
Other parties	60	24	16	63
No party	53	22	25	235
Don't know	45	13	42	162
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	64	36	-	22
Businessmen	62	19	19	90
White-collar workers	59	24	17	125
Skilled laborers	60	20	20	156
Semi-skilled laborers	55	22	23	103
Farmers	59	13	28	92
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	63	11	26	131
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	61	15	24	388
Protestants	56	20	24	380
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	59	10	23	627
Refugees, Expellees	60	17	23	172

Mr. Mildred B. Allen
Asst. Dir. Pub. Aff.
10-10

Classified by [illegible] on [illegible]

WEST GERMAN REACTIONS TO THE PROJECTED
AMERICAN-SPANISH MILITARY AND ECONOMIC PACT

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Report No. 93 changed to
Series No. 24
August 24, 1951

Classified by [illegible]
by [illegible] P. Crespi

CONFIDENTIAL

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION ...

The following report on West German reactions to the projected American plan of establishing military and economic relations with Spain is based on a survey made by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, during the period July 27th to August 8th, 1951.

As part of a continuing program of assessment of west German reactions to problems of German defense participation, the last two surveys of the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, devoted part of their attention to defense issues.

The surveys were conducted between July 12th and 20th and between July 27th and August 8th, and utilized in each instance the 800 case probability sample established by RAS for rapid coverage of West German opinion on significant current developments.

As will be the pattern in future RAS studies, interviewing was performed under German auspices under contract with a newly established German opinion research organization - Deutsches Institut fuer Volksumfragen (DIVO).

High standards of work are assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that most of the members are ex-RAS interviewers with several years of experience in the techniques of survey research.

HIGHLIGHTS ...

A summary of the major findings that emerge from the survey are as follows:

- ... There is fairly widespread awareness in West Germany of the American effort to establish military and economic relations with Spain.
- ... The West German population, in general, approves of this plan.
- ... Of those who are aware of, and favor the plan, a majority in all zones gives as the basis for their approval the political and military importance of Spain to the West.
- ... Although almost half of the population can give no opinion on the form of government existing in Spain, a majority of those who claim an opinion are prepared to say that Spain is under a dictatorial rather than a democratic form of government.
- ... Knowledge of the type of Spain's government appears to have little bearing on attitudes pro and con the Spanish-American agreement.
- ... Bringing Spain into the West European defense system would probably be more favorably received by the West German population than would the admission of Yugoslavia, although a preponderance would also favor such action.

- a -

CONFIDENTIAL

NEARLY HALF KNOW OF PROJECTED U.S.-SPANISH MILITARY PACT...

At the time of the survey almost half of the German population questioned was aware of the American move to establish military and economic relations with Spain. Approximately the same proportion had not heard of this plan, and the remaining 7 per cent claimed that America was not considering such an alliance.

"Do you happen to know whether or not America is planning to establish military and economic relations with Spain?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Yes, plans to	44%	46%	43%	38%
No, does not	7	9	4	4
No opinion	<u>49</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>58</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

Group breakdowns on extent of awareness disclose the usual pattern of greater awareness among leadership groups - the men, the better educated, the higher economic and occupational groups. Comparative figures are presented on the following page.

CONFIDENTIAL

"Do you happen to know whether or not America is planning to establish military and economic relations with Spain?"

	Yes, is planning	No, is not planning	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	69%	5%	26% ... 100%	373
Women	23	8	69	426
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	40%	7%	53%	662
Beyond elementary school	65	7	28	138
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	35%	7%	58%	531
300 - 399 DM	59	8	33	161
400 DM and more	71	5	24	96
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	42%	7%	51%	364
40 years and over	46	6	48	433
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	55%	6%	39%	179
CDU/CSU	38	12	50	122
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	73	8	19	37
Other parties	46	1	53	63
No party	48	4	48	235
Don't know	25	8	67	162
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	73%	4%	27%	22
Businessmen	50	5	45	90
White-collar workers	62	5	33	125
Skilled laborers	51	8	41	156
Semi-skilled laborers	37	8	55	103
Farmers	31	9	60	92
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	37	4	59	131
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	41%	8%	51%	388
Protestants	46	5	49	380
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	44%	7%	49%	627
Refugees, Expellees	44	6	50	172

EXTENT OF AGREEMENT WITH PLAN IS APPROVED ...

Queried whether they would favor or oppose America's establishing economic and military relations with Spain, half of the West German respondents state that they would approve of such a move. Only 5 per cent view the plan unfavorably, while a large fraction (46%) of the population express no opinion.

"Would you welcome or oppose America's establishing such relations with Spain?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Welcome it	49%	49%	50%	47%
Oppose it	5	6	3	2
No opinion	<u>46</u> 100%	<u>45</u> 100%	<u>47</u> 100%	<u>51</u> 100%

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

In general, approval of the plan is expressed to a greater extent by those groups most frequently aware of it - that is, the men, the better educated, upper income groups, etc. Their less informed counterparts, however, do not tend more frequently to oppose it but are only much less inclined to express any opinion.

In none of the groups examined does opposition to the projected American action depart significantly from the one-in-twenty figure that characterizes the population as a whole.

"Would you welcome or oppose America's establishing such relations with Spain?"

	Welcome it	Oppose it	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	66%	7%	27% ... 100%	373
Women	36	2	62	426
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	46%	5%	49%	662
Beyond elementary school	65	4	31	138
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	43%	4%	53%	531
300 - 399 DM	62	4	34	161
400 DM and more	69	8	23	96
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	52%	4%	44%	364
40 years and over	48	5	47	433
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	63%	7%	30%	179
CDU/CSU	54	3	43	122
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	78	-	22	37
Other parties	51	8	41	63
No party	45	3	52	235
Don't know	31	5	64	162
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	73%	4%	23%	22
Businessmen	53	1	46	90
White-collar workers	60	5	35	125
Skilled laborers	53	5	42	156
Semi-skilled laborers	45	8	47	103
Farmers	46	3	51	92
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	42	5	53	131
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	49%	3%	48%	388
Protestants	49	5	46	380
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	49%	5%	46%	627
Refugees, Expellees	52	5	43	172

REASONS FOR AGREEMENT ...

The arguments most frequently advanced by those who approve of the plan are in terms of the political and military value of Spain to the West in the struggle against the East.

Internationalism, Europeanism, a further step toward world peace, and Spain's opposition to Communism are also mentioned, but only by a relatively small percentage of the respondents.

"Would you welcome or oppose America's establishing such relations with Spain?"

If "Welcome it": "Why would you welcome this?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Spain is politically and militarily important to the West and a valuable ally in the fight against the East; Spain strengthens the defense against Communism to a considerable extent; Spain could support the West in the fight against Bolshevism; it could be of advantage to the Americans if they had one more nation on their side against the Russians; Spain is a firm bulwark against Communism from the East; because Europe can only be defended with Spanish aid; because by that Spain will be included in the Atlantic Pact and strengthen it; because of her geographic position Spain is an important strategic base without which the Atlantic powers could not do very well; Spain would have an important position in a war with Russia; Spain is because of Gibraltar an important country in Western Europe - besides experienced in fighting Communism; because there would be a greater power confronting the East; that will naturally strengthen Europe; any help against the East has to be acceptable to the West - economic aid to Spain would help to establish a strong bulwark against the East; etc.	24%	23%	26%	24%

It is a further step on the road toward world peace and understanding among nations (understanding between Spain and the West): It is a step forward on the road to understanding among nations and strengthening of world peace; it is always good when the nations understand each other; so the quarrel between Spain and the Western powers will be buried; that is progress toward understanding and the end to an old quarrel; if all nations agree the danger of war can be eliminated; that will perhaps help to secure peace which is our heart's desire; so that the tensions between Spain and England and Spain and France will stop and the West will stick together; it is to everybody's advantage if there is peace among the nations; etc.

6 6 6 3

(cont'd on next page)

WEST
GERMANY British
Zone US
Zone French
Zone

Spain belongs to Europe and to the whole Western world - she is as much in danger as the other countries: Because Spain belongs to Europe too; Spain belongs to mid-Europe and to the West; Spain also belongs to the West and America cannot create an enemy for herself who'll stab her in the back; if America joins Western Europe in the fight against Communism Spain belongs to it too - America is more farsighted than England and France; America wants a lasting peace with Spain so she can't join the East - she belongs to the West anyway; because Spain is in the same danger as all the other nations; etc.

6% 7% 5% 4%

The Spanish people oppose Communism: They were always opposed to Communism; because Spain fought Communism a long time ago; because Spain is opposed to Communism too; the Spanish fought Communism once and are still opposed to Communism; Franco is a veteran in the fight against Communism; it is necessary that they lift the ban on Spain since she is a country that has fought Communism actively, it is also not right to oppose such a country for the only reason that her form of government is not appreciated by America; because Spain is one of the best fighters of Communism; etc.

4 4 5 7

It has a favorable influence on economic relations between the countries: Merely for economic reasons which might turn out to our advantage; better trade relations between all countries; for the exchange of goods - after the peace treaty we'll have a regulated economic exchange; for economic reasons; etc.

3 3 3 1

Spain is a friend to Germany: Spain sided with Germany during the war and therefore we can only be too glad if they support Spain; Spain was always a friend of Germany; Spain won't leave us in the lurch; etc.

2 1 1 2

The Spanish are a decent and Christian people: Spain is a decent nation - they should be glad to get such an ally; Spain has always kept a decent and neutral attitude; because it is a Christian country; besides it is good and Christian; etc.

1 1 1 3

Other opinions: I can't think of any reason why Spain should not be included; it used to be like that in the past; if they ally themselves with Tito they can do the same with Franco - he is less dangerous than Tito; that America is making progress and that we'll be better off for that; because then everybody must stick together; because every alliance is important; etc.

4 4 5 5

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{2}{52\%}$ $\frac{2}{51\%}$ $\frac{1}{53\%}$ $\frac{-}{49\%}$

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

REASONS AGAINST PLAN ...

The few respondents who oppose the U.S. move to establish military and economic relations with Spain, argue that Spain cannot be relied upon, that she let Germany down before (therefore, by implication, would let others down), and that the democratic nations should not form an alliance with a dictatorship. Also mentioned is the opinion that America would only be using Spain, rather than trying to establish a system of mutual aid.

"Would you welcome or oppose America's establishing such relations with Spain?"

If "Oppose it": "Why would you?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>Spain has a dictatorship:</u> Spain is an authoritarian state; because Spain is under dictatorship; it surprises me that the democratic America should take up relations with Fascist Spain; Franco is no democrat; Franco is a dictator; etc.	1%	2%	1%	2%
<u>Spain cannot be relied upon:</u> One cannot rely on Spain; Spain has nothing to boast of, Spain let Germany down; Spain can as little be trusted as Italy; you never know whether Franco has honest intentions; the Spaniards are not honest and trustworthy; etc.	1	1	1	-
<u>It would be to Spain's disadvantage:</u> Because Spain would have to burn her fingers for America; it means no luck for Spain that America courts Spain's favor - we had no luck when America joined in the first world war, neither have we now, our economy is not free; because America just wants to use Spain for her own purposes; America endeavors to make Spain part of her defense system and to have economic advantages; etc.	1	1	1	-
<u>Other opinions:</u> America should rather be concerned about our future than that of Spain; etc.	1	2	*	-
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	$\frac{1}{5\%}$	$\frac{*}{6\%}$	$\frac{*}{3\%}$	$\frac{-}{2\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

SPAIN - DICTATORSHIP OR DEMOCRACY? ...

When asked to state the form of government existing in Spain, less than half of the respondents say a dictatorship, the same proportion holds no opinion, and a minority believes that Spain is closer to a democracy than to a dictatorship.

"Would you call the form of government in Spain closer to dictatorship or closer to democracy?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Dictatorship	43%	42%	45%	42%
Democracy	13	11	15	13
No opinion	<u>44</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>45</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

The usual pattern for informational responses appears in the figures for group breakdowns on knowledge of Spain's form of government (see following page). The men, the better educated, the higher income groups, and the higher occupational groups lead their counterparts, by a substantial number, in accuracy of information.

"Would you call the form of government in Spain closer to dictatorship or closer to democracy?"

	Dictatorship	Democracy	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	62%	14%	24% ... 100%	373
Women	28	11	61	426
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	40%	12%	48%	662
Beyond elementary school	61	14	25	138
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	36%	11%	53%	531
300 - 399 DM	58	17	25	161
400 DM and more	64	14	22	96
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	46%	11%	43%	364
40 years and over	42	14	44	433
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	53%	15%	32%	179
CDU/CSU	38	16	46	122
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	65	19	16	37
Other parties	48	22	30	63
No party	48	9	43	235
Don't know	24	8	68	162
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	50%	23%	27%	22
Businessmen	46	16	38	90
White-collar workers	59	14	27	125
Skilled laborers	47	13	40	156
Semi-skilled laborers	45	13	42	103
Farmers	36	13	51	92
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	33	8	59	131
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	40%	17%	43%	388
Protestants	46	8	46	380
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	42%	13%	45%	627
Refugees, Expellees	49	10	41	172

Awareness of the type of government Spain has appears not to have much bearing on pro and con attitudes toward a Spanish-American agreement. Those who know that Spain is a dictatorship are almost as inclined as those who mistakenly believe it is a democracy to approve the agreement, and no more likely to disapprove it. They do, however, more frequently than the misinformed, withhold judgment on the issue.

"Would you welcome or oppose America's establishing such relations with Spain?"

	Favor plan	Oppose plan	No opinion
Dictatorship	62%	8%	30% ... 100%
Democracy	78	4	18

WEST GERMANS WOULD APPROVE SPAIN'S ENTRY INTO ATLANTIC PACT ...

Not only does the preponderance of German opinion approve of the U.S. move to reach a military agreement with Spain, but it is even more strongly in favor of admitting Spain to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. This is revealed in findings of a previous survey made during July 12th - 20th.* At that time, over half (57%) of the total population questioned felt that Spain should be admitted to NATO, while only 9 per cent opposed her admission.

"And do you think Spain should be admitted to this defense pact (Atlantic Pact) or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Yes	57%	56%	59%	53%
No	9	9	8	12
No opinion	<u>34</u> 100%	<u>35</u> 100%	<u>33</u> 100%	<u>35</u> 100%

* This survey, which dealt largely with various East-West issues, was conducted in West Germany by RAS as part of an international survey being made in seven European countries. As such, the various issues were not explored in detail, as the purpose of the study is to arrive at an over-all international comparison of attitudes. The inter-country comparisons will be reported by the International Public Opinion Research, Inc., New York.

YUGOSLAVIA'S ADMISSION TO PACT MORE APPROVED THAN DISAPPROVED ...

In the same survey the question of admission to the Atlantic Pact was also put with respect to Yugoslavia. Comparative results indicate that bringing Spain into the West European defense system would be more favorably received by the West German public than would the admission of Yugoslavia, though a preponderance would also approve of that. As may be noted in the table below, only 36 per cent favor Yugoslavia's entry into NATO, as compared with 57 per cent for Spain, and opposition is correspondingly more frequent.

"In your opinion, should Yugoslavia be admitted to this defense pact (Atlantic Pact) or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Yes, should	36%	35%	39%	32%
No, should not	22	20	22	26
No opinion	<u>42</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>42</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

Among leadership groups, about seven in ten on the average believe Spain should be admitted to the Atlantic Pact. These same elements also predominantly would approve the admission of Yugoslavia, but with a smaller preponderance than in the case of Spain.

"And do you think Spain should be admitted to this defense pact or not?"

	Yes	No	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	75%	11%	14% ... 100%	372
Women	40	8	52	427
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	53%	9%	38%	659
Beyond elementary school	75	8	17	140
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	51%	9%	40%	547
300 - 399 DM	63	13	24	136
400 DM and more	79	7	14	106
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	64%	9%	27%	331
40 years and over	51	9	40	457
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	60%	16%	24%	174
CDU/CSU	68	5	27	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	86	-	14	43
Other parties	67	13	20	55
No party	52	10	38	220
Don't know	35	6	59	150
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	73%	7%	20%	30
Businessmen	70	11	19	91
White-collar workers	58	10	32	99
Skilled laborers	60	8	32	144
Semi-skilled laborers	49	11	40	123
Farmers	59	5	36	105
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	49	12	39	130
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	58%	9%	33%	380
Protestants	54	8	38	378
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	57%	9%	34%	642
Refugees, Expellees	56	9	35	157

"In your opinion, should Yugoslavia be admitted to this defense pact or not?"

Yes, should No, should not No opinion No. of cases:

WEST GERMANY

Sex:

	Yes, should	No, should not	No opinion	No. of cases
Men	51%	27%	22% ... 100%	372
Women	22	17	61	427

Education:

	Yes, should	No, should not	No opinion	No. of cases
Elementary school	32%	21%	47%	659
Beyond elementary school	55	23	22	140

Income (per month):

	Yes, should	No, should not	No opinion	No. of cases
0 - 299 DM	32%	21%	47%	547
300 - 399 DM	44	24	32	136
400 DM and more	48	25	27	106

Age:

	Yes, should	No, should not	No opinion	No. of cases
Under 40 years	40%	24%	36%	331
40 years and over	33	20	47	457

Party Preference:

	Yes, should	No, should not	No opinion	No. of cases
SPD	43%	27%	30%	174
CDU/CSU	39	26	35	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	58	14	28	43
Other parties	46	27	27	55
No party	34	21	45	220
Don't know	19	12	69	150

Occupation:

	Yes, should	No, should not	No opinion	No. of cases
Professionals	43%	23%	34%	30
Businessmen	47	19	34	91
White-collar workers	45	22	33	99
Skilled laborers	37	22	41	144
Semi-skilled laborers	36	21	43	123
Farmers	29	25	46	105
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	30	22	48	130

Religion:

	Yes, should	No, should not	No opinion	No. of cases
Catholics	32%	27%	41%	380
Protestants	39	16	45	378

Origin:

	Yes, should	No, should not	No opinion	No. of cases
Natives	35%	23%	42%	642
Refugees, Expellees	38	18	44	157

THE VIEWS OF WEST GERMANS
ON THE DEFENSE OF WEST EUROPE

Further Trends on Participation in
The Western Defense System and

~~Classification~~ changed to
OFFICIAL USE ONLY

by ~~author~~ of Leo P. Crespi

Series No. 2
August 27, 1951

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

C O N F I D E N T I A L

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION

This report contains the most recent findings obtained by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, in the study of the trend of West German reactions to participation in the West European defense system, as well as attitudes toward other West German defense issues. Also included are reactions to the question of West European defense in the light of a possible Korean truce and in the framework of the larger East-West struggle. The results reported were obtained in two surveys conducted throughout West Germany, the first, made during July 10-20, the second, July 27 - August 8, 1951, utilizing the 800 cases probability sample established by RAS for rapid coverage of West German opinions on significant current developments.

As will be the pattern in future RAS studies, interviewing was performed under German auspices under contract with a newly established German opinion research organization - Deutsches Institut fuer Volksumfragen (DIVO).

High standards of work are assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that most of the members are ex-RAS interviewers with several years of experience in the techniques of survey research.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

I. DEFENSE PARTICIPATION TRENDS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD OTHER WEST GERMAN DEFENSE ISSUES

... Extent of West German approval of defense participation continues to fluctuate somewhat with the climate of events over the past few months, but has definitely shifted from the neck and neck approval-disapproval in early May to an appreciable preponderance of favorable reactions. There is as yet, however, in the series of complete West German surveys, no firm indication of approval achieving clear majority status.

... Support for participation in an Atlantic Pact army continues to be most widespread among the better educated and informed elements of the West German population - men, the better schooled, and the better paid.

It is particularly to be noted in the group breakdowns that a majority of the men (almost two out of three in the last two surveys) support Atlantic Pact participation of West Germany. It is among the women that doubts preponderate with 38 per cent for, 39 against, and 23 per cent undecided in the most recent sampling.

... As it becomes clear that any German entry into European defense will be decided by West German political leaders, rather than by a referendum, the significant question in German public opinion becomes the possible popular reaction to a Bonn agreement to participate. The results of the latest survey closely parallel a prior one in indicating that the large bulk of the German people can be expected to go along if their Bonn leaders agree to participate.

... Not only is the large preponderance of the West German public prepared to accept a decision of the Federal Republic to participate in the West European defense system, but the dominant opinion is that such participation is inevitable.

... The small fraction holding that West German participation in West European defense is not likely soon, argue that it will not occur because the people are fed up with war and armies, or that the Germans do not want to pull other people's chestnuts out of the fire.

- 2 -

C O N F I D E N T I A L

- ... That West Germany will sooner or later join the Western defense system is the majority position among all West German population groups. This viewpoint is particularly widespread, however, among leadership elements - persons with more than elementary schooling, those in the higher income brackets, and the men. Younger people also seem somewhat more inclined than the older to hold that participation is inevitable - though the difference is not large enough to be entirely reliable. Worthy of note too is the finding that adherents of the Social Democratic Party do not differ from CDU sympathizers on this issue.
- ... If there should be a West German contribution to the West European army, the preponderance of those with opinions (49%) would like to see German troops commanded by some former German general. However, almost a fifth (17%) are opposed, and a third (34%) have not made up their minds.
- ... No one former German general is named by any appreciable proportion of the public. Indeed, almost half of those who would like to see such a person in command of any German contingent in the West European army are unable to specify anyone by name. This finding suggests that any of the former generals that the Bonn Government and the Western Allies might consider desirable for such an appointment would probably prove acceptable to the German public.

II. EFFECT OF A KOREAN PEACE ON WEST EUROPEAN DEFENSE ISSUES

- ... Though a recently completed study revealed considerable awareness of and interest in the Korean truce talks among the West German public, the prevailing mood (55%) is that a Korean armistice would not influence one way or another West German thinking on defense participation. Only 12% believe that West Germans would be more inclined to take part if the Korean conflict ended, and fewer still (4%) take the opposite view - saying people would then be less ready to participate. The remaining 29% are unprepared to judge.
- ... The very few who believe that a Korean truce would cause West Germans to be less eager to join the West European defense pact reiterate the claim that the Germans are fed up with armies and war, or state that fear of new aggression would decline.
- ... Peace in Korea would not mean a slackening of American efforts in behalf of West European defense according to the bulk of the population with opinions on the matter. On the contrary, the predominant view (41%) is that the end of the Korean war would result in increased American arms aid to West Europe, and almost as many (31%) expect no change in the amount of aid. Only a miniscule 2% foresee a falling-off of American efforts.

III. WEST EUROPEAN DEFENSE IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE EAST-WEST STRUGGLE

- ... Confidence in the value of U.S. military aid to West Europe is clearly demonstrated in results of inquiries put to the West German public in the mid-July survey. These inquiries sought to ascertain how the public assessed West European chances of turning back a Russian attack with and without American military aid.
- ... There is widespread confidence that the US will not leave West Europe in the lurch, should Russia attack. Three-fourths of the West German public believe that if Russia should invade a West European country, the US would do everything in its power to help West Europe. Only 10% take the contrary position, and 15% do not express an opinion.

- b -

C O N F I D E N T I A L

- ... If the US should fail to come to West Europe's aid in the event of a Russian invasion, there is no chance of preventing the Soviets from overrunning all of Europe, according to a very large majority of West Germans (80%).
- ... But the large preponderance of those who believe West Europe alone could not turn the Russians back, think it could be done with the help of American troops and arms. Thus, 51% of the total West German public are optimistic of stemming a Russian invasion of Europe, given active American military aid, 18% believe even then it would not be possible, and 11% do not know.
- ... Not so many believe that even US aid would be enough to stop the Russians at the Elbe. Nevertheless, the opinion that they could be prevented from overrunning West Germany, provided there was active American help, outweighs the contrary view by a two to one margin.
- ... The fact that active American aid is deemed necessary to stop the Russians from occupying West Germany, as well as West Europe, does not mean that defeatism characterizes West German thinking. Surveys made in June and in mid-July reveal that three quarters of the West German public claim they would personally advocate fighting "with all means" against aggression from the East. (These results were obtained prior to the issuance of the East Zone White Book, and Herr Grotewohl's press conference foreshadowing an East German campaign to sabotage West German defense efforts. Further investigation of trends in these attitudes will give some indication of the effectiveness of this campaign.
- ... A preponderance of the West German public (48%) believes that the armament industry should be re-established in West Germany as a means of building up defenses against a possible Eastern attack. However, as many as three in 10 are opposed to West German arms production, and two in 10 do not express an opinion on the issue.
- ... Advocates of West German participation in the West European defense system largely favor West German armament production. Conversely, opponents of such defense participation are generally against West German arms manufacture, which supports previous findings indicating that those who disapprove of a West German army, also oppose in general any West German defense efforts. In line with these findings is the fact that the greater the confidence in the West's ability to withstand a possible Russian attack, the greater is the inclination to advocate West German arms production.

- o -

C O N F I D E N T I A L

I. DEFENSE PARTICIPATION TRENDS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD OTHER
WEST GERMAN DEFENSE ISSUES

APPROVAL CONTINUES TO OUTWEIGH DISAPPROVAL ...

Extent of West German approval of defense participation continues to fluctuate somewhat with the climate of events over the past few months, but has definitely shifted from the neck and neck approval-disapproval in early May to an appreciable preponderance of favorable reactions. There is as yet, however, in the series of complete West German surveys, no firm indication of approval achieving clear majority status.

"Several West European nations and America some time ago signed a defense pact, the so-called Atlantic Pact. Suppose West Germany would join the Atlantic pact and be asked in connection with it to participate in a general army for the defense of Europe. Would you then be for or against such participation in a defense army?"

WEST GERMANY	Mar 7-15	Apr/May 30-11	May/June 29-5	June 16-23	July 12-20	July/Aug 27-8
For it	48%	43%	43%	46%	54%	49%
Against it	40	43	36	33	29	35
No opinion	<u>12</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>16</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
British Zone						
For it	48%	47%	45%	47%	57%	51%
Against it	39	38	34	32	24	30
No opinion	<u>13</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>19</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
US Zone						
For it	51%	40%	46%	47%	55%	48%
Against it	39	48	35	34	33	41
No opinion	<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>11</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
French Zone						
For it	31%	36%	31%	35%	44%	43%
Against it	49	48	41	35	38	38
No opinion	<u>14</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>19</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Berlin*						
For it	79%	-%	78%	75%	-%	-%
Against it	15	-	14	19	-	-
No opinion	<u>6</u>	-	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	-	-
	100%	-%	100%	100%	-%	-%

* No surveys were made in Berlin on open dates.

GROUP TRENDS ON THE PARTICIPATION ISSUE ...

Support for participation in an Atlantic Pact army continues to be most widespread among the better educated and informed elements of the West German population - men, the better schooled, and the better paid. (See following pages.)

It is particularly to be noted in the group breakdowns that a majority of the men (almost two out of three in the last two surveys) support Atlantic Pact participation for West Germany. It is among the women that doubts preponderate with 38 per cent for, 39 against, and 23 per cent undecided in the most recent sampling.

"Several West European nations and America some time ago signed a defense pact, the so-called Atlantic Pact. Suppose West Germany would join the Atlantic Pact and be asked in connection with it to participate in a general army for the defense of Europe. Would you then be for or against such participation in a defense army?"

WEST GERMANY

	For participation						Against participation						No opinion						No. of cases*
	Mar	Apr/ May	May/ June	June	July/ Aug.	July/ Aug.	Mar	Apr/ May	May/ June	June	July/ Aug.	July/ Aug.	Mar	Apr/ May	May/ June	June	July/ Aug.	July/ Aug.	
<u>WEST GERMANY</u>																			
<u>7-15 30-11 29-5 16-23 12-20 27-8</u>																			
Men	55%	53%	58%	59%	65%	62%	39%	42%	34%	29%	28%	30%	6%	5%	8%	12%	7%	4%	373
Women	42	33	33	36	46	38	40	44	36	36	29	39	10	23	31	28	25	23	426
Location:																			
Elementary school	45	41	39	42	52	45	41	44	37	34	30	38	14	15	24	24	18	17	651
Beyond elementary school	63	55	62	62	69	67	31	38	28	31	22	22	6	7	10	7	9	11	130
Age-occupational Status:																			
Lower	43	35	38	40	48	42	42	46	35	34	29	35	15	19	27	26	23	23	385
Middle and upper	53	51	51	53	61	56	37	40	36	32	29	35	10	9	13	15	10	9	414
Income (per month):																			
Under 299 DM	47	40	41	42	51	44	40	45	36	35	30	30	13	15	23	23	19	18	531
300 - 399 DM	52	44	51	55	55	54	38	43	33	29	31	35	10	13	16	16	14	11	161
400 DM and more	55	64	54	62	72	69	36	28	39	31	21	23	9	0	7	7	7	0	96
Other:																			
Under 40 years	47	46	44	44	53	48	42	42	38	36	35	39	11	12	18	20	14	13	364
40 years and over	49	41	43	47	55	50	38	43	33	32	26	32	13	16	24	22	19	18	433
Party Preference:																			
SPD	51	42	48	62	60	56	45	48	39	29	35	36	4	10	13	9	5	8	179
CDU/CSU	57	56	52	56	70	63	33	33	32	28	17	24	10	11	16	16	13	13	122
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDP	63	52	68	67	79	61	35	32	24	25	16	16	2	7	8	8	5	3	37
Other parties	62	52	65	58	64	52	33	40	28	38	31	37	5	8	7	4	5	11	63
No party	36	24	31	37	44	39	51	60	43	41	36	42	13	16	26	22	20	19	235
Don't know	37	34	30	20	37	37	34	38	29	32	28	35	29	28	41	40	35	28	162

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd on next page)

The number of cases indicated for various population groups in this and other breakdown tables refers specifically to the current survey. They are approximately similar, however, in prior surveys. In groups wherein the number of cases are few interpretations could be made with caution.

FEW WOULD RESIST A BONN AGREEMENT ON DEFENSE PARTICIPATION ...

As it becomes clear that any German entry into European defense will be decided by West German political leaders, rather than by a referendum, the significant question in German public opinion becomes how are the people likely to react to a Bonn agreement to participate. The results of the latest survey closely parallel a prior one in indicating that the large bulk of the German people can be expected to go along if their Bonn leaders agree to participate.

"Supposing the Western powers asked West Germany to participate in a West European army and the Federal government would consider the conditions for such participation acceptable and agree to it. What would be your opinion on it?"

	WEST GERMANY		Brit. Zone		US Zone		French Zone		Berlin	
	June 16-23	July/ Aug. 27-8	June 16-23	July/ Aug. 27-8	June 16-23	July/ Aug. 27-8	June 16-23	July/ Aug. 27-8	June 16-23	July/ Aug. 27-8
I would welcome this decision	22%	26%	22%	25%	21%	26%	20%	30%	43%	-
I would accept the fact even if I were not enthusiastic about it	45	45	45	48	46	43	47	40	42	-
I would oppose this decision, but would do nothing against it	13	14	13	11	13	20	14	17	3	-
I would oppose this decision and would do something against it	2	2	1	2	2	1	3	1	4	-
No opinion	$\frac{18}{100\%}$	$\frac{13}{100\%}$	$\frac{19}{100\%}$	$\frac{14}{100\%}$	$\frac{10}{100\%}$	$\frac{10}{100\%}$	$\frac{16}{100\%}$	$\frac{12}{100\%}$	$\frac{8}{100\%}$	$\frac{-}{100\%}$

Breakdown comparisons indicate that total opposition is rather uniformly among all West German population groups and in no group does potentially active opposition rise above five per cent.

"Supposing the Western powers asked West Germany to participate in a Western European army and the Federal government would consider the conditions for such participation acceptable and agree to it. What would be your opinion on it?"

	I would welcome this decision		I would accept the fact, even if I were not enthusiastic about it		I would oppose this decision but would do nothing against it		I would oppose this decision and would do something against it		No opinion		No. of cases:	
	June 16-23	July 27-8	June 16-23	July 27-8	June 16-23	July 27-8	June 16-23	July 27-8	June 16-23	July 27-8	June 16-23	July 27-8
WEST GERMANY												
Sex:												
Men	31%	35%	49%	44%	11%	13%	1%	3%	8%	5%	373	
Women	15	17	42	47	15	16	2	1	26	19	426	
Education:												
Elementary school	20	25	44	44	14	16	1	1	21	14	662	
Beyond elementary school	31	30	49	53	11	9	3	3	6	5	138	
Socio-economic Status:												
Lower	17	24	42	40	17	16	1	1	23	19	385	
Middle and upper	27	27	48	51	10	14	2	2	13	6	414	
Income(per month):												
Under 299 DM	20	26	44	43	14	16	1	1	21	14	531	
300 - 399 DM	24	25	46	50	14	11	2	3	14	11	161	
400 DM and more	33	29	51	54	8	11	3	4	5	2	96	
Age:												
Under 40 years	18	25	52	45	12	18	3	3	15	9	364	
40 years and over	24	27	40	46	15	12	1	1	20	14	433	
Party Preferences:												
SPD	27	31	53	47	12	12	-	4	8	6	179	
CDU/CSU	36	39	38	48	10	5	1	-	15	8	122	
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	25	30	64	51	3	6	-	-	8	5	37	
Other parties	27	18	40	49	21	17	-	2	4	14	63	
No party	14	18	45	43	18	24	3	2	20	13	235	
Don't know	11	22	37	42	13	12	1	1	38	23	162	
Occupation:												
Professionals	23	14	59	68	18	18	-	-	-	-	22	
Businessmen	27	21	51	55	12	12	3	1	7	11	90	
White-collar work	26	20	48	49	14	10	5	2	7	11	125	
Skilled laborers	18	22	51	46	16	16	1	5	14	11	156	
Semi-skilled laborers	18	23	45	45	17	20	1	4	19	8	103	
Farmers	25	33	44	40	4	15	-	-	27	12	92	
None: pensioners, students, re-tired, etc.	24	29	36	38	16	11	-	1	24	21	131	
Trade Union Membership:												
Yes, member	28	-	49	-	13	-	2	-	8	-	-	
No	20	-	44	-	14	-	2	-	20	-	-	
Religion:												
Catholics	20	26	44	46	14	14	2	2	20	12	388	
Protestants	23	26	46	45	12	14	1	2	18	13	380	
Origin:												
Natives	21	25	44	46	14	15	2	2	19	12	627	
Refugees, Expellees	23	27	49	44	12	12	-	1	16	16	172	

WEST GERMAN PARTICIPATION CONSIDERED INEVITABLE ...

Not only is the large preponderance of the West German public prepared to accept a decision of the Federal Republic to participate in the West European defense system, but the dominant opinion is that such participation is inevitable.

"Aside from whether you are for or against it, do you think that West Germany will sooner or later actually participate in a West European defense army or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
(July 27 - August 8)				
Will participate	73%	72%	76%	73%
Will not participate	7	7	6	8
No opinion	<u>20</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>19</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

The small fraction holding that West German participation in West European defense is not likely soon argue that it will not occur because the people are fed up with war and armies, or that the Germans do not want to pull other people's chestnuts out of the fire.

"Aside from whether you are for or against it, do you think that West Germany will sooner or later actually participate in a West European defense army or not?" IF: "Will not participate": "Why are you of this opinion?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Because people are fed up with armies and war: The people are fed up with war; we are tired of war; everybody who went through the war is fed up with it; because the people are tired of armies, soldiers and bombs; only calm and peace, not participating in anything which is connected with war; most Germans are against having soldiers again; because the German people don't want anymore, we have sacrificed enough men; etc.	1%	1%	3%	1%
The Germans are not interested in fighting other people's wars: No Germans are only supposed to stick our necks out, we don't want that; because the German himself is not permitted an army, he is not interested in participating in a European army; the Western powers don't want to let us Germans recover so easily - they rather want to exploit us; the people have suffered enough; what interest do we have in a new war to be put in as soldiers everywhere in the world by foreign powers?; etc.	1	1	1	-
Other opinions: Comparing the viewpoints of Adenauer and Schumanhor - both are in the right - however, the contrasts have to be cleared first; I just hope that the high officials are wise this time and don't let themselves be caught; because we have no aim that is worth fighting; etc.	2	2	2	2
No opinion / No answer	<u>* 7%</u>	<u>2 7%</u>	<u>* 6%</u>	<u>2 0%</u>

That West Germany will sooner or later join the Western defense system is the majority position among all West German population groups. This viewpoint is particularly widespread, however, among leadership elements - persons with more than elementary schooling, those in the higher income brackets, and the men. Younger people also seem somewhat more inclined than the older to hold that participation is inevitable - though the difference is not large enough to be entirely reliable. Worthy of note too is the finding that adherents of the Social Democratic Party do not differ from CDU sympathizers on this issue.

"Aside from whether you are for or against it, do you think that West Germany will sooner or later actually participate in a West European defense army or not?"

	Will participate	Will not participate	No opinion	No of cases
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	86%	6%	8%	373
Women	63	6	31	426
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	71	7	22	662
Beyond elementary school	85	6	9	138
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	69	6	25	531
300 - 399 DM	81	7	12	161
400 DM and more	87	6	7	96
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	77	7	16	364
40 years and over	71	6	23	433
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	79	7	14	179
CDU/CSU	76	6	18	122
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	89	6	5	37
Other parties	80	6	14	63
No party	72	8	20	235
Don't know	61	6	33	162
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	82	9	9	22
Businessmen	78	7	15	90
White-collar workers	77	4	19	125
Skilled laborers	76	7	17	156
Semi-skilled laborers	68	10	22	103
Farmers	72	10	18	92
Non-pensioners, students, retired, etc.	70	3	27	131
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	75	5	20	388
Protestants	71	8	21	380
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	74	6	20	627
Refugees, Expellees	73	6	21	172

C O N F I D E N T I A L

PREPONDERANCE FAVORABLE TO SOME FORMER GERMAN GENERALS IN COMMAND OF WEST GERMAN CONTINGENT ...

If there should be a West German contribution to the West European army, the preponderance of those with opinions (49%) would like to see German troops commanded by some former German general. However, almost a fifth (17%) are opposed, and a third (34%) have not made up their minds.

"Supposing West Germany were to participate in a West European army, are there any former German generals you would like to see in charge of the command of German troops?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
(July 27 - August 8)				
Yes, which	49%	56%	43%	34%
No, there are none	17	16	17	15
No opinion	34	28	39	51
	100%	100%	100%	100%

A suggested reason for the large proportion either opposed to having a German general in command of German troops or undecided on the issue is that only "former" generals are under consideration. Further investigation is required, however, to ascertain whether it is unimportant to many Germans to have one of their own men in command of German troops or whether this attitude merely reflects disinterest in former Wehrmacht generals.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

BUT NO ONE FORMER GENERAL STRONGLY PREFERRED ...

No one former German general is named by any appreciable proportion of the public. Indeed, almost half of those who would like to see such a person in command of any German contingent in the West European army are unable to specify anyone by name. This finding suggests that any of the former generals that the Bonn Government and the Western Allies might consider desirable for such an appointment would probably prove acceptable to the German public.

"Supposing West Germany were to participate in a West European army, are there any former German generals you would like to see charged with the command of German troops?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
There are some, but cannot give any names: I think most of them, but I don't know any names; I would not know to name them, but one of them at least; I don't know any but the names of the generals who were hanged; all of them; only those who opposed the Hitler regime - I don't know any names; there are many who have not committed any war crimes; I cannot name any, but I suppose there are many of them; I think there are some capable men; yes, we have many good generals; the ones who were formerly in charge; etc.	22%	23%	24%	12%
<u>Ramcke:</u>	9	11	8	7
<u>Kesselring:</u>	4	4	3	4
<u>Guderian:</u>	3	3	2	4
<u>von Manstein:</u>	2	3	*	1
<u>Brauchitsch:</u>	1	1	1	-
<u>Speidel:</u>	1	1	1	-
<u>von Falkenhausen:</u>	*	1	*	-
<u>Others:</u> Gen. Steiner; Obstlt. Herzberg; von Manteuffel; Heusinger; Saucken; Graf von Schwerin; Schermer; von Rundstedt; von Kluge; von Schoene; Halder; Gruenewald; Galland; Udet; Student; Sperrle; Doenitz; Paulus; Meyer; former commander of a tank division; etc.	$\frac{7}{49\%}$	$\frac{1}{56\%}$	$\frac{5}{41\%}$	$\frac{6}{34\%}$

The relatively more frequent mentions of Ramcke than of other former generals probably result at least in part from the fact that he was prominently in the news at the time in connection with his speech delivered at a gathering of former paratroopers in the city of Braunschweig.

II. EFFECT OF A KOREAN PEACE ON WEST EUROPEAN DEFENSE ISSUES

KOREAN PEACE WOULD NOT INFLUENCE WEST GERMAN VIEWS ON DEFENSE PARTICIPATION ...

Though a recently completed study revealed considerable awareness of and interest in the Korean truce talks among the West German public, * the prevailing mood (55%) is that a Korean armistice would not influence one way or another West German thinking on defense participation. Only 12% believe that West Germans would be more inclined to take part if the Korean conflict ended, and fewer still (4%) take the opposite view - saying people would then be less ready to participate. The remaining 29% are unprepared to judge.

"If the Korean war were ended, do you think that the West German population would then be more willing or less willing to agree to West Germany's participation in a West European army, or would the end of the Korean war have no influence on this?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
(July 27 - August 8)				
More willing	12%	13%	13%	11%
Less willing	4	4	4	5
No influence	55	55	55	49
No opinion	29	28	28	35
	100%	100%	100%	100%

REASONS WHY KOREAN PEACE WOULD STIMULATE WEST GERMAN DEFENSE PARTICIPATION ...

A variety of reasons are advanced by those who think a Korean peace would have a positive influence on West German willingness to enter the European defense system. As will be noted in the following table, no one reason takes precedence. It is argued that the West Germans will then be more eager to participate because 1) they will have more confidence in the West; 2) the danger of a Russian attack on West Germany will then increase; 3) they will see that only through joint defense can peace be preserved. Other reasons, not obviously connected with the Korean situation, are also advanced, as for example that re-arming will help preserve peace, and will reduce unemployment.

"If the Korean war were ended, do you think that the West German population would then be more willing or less willing to agree to West Germany's participation in a West European defense army, or would the end of the Korean war have no influence on this?"

IF: "More willing": "Why do you think so?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Because the population would have more confidence in the strength of the West then:				
Then we'll have confidence in the strength of the Americans; because then one has more sympathy for the Americans if they did everything in Korea to protect the people; we'll have more confidence then since the Western powers desire to avoid war; they'll believe more in the aid by the USA; because we have to - alone we are unable to fend off the East and one could see that the Western powers were getting somewhere; it would be a victory for the West if the Korean war were ended - it would encourage the German people to side with the West; because the population would have even more confidence; etc.				

(Cont'd on next page)

*See "West German Reactions to the Korean Armistice Negotiations," Report #92

WEST	British	US	French
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone

Because the danger of Russian aggression in West Germany would increase (the same could happen as in Korea): Because one could think that the same could happen to us as it did in Korea; Korea was a parallel to Germany - if they have a free hand there they'll start in Persia and here again; the Russians continue planning - perhaps they'll invade here soon; because then the West German population will think that Russia is going to attack West Germany; in order to be protected against similar surprises - the Communists would try to get the upper hand otherwise; because then we have to protect ourselves even more against the Russians; etc.

3%	3%	2%	2%
----	----	----	----

Because armament guarantees protection, security, and peace (general answers without reference to Korea): We just have to re-arm in order to fend off the Russians; most people know what conditions are like in the East Zone and don't want the Russians to get here; because the Germans would like to fight for their country - the Russians said themselves that they are afraid of the German soldiers; so an army is ready for the defense against the East; because it would mean security for West Germany; because by that peace could be preserved; etc.

3	3	3	-
---	---	---	---

For economic reasons - elimination of unemployment: For economic reasons - we could have less people unemployed; we have too many unemployed who want to get in on something; because then economic conditions would improve; etc.

-	-	1	1
---	---	---	---

Because only a union of Western Europe can preserve peace and security (as in Korea): The people have seen that peace came to Korea and hope that peace can be achieved much easier if all of Western Europe sticks together; because they see that Europe has to stick together in order not to succumb; etc.

1	1	-	1
---	---	---	---

Other opinions: If the Americans give up their position it shows that they admit defeat; because the East Zone problem would be the main issue then - the Russians won't give up the East Zone without a war; because American aid would increase; etc.

2	2	2	1
---	---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{1}{13\%}$	$\frac{1}{13\%}$	$\frac{1}{13\%}$	$\frac{1}{13\%}$
------------------	------------------	------------------	------------------

* Some of the respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

REASONS WHY KOREAN PEACE WOULD MAKE WEST GERMANS LESS READY TO JOIN IN WEST EUROPEAN DEFENSE ...

The very few who believe that a Korean truce would cause West Germans to be less eager to join the West European defense pact reiterate the claim that the Germans are fed up with armies and war, or state that fear of new aggression would decline.

"If the Korean war ended, do you think that the West German population would then be more willing or less willing to agree to West Germany's participation in a West European defense army, or would the end of the Korean war have no influence on this?"

IF: "Less willing": "Why do you think so?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

The population is fed up with the Military and war - has suffered enough: The population is tired of war; the German people has been through enough hardships and suffered enough - we don't want to partake in another war; because they don't want war; the people have experienced enough and are fed up with it; nobody wants to join the army again after two lost wars; nobody wants to have anything to do with the Military; etc.

2%	1%	2%	4%
----	----	----	----

The fear of Russian aggression (new war) would decrease: Then the fear of a direct danger would subside - I am thinking of the frantic purchases in Berlin at the beginning of the Korean war; then the population here would not be afraid so much that the Russians would do the same thing here as in Korea; etc.

1	2	2	-
---	---	---	---

Other opinions: The Americans talked too loud from the beginning; because the population sees from the Korean example that bloodshed is futile since nothing came of it for either side; etc.

$\frac{1}{4\%}$	$\frac{1}{4\%}$	$\frac{*}{4\%}$	$\frac{1}{5\%}$
-----------------	-----------------	-----------------	-----------------

* Less than one half of one per cent.

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

That an ending of the Korean war would not influence West German sentiments regarding participation in West European defense is the predominant view of all population groups, with the men, the better educated, upper income groups, and younger people more frequently than their counterparts of this persuasion. However, there is also a greater tendency among these same groups than among their opposites to believe that peace in Korea would encourage West Germany to take part in West European defenses.

"If the Korean war were ended, do you think that the West German population would then be more willing or less willing to agree to West Germany's participation in a West European army, or would the end of the Korean war have no influence on this?"

	More willing	Less willing	No influence	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	17%	5%	65%	13%..100%	373
Women	9	3	46	42	426
Education:					
Elementary school	12	4	52	32	662
Beyond elementary school	16	6	64	14	138
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	11	4	51	34	531
300 - 399 DM	15	6	60	19	161
400 DM and more	10	4	69	9	96
Age:					
Under 40 years	10	6	60	24	364
40 years and over	15	3	50	32	433
Party Preference:					
SPD	16	5	59	20	179
CDU/CSU	15	4	49	32	122
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	24	5	57	14	37
Other parties	14	5	62	19	63
No party	20	4	60	26	235
Don't know	7	4	42	47	162
Occupation:					
Professionals	18	-	77	5	22
Businessmen	14	6	60	20	90
White-collar workers	14	6	50	22	125
Skilled laborers	17	7	52	24	156
Semi-skilled laborers	11	1	61	27	103
Farmers	8	3	55	34	92
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	12	4	40	44	131
Religion:					
Catholics	15	3	52	30	388
Protestants	11	6	55	28	380
Origin:					
Natives	13	4	54	29	627
Refugees, Expellees	12	4	57	27	172

KOREAN PEACE WOULD NOT MEAN SLACKENING OF US EFFORTS TO DEFEND WEST EUROPE ...

Peace in Korea would not mean a slackening of American efforts in behalf of West European defense according to the bulk of the population with opinions on the matter. On the contrary, the predominant view (41%) is that the end of the Korean war would result in increased American arms aid to West Europe, and almost as many (31%) expect no change in the amount of aid. Only a miniscule 2% foresee a falling-off of American efforts.

"Do you think that as a result of an end to the Korean war, America's efforts for the defense of Western Europe will increase, or will they decrease, or will they remain the same?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
(July 27 - August 8)				
Increase	41%	42%	43%	33%
Decrease	2	1	2	2
Remain the same	31	34	25	36
No opinion	26	23	30	29
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

More frequently inclined than their opposites to anticipate increased American help are the men, those in the higher income brackets, and younger persons (under 40). Among other groups, except in some where differences are not beyond chance, the tendency is for opinions to divide between "increase" and "remain the same."

"Do you think that as a result of an end to the Korean war, America's efforts for the defense of Western Europe will increase, or will they decrease, or will they remain the same?"

	Increase	Decrease	Remain the same	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	51%	2%	34%	13%..100%	373
Women	32	2	28	38	426
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	41	2	28	29	662
Beyond elementary school	45	2	42	11	138
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	38	2	28	32	531
300 - 399 DM	46	2	36	16	161
400 DM and more	52	2	41	5	96
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	46	2	31	21	364
40 years and over	38	1	31	30	433
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	46	2	37	15	179
CDU/CSU	49	2	24	25	122
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDW	41	-	51	8	37
Other parties	44	2	38	16	63
No party	42	3	26	29	235
Don't know	29	1	28	42	162
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	32	9	55	4	22
Businessmen	45	1	32	22	90
White-collar workers	39	1	42	18	125
Skilled laborers	52	2	25	21	156
Semi-skilled laborers	42	1	30	27	103
Farmers	48	2	17	33	92
Non-pensioners, students retired, etc.	27	2	33	38	131
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	43	1	29	27	380
Protestants	38	2	33	27	380
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	41	2	31	26	627
Refugees, Expellees	43	1	31	25	172

III. WEST EUROPEAN DEFENSE IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE EAST-WEST STRUGGLE

Confidence in the value of U.S. military aid to West Europe is clearly demonstrated in results of inquiries put to the West German public in the mid-July survey. These inquiries sought to ascertain how the public assessed West European chances of turning back a Russian attack with and without American military aid, with the following results.

WIDESPREAD CONFIDENCE IN US ARMS AID ...

There is widespread confidence that the US will not leave West Europe in the lurch, should Russia attack. Three-fourths of the West German public believe that if Russia should invade a West European country, the US would do everything in its power to help West Europe. Only 10% take the contrary position, and 15% do not express an opinion.

"Supposing the Russians invaded one of the West European countries, do you think that America would then do everything in her power to aid Western Europe, or would America leave the West European nations on their own?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
(July 10 - 20)				
America would aid	75%	70%	74%	66%
Would leave Western Europe in her own	10	6	14	12
No opinion	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>22</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

WITHOUT US AID WEST EUROPE CANNOT TURN RUSSIA BACK ...

If the US should fail to come to West Europe's aid in the event of a Russian invasion, there is no chance of preventing the Soviets from overrunning all of Europe, according to a very large majority of West Germans (80%).

"In case Russia invaded Western Europe in the near future, would it then be possible for the West European nations - without the aid of America - to jointly prevent the Russians from overrunning Europe, or would that not be possible?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
(July 10 - 20)				
Possible without American aid	7%	6%	7%	7%
Not possible	80	79	82	79
No opinion	<u>13</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>14</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

WITH US ARMS AID WEST EUROPE CAN TURN RUSSIA BACK ...

But the large preponderance of those who believe West Europe alone could not turn the Russians back, think it could be done with the help of American troops and arms. Thus, 51% of the total West German public are optimistic of stemming a Russian invasion of Europe, given active American military aid, 18% believe even then it would not be possible, and 11% do not know.

"In case Western Europe were actively aided by America with troops and arms, would the West European nations then be able to prevent the Russians from overrunning Europe?" (Asked of those who answered "Not possible" to initial question)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
(July 10 - 20)				
Could prevent	51%	52%	50%	46%
Not even then	18	17	21	21
No opinion	<u>11</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>
	80%	79%	82%	79%

AND RUSSIAN CONQUEST OF WEST GERMANY MAY BE PREVENTED WITH US ARMS AID ...

Not so many believe that even US aid would be enough to stop the Russians at the Elbe. Nevertheless, the opinion that they could be prevented from overrunning West Germany, provided there was active American help, outweighs the contrary view by a two to one margin.

"And would it be possible with the active aid of America to prevent the Russians from overrunning all of West Germany?" (Asked of those who answered "Could prevent" to previous question)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
(July 10 - 20)				
Yes, would be possible	32%	33%	34%	25%
No, would be impossible	15	15	14	14
No opinion	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>7</u>
	51%	52%	50%	46%

... On the following pages, the division of opinions among various population groups on the above questions are presented.

ALL POPULATION GROUPS EXPECT US TO HELP EUROPEAN DEFENSE ...

The opinion strongly prevails in all population elements that the US can be counted on to do everything possible to help West Europe defend itself against a Russian attack. The leadership groups - the better educated, the upper income groups and the men - are even more frequently of this opinion than are other population groups.

"Supposing the Russians invaded one of the West European countries, do you think that America would then do everything in her power to aid Western Europe, or would America leave the West European nations on their own?"

	America would aid	Would leave Western Eu- rope on her own	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	82%	9%	9%...100%	372
Women	63	10	21	427
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	74	10	16	659
Beyond elementary school	81	9	10	140
<u>Social Status:</u>				
Lower	69	10	21	390
Middle and upper	81	9	10	401
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	72	10	18	547
300 - 399 DM	80	9	11	136
400 DM and more	85	9	6	106
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	74	12	14	331
40 years and over	75	9	16	457
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	84	11	5	174
CDU/CSU	86	6	8	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	84	9	7	43
Other parties	73	13	14	55
No party	71	13	16	220
Don't know	50	5	37	150
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	90	7	3	30
Businessmen	77	14	9	91
White-collar workers	82	4	14	99
Skilled laborers	75	10	15	144
Semi-skilled laborers	76	13	11	123
Farmers	72	11	17	105
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	72	8	20	130
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	74	10	16	330
Protestants	76	9	15	378
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	75	10	15	641
Refugees, Expellees	76	9	15	158

AND ALL SEGMENTS BELIEVE EAST ATTACK CANNOT BE STOPPED WITHOUT US AID ...

Again, the direction of opinion is the same in all sectors of the public, with the predominant view that West Europe cannot stop Russia from overrunning Europe without the active aid of the US. And again, the upper status groups express this opinion with the greatest frequency.

"In case Russia invaded Western Europe in the near future, would it then be possible for the West European nations - without the aid of America - to jointly prevent the Russians from overrunning Europe, or would that not be possible?"

	Possible without American aid	Not possible	No opinion	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	8%	88%	4%...100%	372
Women	5	73	22	427
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	8	77	15	659
Beyond elementary school	2	92	6	140
<u>Social Status:</u>				
Lower	7	73	20	398
Middle and upper	6	87	7	401
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	7	77	16	547
300 - 399 DM	9	82	9	136
400 DM and more	4	93	3	106
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	9	82	9	331
40 years and over	5	78	17	457
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	10	87	3	174
CDU/CSU	4	86	10	152
FDP/LDP/BVP/BDV	9	91	-	43
Other parties	9	85	6	55
No party	7	77	16	220
Don't know	3	66	31	150
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	-	97	3	30
Businessmen	10	82	8	91
White-collar workers	6	88	6	99
Skilled laborers	5	79	16	144
Semi-skilled laborers	11	77	12	123
Farmers	8	83	9	105
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	4	75	21	130
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	8	80	12	380
Protestants	5	80	15	378
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	6	80	14	641
Refugees, Expellees	10	77	13	158

C O N F I D E N T I A L

PREPONDERANCE OF ALL GROUPS BELIEVES RUSSIAN CONQUEST OF EUROPE CAN BE STOPPED WITH US AID ...

The division of opinions on whether US aid could or could not prevent Russia from overrunning West Europe is similar in all population groups, with the preponderance believing that it could be done with active aid from the US. Such differences as occur result largely from the fact that proportionably more people in certain groups were asked the questions in as much as they had expressed opinions on the preceding question.

"In case Western Europe were actively aided by America with troops and arms, would the West European nations then be able to prevent the Russians from overrunning Europe?" (Asked of those who said "West Europe could not stop Russia without US aid")

	Could prevent	Not even then	No opinion	Question not asked	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	57%	22%	9%	12% + 10%	372
Women	45	16	12	27	427
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	49	17	11	23	659
Beyond elementary school	57	26	9	8	140
<u>Social Status:</u>					
Lower	47	15	11	27	398
Middle and upper	55	21	11	13	401
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	51	15	11	23	547
300 - 399 DM	45	25	12	18	136
400 DM and more	57	26	10	7	106
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	52	20	10	18	331
40 years and over	50	17	11	22	457
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	57	22	8	13	174
CDU/CSU	66	14	6	14	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	51	26	14	9	43
Other parties	58	16	11	15	55
No party	43	22	12	23	220
Don't know	38	13	15	34	150
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	60	27	10	3	30
Businessmen	55	21	6	18	91
White-collar workers	48	27	13	12	99
Skilled laborers	55	14	10	21	144
Semi-skilled laborers	49	17	11	23	123
Farmers	49	20	14	17	105
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	53	11	11	25	130
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	52	18	10	20	380
Protestants	50	19	11	20	370
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	50	19	11	20	641
Refugees, Expellees	54	15	8	23	150

AND PREPONDERANCE BELIEVES US AID CAN PREVENT RUSSIA FROM OVERRUNNING WEST GERMANY ...

Here, too, the direction of opinions among all population groups is similar with the preponderant view that a Russian conquest of West Germany could be stopped with active US support. Men, those in the upper income groups, and the better educated, do however take the negative view on the present issue with somewhat greater frequency than their opposite members.

"And would it be possible with the active aid of America to prevent the Russians from overrunning all of West Germany?" (Asked of those who stated that West Europe could stop Russia with US aid)

	Yes, would be possible	No, would be impos- sible	No opinion	Ques- tion not asked	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	35%	19%	3%	43%...100%	372
Women	30	10	5	55	427
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	32	13	4	51	659
Beyond elementary school	32	21	4	43	140
<u>Social Status:</u>					
Lower	30	13	4	53	390
Middle and upper	35	16	4	45	401
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	33	13	5	49	547
300 - 399 DM	31	13	1	55	136
400 DM and more	31	24	2	43	106
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	33	15	4	48	331
40 years and over	33	13	4	50	457
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	31	22	4	43	174
CDU/CSU	43	19	4	34	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	30	19	2	49	43
Other parties	45	11	2	42	55
No party	27	11	5	57	220
Don't know.	20	7	3	62	150
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	33	20	7	40	30
Businessmen	33	20	2	45	91
White-collar workers	30	17	1	52	99
Skilled laborers	37	14	4	45	144
Semi-skilled laborers	33	12	4	51	123
Farmers	31	14	4	51	105
Pensioners, stu- dents, retired, etc.	35	13	5	47	130
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	35	13	4	48	380
Protestants	30	16	4	50	370
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	32	14	4	50	641
Refugees, Expellees	32	18	4	46	158

C O N F I D E N T I A L

MAJORITY WOULD USE "ALL MEANS" TO RESIST A RUSSIAN ATTACK ...

The fact that active American aid is deemed necessary to stop the Russians from occupying West Germany, as well as West Europe, does not mean that defeatism characterizes West German thinking. Surveys made in June and in mid-July reveal that three quarters of the West German public claim they would personally advocate fighting "with all means" against aggression from the East.

"If you personally had to decide; what should be done in the event of an attack from the East, should we let West Germany come under the East Zone government without fighting - or should West Germany - together with the West - fight with all means against the Communist aggressors?"

	WEST GERMANY		British Zone		US Zone		French Zone		West Berlin	
	June	July	June	July	June	July	June	July	June	July
	16-23	12-20	16-23	12-20	16-23	12-20	16-23	12-20	16-23	12-20
Without a fight	8%	1%	0%	7%	6%	10%	8%	7%	3%	4%
Fight with all means	73	74	68	72	79	75	73	77	91	-
No opinion	<u>19</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>-</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

... The above results were obtained prior to the issuance of the East Zone White Book, and Herr Grotewohl's press conference foreshadowing an East German campaign to sabotage West German defense efforts. Further investigation of trends in the above attitudes will give some indication of the effectiveness of this campaign.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

Large majorities in all West German population groups advocate fighting with "all means" rather than to come under East Zone rule in the event of an attack from the East.

"If you personally had to decide: what should be done in the event of an attack from the East, should we let West Germany come under the East Zone government without fighting - or should West Germany - together with the West - fight with all means against the Communist aggressors?"

	Without a fight	Fight with all means	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	10%	76%	14%...100%	372
Women	7	71	22	427
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	8	72	20	659
Beyond elementary school	11	81	8	140
<u>Social Status:</u>				
Lower	5	71	24	398
Middle and upper	11	76	13	401
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	6	73	21	547
300 - 399 DM	12	76	12	136
400 DM and more	11	70	11	106
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	9	76	15	331
40 years and over	7	72	21	457
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	10	79	11	174
CDU/CSU	5	86	9	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	7	81	12	43
Other parties	16	71	13	55
No party	10	68	22	220
Don't know	4	63	33	150
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	-	87	13	30
Businessmen	13	73	14	91
White-collar workers	13	72	15	99
Skilled laborers	9	73	18	144
Semi-skilled laborers	5	76	19	123
Farmers	9	71	20	105
Non-employment, students, retired, etc.	5	75	20	130
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	8	76	16	380
Protestants	8	72	20	378
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	9	72	19	642
Refugees, Expellees	6	78	16	157

PREPONDERANCE FAVORS WEST GERMAN ARMS PRODUCTION ...

A preponderance of the West German public (48%) believes that the armament industry should be re-established in West Germany as a means of building up defenses against a possible Eastern attack. However, as many as three in 10 are opposed to West German arms production, and two in 10 do not express an opinion on the issue.

"Would you favor or oppose the production of arms by West Germany for defense purposes against a possible attack from the East?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
(July 10 - 20)				
Favor	48%	49%	49%	46%
Oppose	31	29	32	33
No opinion	21	22	19	21
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Advocates of West German participation in the West European defense system largely favor West German armament production. Conversely, opponents of such defense participation are generally against West German arms manufacture, which supports previous findings indicating that those who disapprove of a West German army, also oppose in general any West German defense efforts. In line with these findings is the fact that the greater the confidence in the West's ability to withstand a possible Russian attack, the greater is the inclination to advocate West German arms production.

	West Germany should produce arms	Should not	No opinion	No. of cases
West Germany should join Atlantic Pact system	76%	15%	9%	435
Should not join	18	67	15	231
No opinion	13	19	68	133
<u>If Russia invaded Western Europe:</u>				
US would come to aid of Western Europe	57	28	15	599
Would not come to aid of Western Europe	33	55	12	78
No opinion	15	30	55	122
<u>Without American aid:</u>				
Could stop Russians from overrunning Western Europe	59	37	4	52
Could not stop	54	30	16	639
No opinion	11	31	58	97
<u>With American aid:</u>				
Could stop Russians from overrunning Western Europe	63	23	14	406
Could not stop	41	50	9	147
No opinion	30	34	36	86
<u>With American aid:</u>				
Could stop Russians from overrunning West Germany	68	20	12	258
Could not stop	59	27	14	117
No opinion	35	26	39	31

In all population groups, the preponderant sentiment favors arms production as a means of defending West Germany from a possible attack from the East. The higher status groups - the better educated, those in the upper income brackets, and the men - are, however, more frequently of this view than are their counterparts. Sympathizers with CDU and FDP, the political parties in power in the Federal government tend to advocate arms production more frequently than SPD affiliates, among whom as many as four in 10 are opposed.

"Would you favor or oppose the production of arms by West Germany for defense purposes against a possible attack from the East?"

	Favor	Oppose	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	56%	3%	10%...100%	372
Women	42	28	30	427
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	46	32	22	659
Beyond elementary school	61	25	14	140
<u>Social Status:</u>				
Lower	42	31	27	398
Middle and upper	54	31	15	401
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	47	30	23	547
300 - 399 DM	47	37	16	136
400 DM and more	61	31	8	106
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	52	31	17	331
40 years and over	46	31	23	457
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	49	41	10	174
CDU/CSU	63	22	15	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	65	23	12	43
Other parties	49	35	16	55
No party	44	34	22	220
Don't know	33	24	43	150
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	63	13	24	30
Businessmen	63	24	13	91
White-collar workers	55	29	16	99
Skilled laborers	45	36	19	144
Semi-skilled laborers	42	38	20	123
Farmers	49	29	22	105
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	45	25	30	130
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	51	29	20	380
Protestants	46	32	22	378
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	48	32	20	642
Refugees, Expellees	49	25	26	157

GERMANS VIEW THE VOICE OF AMERICA

- I. The Extent And Characteristics Of the VOA Audience
In West Germany And The British Isles

Classification cancelled
by auth of Leo P. Crespi
Report No. 2
Series No. 2
August 28, 1951
PUB. RAS.
CONFIDENTIAL

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

CONFIDENTIAL

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

SUMMARY

I. EXTENT OF RADIO LISTENING IN WEST GERMANY AND WEST BERLIN

Trend And Present Levels ...
Group Variations ...

II. EXTENT AND FREQUENCY OF VOA LISTENING

Extent Of VOA Listening In West Germany And West Berlin ...
Trend In VOA Listening In West Berlin ...
Group Variations In Total VOA Audience ...
Comparative Composition Of VOA Listener Frequency Groups ...

III. COMPARATIVE LISTENING TO VOA VERSUS SOME MAJOR WESTERN AND EASTERN PROGRAMS

Comparative Coverage In West Germany ...
Comparative Coverage In West Berlin ...
Comparative Composition Of Program Audiences In West Berlin ...
Comparative Composition Of Program Audiences In West Germany ...

- a -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

INTRODUCTION

The present report by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, is the first of a series emanating from a detailed inquiry into the status of the Voice of America program in West Germany and West Berlin.

The VOA survey marked the initial use of a full-scale probability sample of West Germany and West Berlin embracing 3,000 cases in the former and 600 cases in the latter area. Interviewing was conducted between March 27th and May 16th, 1951.

To eliminate the possibility of any pro-American sponsorship bias in the reactions to the Voice of America, the interviewing was conducted under the auspices of the Institute of Social Research, Darmstadt, Germany. This is a HICOG-financed institute but among the great bulk of respondents, if known at all, would be assumed to be a German research agency. This use of the Darmstadt auspices was a transitional expedient until RAS could conclude the negotiations then in process to set up the now established contractual relationship with a newly formed German survey agency "Deutsches Institut fuer Volksumfragen" (DIVO).

It should be kept in mind that the present study presents German reactions to VOA as it was prior to the change in broadcast time and program length on July 1st, 1951. Most of the information obtained, however, is applicable to the VOA program in its present form.

SUMMARY

I. EXTENT OF RADIO LISTENING IN WEST GERMANY AND WEST BERLIN

TREND AND PRESENT LEVELS ...

- ... Though general radio habits will be treated in some detail in a later paper, it is well to have in mind as background information in the present study the extent of radio listening in West Germany and West Berlin. The latest figures from the large-scale probability sampling give 78 per cent radio listening in West Germany and 91 per cent in Berlin. The West German figure is not quite as high as the level prevailing in the United States, but clearly embraces the large bulk of the population.
- ... As far as a US Zone comparison can be taken as indicative of West German trends, the extent of radio listening has apparently not clearly risen in the year prior to the current survey, though there has been an appreciable increase since May of 1947. In West Berlin, on the other hand, there appears to have been a gain in extent of radio listenership from eight out of ten to nine since May of last year.

GROUP VARIATIONS ...

- ... As is to be expected, extent of radio listening varies among West German population groups, with its maximum among the more educated and informed sectors of the population - men, the better schooled and the economically better situated. In West Berlin, however, the range of group variations is considerably less, with evidence of widespread radio listening even among the typically less responsive population levels.

- b -

CONFIDENTIAL

C O N F I D E N T I A L

II. EXTENT AND FREQUENCY OF VOA LISTENING

EXTENT OF VOA LISTENING IN WEST GERMANY AND WEST BERLIN ...

- ... Returns to the first full-scale survey reveal that the Voice of America program has been heard by approximately two-thirds of the radio listeners (65%) in West Germany, or half the total population (51%).
- ... Coverage is of course at its maximum in the US Zone, where VOA enjoys very favorable outlet facilities. In this area 87 per cent of the radio listeners report having heard VOA. Voice of America listenership is at its minimum (49% of the radio listeners) in the British Zone, where, with the exception of the area around Radio Bremen, it is difficult, when not impossible to pick up the VOA broadcast.
- ... In West Berlin almost every single radio listener (98%), or 89 per cent of the total population indicate that they have heard the Voice of America program.

FREQUENCY OF LISTENING TO VOA ...

- ... In the US Zone, where most radio listeners are able to tune in the VOA program if they desire:
 - 22% report listening to VOA four to seven times per week (very frequent listeners);
 - 31% listen one to three times per week (frequent listeners);
 - 9% listen one to three times per month (occasional listeners);
 - 25% listen less than once a month (seldom listeners).
- ... Excluding these last "seldom" listeners, for whom precise frequency figures are not available, the average picture becomes that as of the time of the present survey 62 per cent of US Zone radio listeners listen to VOA on an average of 3.3 times per week.
- ... The comparable figures are of course considerably lower for West Germany as a whole, since this area includes large numbers who cannot get a clear signal. The West German average exclusive of "seldom" listeners comes out to 38 per cent of the radio listeners hearing VOA 2.7 times per week.
- ... In West Berlin frequency of VOA listening is at its maximum with 46 per cent of the radio audience falling into the "very frequent" range of four to seven times a week, 37 per cent in the "frequent" range, 6 per cent "occasional", and 9 per cent "seldom" listeners. Exclusive of seldom listeners VOA listening averages four times a week for 89 per cent of the West Berlin radio audience.

TREND IN VOA LISTENING IN WEST BERLIN ...

- ... Since the current survey is the first VOA study embracing West Germany as a whole, trend comparisons for this area are not available. However, with some approximations to take care of slight changes in procedure, a West Berlin trend comparison is possible. The figures indicate that since June 1949 the number of VOA listeners in West Berlin (not including marginal seldom listeners) has climbed from 37 up to 81 per cent of the total population. That this increase is not merely a more or less automatic reflection of simply an increase in the number of radio listeners is indicated by the fact that VOA listeners have in the same period increased from 47 to 89 per cent of the West Berlin radio audience.

- 0 -

C O N F I D E N T I A L

CONFIDENTIAL

... The possibility that the current VOA gain in West Berlin may be an artifact of taking the 1951 results somewhat earlier in the year in the latest survey - before a seasonal drop in listening may have occurred - was ruled out as any considerable factor by a late May small sample check. But the same check indicated that there might be a seasonal effect in the US Zone, so it was deemed best to avoid any trend comparisons in this area on the basis of the facts at present available. In any case, however, it is clear from the data at hand that whatever growth may have occurred in the extent of VOA listenership in the US Zone, it is considerably less than in West Berlin.

GROUP VARIATIONS IN TOTAL VOA AUDIENCE ...

... Group variations in the total VOA audience (i.e. inclusive also of seldom listeners) reveal the expected pattern of more widespread listenership among the more educated and informed elements of the West German population. In no group in the population are those who have heard VOA less than half, though of course in some groups, the number of cases is too few for reliable judgment.

... It is interesting that in West Berlin the proportion of radio listeners who have heard VOA is almost a hundred per cent across the board.

COMPARATIVE COMPOSITION OF VOA LISTENER FREQUENCY GROUPS ...

... It is advantageous in the present connection to supplement the overall picture of group variations in the VOA audience which has just been presented, with a more detailed presentation of comparative variations among VOA listener frequency groups - "very frequent", "frequent", "occasional", and "seldom" listeners.

... Study of the figures for West Germany and West Berlin reveal that similarity rather than difference is the rule between the audience compositions of the various VOA listener frequency groups. This outcome tends to suggest that the important determinants of frequency of VOA listening lie in factors other than the sociological variables of sex, education, income, age, etc., etc.

... Among the more detailed indications it is noted that there is no evidence of any greater tendency for more educated VOA listeners to listen more frequently than less educated. In fact, in West Berlin there would appear to be a slight indication of a contrary trend.

... Another point revealed by the returns is that younger respondents are relatively less represented among the more frequent VOA listeners. Such a fact may be a more or less inevitable consequence of the lesser regularity and greater number of distractions associated with youth.

... A final provocative indication - though its precise significance is not easily assessed - is the disproportionately heavy listening to the VOA program among SPD adherents, both in West Germany and West Berlin.

III. COMPARATIVE LISTENING TO VOA VERSUS SOME MAJOR WESTERN AND EASTERN PROGRAMS

COMPARATIVE COVERAGE IN WEST GERMANY ...

... To shed additional light on the status of VOA's German coverage, the VOA listenership inquiry was designed so as to simultaneously obtain coverage data on a series of other politically relevant programs which compete for audience attention in West Germany and West Berlin.

- 4 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

- ... The returns reveal that the Voice of America ties for first among the programs listed with "Echo des Tages" (Echo of the Day), each with 41 per cent reported listenership in West Germany as a whole. This would seem to be a rather considerable achievement for VOA as Echo of the Day is very probably the most prominent native German political program in West Germany and West Berlin.
- ... As would be expected, extent of listenership is greatest for VOA in the US Zone, with 65 per cent of the radio audience reporting having heard the program in the past month, and greatest for Echo of the Day in the British Zone with a 69 per cent coverage figure. Across zones where both programs are limited by reception difficulties, Echo of the Day attains a 9 per cent listenership figure and VOA a 24 per cent. That VOA does somewhat better in the British Zone than Echo of the Day in the US Zone must be at least partly discounted in view of the fact that VOA is released over Radio Bremen which gives good British Zone facilities in the area adjacent to it. Radio Bremen is comparatively weak, however, (five kilowatts) so the importance of this consideration should not be overestimated.
- ... Further evident in the tabulated returns is that the German service of BBC has but very modest coverage in West Germany with only seven per cent of radio listeners reporting having heard it in the preceding month. This coverage is slightly less than the 9 per cent attained in West Germany by the Soviet propaganda program - The Truth about America - aired over Radio Leipzig and other East Zone stations.
- ... A final important indication in the coverage figures of the programs subjected to study, is that Mr. Boerner's Commentary - a HICOG-sponsored political program aired over the same facilities as VOA - apparently achieves the same extent of listenership in West Germany as the top commentary of the NWDR network - Peter von Zahn's "From Near and Far". In addition, Mr. Boerner's program outdraws in Bavaria - where they have somewhat comparable facilities - the well known commentary of Mr. von Cube and outdraws in Hesse the Radio Frankfurt commentator Mr. Herr. These facts clearly indicate that overt American political commentary can compete very favorably with the best the Germans have to offer.

COMPARATIVE COVERAGE IN WEST BERLIN ...

- ... In West Berlin VOA enjoys a marked lead in coverage over all the programs investigated, with 90 per cent of the radio listeners reporting having listened to it during the past month. This coverage greatly overshadows the 36 per cent figure for VOA's neck-and-neck West German competitor - Echo of the Day. However, a technical factor which must be assumed to contribute at least partially to VOA's being so far in the van lies in the fact that in addition to the major VOA program, a 15-minute VOA broadcast is aired over RIAS in the late evening and on April 16, 1951 - soon enough to affect parts of the respondents sampled - another 15-minute VOA program was established in the early morning.
- ... Two other RIAS-aired programs - Germany in RIAS and Mr. Boerner's Commentary - follow in second and third place in extent of radio listener coverage in West Berlin with 65 per cent and 59 per cent respectively. The extent of coverage for Mr. Boerner's programs would appear to be particularly notable in view of the fact that his remarks are broadcast for only five minutes twice weekly.
- ... The Eastern-sponsored programs subjected to examinations - The Truth about America and Pulsebeat of the Time - appear to achieve levels of coverage very considerably below those of the three leaders aired over RIAS, and Echo of the Day over NWDR. Only 19 per cent of West Germans report having heard Pulsebeat of the Time during the preceding month and 10 per cent The Truth about America.

- 0 -
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

- ... Apparent too in the Berlin figures is that, just as was the case in West Germany, the German output of the British Broadcasting Company is listened to by only a very small fraction of the radio audience.

COMPARATIVE COMPOSITION OF PROGRAM AUDIENCES IN WEST BERLIN ...

- ... Comparison of the proportion of various population elements that compose the audiences of the various political programs under study is most revealing in West Berlin, since in that area the technical facilities of the various programs are more nearly equal, and hence differences in audience composition can be more confidently ascribed to program qualities.
- ... Comparative tabulations reveal fairly similar audience composition patterns in West Berlin for VOA, Germany in RLAS, and Mr. Boerner's Commentary, thus tending to suggest that in influencing the composition of their audiences, their points of similarity - all American, all political, all aired over RLAS - are much more important than their differences.
- ... Bringing in the remainder of the Western programs which have enough cases for reliability, namely NWDR's Echo of the Day, and From Near and Far, does not show any considerable dissimilarity in audience composition from the American trio.
- ... These facts tend to suggest, all in all, that the major Western political programs in West Berlin, regardless of station outlet or American versus native German auspices, have a fairly similar audience in terms of the conventional sociological characteristics of sex, education, income, age, etc., etc.
- ... It is the Eastern-sponsored program - The Truth about America (and Pulse-beat of the Time to a considerably lesser degree) - that generates an audience of dissimilar composition in many significant respects. In the audience of The Truth about America, as compared to the Western political programs, there are disproportionately more men, more less educated, more lower income respondents, more unemployed, more semi-skilled laborers, and more younger people. Not all of these differences are reliably beyond chance with the limited number of cases involved, but taken as a group they make it clear that though the overall listenership to The Truth about America is relatively low (11 per cent of West Berlin radio audience), it is attracting listeners disproportionately, in comparison with Western programs, from population elements likely to be most vulnerable to the anti-American propaganda.

COMPARATIVE COMPOSITION OF PROGRAM AUDIENCES IN WEST GERMANY ...

- ... Comparison of audience compositions in West Germany for the political programs studied is, as stated, complicated by differences in technical facilities. The Voice of America program and Mr. Boerner's Commentary can best be compared as they are released over the same network. The figures strongly parallel the West Berlin indication that the audience compositions of American political programs are very similar.
- ... The NWDR programs - Echo of the Day and From Near and Far - are quite similar in audience composition to the two American programs, except in the rural-urban composition of their listeners and the Catholic-Protestant ratio. Neither of these latter differences, however, have in all probability anything to do with program influences, but are only extraneous reflections of the fact that the British Zone - where NWDR gathers the bulk of its listeners - is more urban and more Protestant.
- ... The tendency evident in West Berlin for the anti-American propaganda program - The Truth about America - to recruit its listeners disproportionately from more vulnerable population groups - the less schooled, less well off, unemployed, young, and the like - is not reliably indicated in West Germany.

- 2 -

CONFIDENTIAL

C O N F I D E N T I A L

I. EXTENT OF RADIO LISTENING IN WEST GERMANY AND WEST BERLIN

TREND AND PRESENT LEVELS ...

Though general radio habits will be treated in some detail in a later paper, it is well to have in mind as background information in the present study the extent of radio listening in West Germany and West Berlin. The latest figures from the large-scale probability sampling give 78 per cent radio listening in West Germany and 91 per cent in Berlin. The West German figure is not quite as high as the level prevailing in the United States, but clearly embraces the large bulk of the population.

"Do you listen to the radio?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	WEST BERLIN
Yes	78%	80%	77%	69%	91%
No	<u>22</u> 100%	<u>20</u> 100%	<u>23</u> 100%	<u>31</u> 100%	<u>9</u> 100%
No. of cases:	(2972)	(1536)	(1081)	(355)	(601)

	British Zone				US Zone			French Zone		
	Nd.-R. Westf.	Nd. Sa.	Schl. Hlst.	Freio. Rchs-staedte	Ba-va-ria	Hes-sen	Wtt. Baden	Ba-den	Rhld. Pfalz	Sued-Wttbg. H Zoll.
Yes	85%	70%	76%	88%	76%	76%	77%	71%	67%	76%
No	<u>15</u> 100%	<u>30</u> 100%	<u>24</u> 100%	<u>12</u> 100%	<u>24</u> 100%	<u>22</u> 100%	<u>23</u> 100%	<u>29</u> 100%	<u>33</u> 100%	<u>24</u> 100%

As far as a US Zone comparison can be taken as indicative of West German trends, the extent of radio listening has apparently not clearly risen in the year prior to the current survey, though there has been an appreciable increase since May of 1947. In West Berlin, on the other hand, there appears to have been a gain in extent of radio listenership from eight out of ten to nine since May of last year.

Trend in Radio Listenership in the US Zone and West Berlin

	US ZONE	Bavaria	Hesse	W.-Baden	WEST BERLIN
May 1947	64%	63%	66%	64%	79%
June 1948	70	70	67	70	80
June 1949	70	69	65	75	80
May 1950	76	76	77	76	82
April-May 1951	77	76	78	77	91

GROUP VARIATIONS ...

As is to be expected, extent of radio listening varies among West German population groups, with its maximum among the more educated and informed sectors of the population - men, the better schooled and the economically better situated (see following page). In West Berlin, however, the range of group variations is considerably less, with evidence of widespread radio listening even among the typically less responsive population levels.

CONFIDENTIAL

"Do you listen to the radio?"

	West Germany	West Berlin	No. of cases in West Germany*	No. of cases in West Berlin*
<u>Sex:</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>		
Men	82%	93%	1283	249
Women	74	89	1686	351
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	75%	90%	2429	425
Secondary school	91	92	406	141
Diploma & University	89	94	134	34
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 149 DM	59%	80%	897	171
150 - 299 DM	82	93	1250	263
300 - 599 DM	92	97	673	142
600 DM and more	96	100	92	22
<u>City Size:</u>				
0 - 4,999 pop.	69%	-%	1267	-
5,000 - 24,999	73	-	552	-
25,000 - 99,999	85	-	352	-
100,000 - 249,999	88	-	272	-
250,000 and over	89	-	526	-
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	88%	92%	129	25
Businessmen	87	95	361	74
White-collar workers	87	95	390	97
Skilled laborers	85	97	481	74
Semi-skilled laborers	82	89	348	83
Dom. & Prot. Service	80	96	92	26
Farmers	65	-	388	-
Housewives	62	100	116	6
Unemployed	69	85	131	91
Nono: pensioners, students, retired, apprentices	66	85	535	123
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	88%	91%	455	81
No	76	91	2514	519
<u>Age:</u>				
19 - 24 years	87%	97%	391	62
25 - 34 years	84	98	520	81
35 - 44 years	79	95	676	141
45 - 54 years	79	88	627	156
55 years and over	67	84	739	160
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	84%	93%	749	274
CDU/CSU	77	88	616	122
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	90	92	178	124
Other parties	74	79	233	14
No party	77	92	661	37
Don't know	67	75	489	20
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	77%	91%	1344	70
Protestants	78	91	1488	421
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives (& Evacuees)	80%	91%	2380	554
Expellees	68	100	433	18
Refugees (from Eastern Zone after 1945)	74	88	144	26

* Percentages should of course be interpreted with caution among those population groups which are represented with relatively few cases.

CONFIDENTIAL

II. EXTENT AND FREQUENCY OF VOA LISTENING

EXTENT OF VOA LISTENING IN WEST GERMANY AND WEST BERLIN ...

Returns to the first full-scale survey reveal that the Voice of America program has been heard by approximately two-thirds of the radio listeners (65%) in West Germany, or half the total population (51%).

Coverage is of course at its maximum in the US Zone, where VOA enjoys very favorable outlet facilities.** In this area 87 per cent of the radio listeners report having heard VOA. Voice of America listenership is at its minimum (49% of the radio listeners) in the British Zone, where, with the exception of the area around Radio Bremen, it is difficult, when not impossible to pick up the VOA broadcast.

In West Berlin almost every single radio listener (98%), or 89 per cent of the total population indicate that they have heard the Voice of America program.

"Did you ever hear any of these programs during the past month?"
(All radio listeners presented with list of programs including VOA).

"Did you ever listen to the 'Voice of America'?" (Asked of those radio listeners who did not indicate having listened to VOA during the past month).

"Have you ever heard of the program 'The Voice of America'?" (Asked of listeners who had never heard VOA.)

	WEST GERMANY		British Zone		US Zone		French Zone		WEST BERLIN	
	of	of	of	of	of	of	of	of	of	of
	radio	whole	radio	whole	radio	whole	radio	whole	radio	whole
	list.	pop.	list.	pop.	list.	pop.	list.	pop.	list.	pop.
Total VOA listeners	65%	51%	49%	39%	87%	67%	68%	47%	98%	89%
Never listened to VOA, but heard of it	10	8	13	10	6	4	11	8	-	-
Never heard of VOA	24	18	37	30	6	5	20	13	1	1
No answer	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	100%	78%	100%	80%	100%	77%	100%	68%	100%	91%
No. of cases:	(2301)	(2972)	(1225)	(1536)	(831)	(1081)	(245)	(355)	(547)	(601)

	British Zone				US Zone			French Zone		
	Nd.-R. Westf.	Nd. Sa.	Schl. Hlst.	Freio. Rohn. Staedte	Ba-va-ria	Hes-sen	W.-Baden	Ba-den	Rhld. Pfalz	Sued-Wttbg. Hzoell.
Total VOA listeners	43%	64%	43%	51%	89%	86%	84%	62%	66%	74%
Never listened to VOA, but heard of it	16	6	11	13	4	8	8	13	13	7
Never heard of VOA	40	28	45	35	6	6	6	25	18	17
No answer	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No. of cases:	(682)	(299)	(124)	(120)	(438)	(205)	(188)	(60)	(126)	(59)

** Broadcast over Radio Frankfurt, Munich, Stuttgart, Bremen, and RIAS in West Berlin.

* Less than one half of one per cent.

FREQUENCY OF LISTENING TO VOA ...

In the US Zone, where most radio listeners are able to tune in the VOA program if they desire:

- 22% report listening to VOA four to seven times per week (very frequent listeners)
 31% listen one to three times per week (frequent listeners);
 9% listen one to three times per month (occasional listeners);
 25% listen less than once a month (seldom listeners).

Excluding those last "seldom" listeners, for whom precise frequency figures are not available, the average picture becomes that as of the time of the present survey 62 per cent of US Zone radio listeners listen to VOA on an average of 3.3 times per week.

The comparable figures are of course considerably lower for West Germany as a whole, since this area includes large numbers who cannot get a clear signal. The West German average exclusive of seldom listeners comes out to 38 per cent of the radio listeners hearing VOA 2.7 times per week.

In West Berlin frequency of VOA listening is at its maximum with 46 per cent of the radio audience falling into the "very frequent" range of four to seven times a week, 37 per cent in the "frequent" range, 6 per cent "occasional", and 9 per cent "seldom" listeners. Exclusive of seldom listeners VOA listening averages four times a week for 89 per cent of the West Berlin radio audience.

"Did you ever hear any of these programs during the past month?" (All radio listeners presented with list of programs incl. VOA.)

"How frequently do you listen to the 'Voice of America'?" (Asked of those radio listeners who indicated having listened to VOA during the past month.)

"Did you ever listen to 'Voice of America'?" (Asked of those radio listeners who did not indicate having listened to VOA during the past month.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	WEST BERLIN
<u>VERY FREQUENT LISTENERS</u>	10%	4%	22%	6%	46%
Every day	4%	1%	9%	3%	19%
6 times a week	2	1	4	1	8
5 times a week	1	1	3	1	8
4 times a week	3	1	6	1	11
<u>FREQUENT LISTENERS</u>	20%	10%	31%	19%	37%
3 times a week	7%	2%	14%	5%	17%
Twice a week	8	4	12	9	13
Once a week	5	4	5	5	7
<u>OCCASIONAL LISTENERS</u>					
(One to three times a month)	8%	7%	9%	9%	6%
<u>SELDOM LISTENERS</u>	27%	28%	25%	33%	9%
Less than once a month (but heard in last month)	3%	3%	3%	5%	1%
Have heard VOA (but not in last month)	24	25	22	28	8
<u>NEVER HEARD VOA</u>	34%	50%	12%	32%	1%
<u>NO ANSWER</u>	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

	British Zone				US Zone			French Zone		
	Nd.-R. Westf.	Nd. Schl. Sa. Hist.	Freie Rdn. Staadt	Bo-va-ria	Hes-son	W.-Baden	Ba-don	Rhld. Pfalz	Sued-Wttbg.	Hzoll.

Very frequent listeners	7%	4%	1%	9%	25%	21%	20%	6%	8%	7%
Frequent listeners	9	17	9	12	30	30	34	23	18	17
Occasional listeners	7	6	10	6	10	10	8	7	10	8
Seldom listeners	27	37	23	24	24	25	22	26	30	42
Never heard VOA	56	34	56	48	10	14	14	38	31	24
No answer	1	2	1	1	1	-	2	-	3	2
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

CONFIDENTIAL

TREND IN VOA LISTENING IN WEST BERLIN ...

Since the current survey is the first VOA study embracing West Germany as a whole, trend comparisons for this area are not available. However, with some approximations to take care of slight changes in procedure, a West Berlin trend comparison is possible.* The figures indicate that since June 1949 the number of VOA listeners in West Berlin (not including marginal seldom listeners) has climbed from 37 up to 81 per cent of the total population. That this increase is not merely a more or less automatic reflection of simply an increase in the number of radio listeners is indicated by the fact that VOA listeners have in the same period increased from 47 to 89 per cent of the West Berlin radio audience. **

West Berlin Trend in Regular to Occasional Listening to VOA

	June 1949	May 1950	April-May 1951
% of total population	37%	57%	81%
No. of cases	(220)	(505)	(600)
% of radio listeners	47%	67%	89%
No. of cases	(146)	(376)	(547)

The possibility that the current VOA gain in West Berlin may be an artifact of taking the 1951 results somewhat earlier in the year in the latest survey - before a seasonal drop in listening may have occurred - was ruled out as any considerable factor by a late May small sample check. But the same check indicated that there might be a seasonal effect in the US Zone, so it was deemed best to avoid any trend comparisons in this area on the basis of the facts at present available. In any case, however, it is clear from the data at hand that whatever growth may have occurred in the extent of VOA listenership in the US Zone, it is considerably less than in West Berlin.

* In May 1950 respondents who reported listening to the radio only seldom were not asked about their VOA listening, as they were in the 1949 and 1951 surveys. This deficiency in comparability was remedied for the present comparison by correcting the 1950 West Berlin percentages upward (an almost negligible two per cent) in the same ratio as "seldom" listeners reported VOA listening in the 1949 figures. A second approximation lies in the fact that a somewhat different set of questions was used to ascertain VOA listeners in 1951 than in the earlier two surveys. The approaches are roughly comparable, however, and, to the extent that they are not, the 1951 figures are probably conservative, since the latest procedure makes possible a more definitive exclusion of marginal "seldom" VOA listeners from the trend than did the earlier approaches.

** Part of the latest increase in VOA listening in West Berlin may be due to the establishment of a 15-minute morning broadcast on April 16, 1951. This factor is not likely to have played any considerable role however, as a large proportion of the respondents were interviewed before the new addition could take effect.

GROUP VARIATIONS IN TOTAL VOA AUDIENCE ...

Group variations in the total VOA audience (i.e. inclusive also of seldom listeners) reveal the expected pattern of more widespread listenership among the more educated and informed elements of the West German population. In no group in the population are those who have heard VOA less than half, though of course in some groups, it should be noted, the number of cases is too few for reliable judgment.

It is interesting that in West Berlin the proportion of radio listeners who have heard VOA is almost a hundred per cent across the board.

"Did you ever hear any of these programs during the past month?" (All radio listeners presented with list of programs including VOA.)

"Did you ever listen to the 'Voice of America'?" (Asked of those radio listeners who did not indicate having listened to VOA during past month.)

Sex	WEST GERMANY		WEST BERLIN		No. of cases WEST GERMANY	No. of cases WEST BERLIN
	Total VOA Listeners	Never heard VOA & No ans.	Total VOA Listeners	Never heard VOA & No ans.		
Men	72%	28%..100%	100%	0%..100%	1050	229
Women	58	42	98	2	1255	310
Education						
Elementary school	62%	38%	99%	1%	1817	378
Secondary school	74	26	100	-	369	129
Diploma & University	84	16	100	-	119	32
Income (per month):						
0 - 149 DM	58%	42%	98%	2%	531	136
150 - 299 DM	65	35	99	1	1036	242
300 - 599 DM	70	30	100	-	618	137
600 and more	76	24	100	-	87	22
City Size:						
0 - 4,999 pop.	68%	32%			872	
5,000 - 24,999	67	33			430	
25,000 - 99,999	70	30			298	
100,000 - 249,999	61	39			239	
250,000 and over	54	46			466	
Occupation:						
Professionals	72%	28%	96%	4%	113	8
Businessmen	72	28	98	2	315	68
White-collar workers	71	29	100	-	341	92
Skilled laborers	66	34	99	1	409	72
Semi-skilled laborers	63	37	100	-	285	73
Dom. & prot. Service	66	34	100	-	74	24
Farmers	58	42	-	-	251	7
Housewives	70	30	100	-	72	6
Unemployed	72	28	99	1	90	76
None: pens., stud., retir., apprentices	53	47	99	1	355	104
Trade Union Membership:						
Yes, member	72%	28%	100%	0%	402	74
No	64	36	99	1	1903	465
Age:						
19 - 24 years	67%	33%	98%	2%	340	60
25 - 34 years	70	30	99	1	438	78
35 - 44 years	67	33	99	1	537	130
45 - 54 years	65	35	99	1	451	138
55 years and over	55	45	99	1	490	133
Party preferences:						
SPD	70%	30%	99%	1%	631	252
CDU/CSU	65	35	98	2	472	107
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	76	24	100	-	160	112
Other parties	65	35	100	-	173	11
No party	64	36	100	-	514	34
Don't know	51	49	100	-	325	14
Religion:						
Catholics	66%	34%	98%	2%	1043	63
Protestants	64	36	99	1	1156	383
Origin:						
Natives (& evacuees)	64%	36%	99%	1%	1892	496
Expellees	68	32	100	-	295	18
Refugees (from Eastern Zone after 1945)	72	28	100	-	107	23

COMPARATIVE COMPOSITION OF VOA LISTENER FREQUENCY GROUPS ...

It is advantageous in the present connection to supplement the overall picture of group variations in the VOA audience which has just been presented, with a more detailed presentation of comparative variations among VOA listener frequency groups - "very frequent", "frequent", "occasional", and "seldom" listeners.

Study of the figures for West Germany and West Berlin (see following two pages)* reveal that similarity rather than difference is the rule between the audience compositions of the various VOA listener frequency groups. This outcome tends to suggest that the important determinants of frequency of VOA listening lie in factors other than the sociological variables of sex, education, income, age, etc., etc.

Among the more detailed indications it will be noted that there is no evidence of any greater tendency for more educated VOA listeners to listen more frequently than less educated. In fact, in West Berlin there would appear to be a slight indication of a contrary trend.

Another point revealed by the returns is that younger respondents are relatively less represented among the more frequent VOA listeners. Such a fact may be a more or less inevitable consequence of the lesser regularity and greater number of distractions associated with youth.

A final provocative indication which should not be overlooked - though its precise significance is not easily assessed - is the disproportionately heavy listening to the VOA program among SPD adherents, both in West Germany and West Berlin.

* It will be noted that percentages in these tabulations are calculated somewhat differently than in the preceding table. This is to facilitate audience comparisons among the various VOA listener frequency groups. In an appendix, for those who may find the information desirable, the same figures are presented as percentages in the usual way.

"How frequently do you listen to the 'Voice of America'?" (Asked of all radio listeners who indicated having heard VOA in preceding month.)

"Did you ever listen to the 'Voice of America'?" (Asked of those radio listeners who did not indicate having listened to VOA during preceding month.)

	ALL VOA LISTENERS	Very frequent listeners	Frequent listeners	Occa- sional listeners	Seldom listeners	NEVER HEARD VOA
WEST GERMANY						
Sex:						
Men	51%	54%	56%	52%	46%	36%
Women	49	46	44	48	54	64
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Education:						
Elementary school	75%	77%	74%	72%	76%	85%
Secondary school	18	18	21	20	16	12
Diploma & University	7	5	5	8	8	3
Income (per month): *						
0 - 149 DM	21%	27%	18%	17%	21%	27%
150 - 299 DM	45	42	48	51	43	45
300 - 599 DM	29	38	29	26	30	23
600 DM and more	5	3	4	5	5	3
City Size:						
0 - 4,999 pop.	40%	42%	42%	41%	38%	34%
5,000 - 24,999	19	17	19	15	21	18
25,000 - 99,999	14	15	15	19	11	10
100,000 - 249,999	10	9	10	9	10	12
250,000 and over	17	17	14	16	20	26
Occupation:						
Professionals	6%	4%	5%	8%	5%	4%
Businessmen	15	15	13	17	16	11
White-collar workers	16	15	19	16	15	13
Skilled laborers	18	15	17	17	20	17
Semi-skilled labor.	12	12	14	12	11	13
Dom. & prot. service	3	3	4	4	3	3
Farmers	10	7	9	8	12	13
Housewives	3	3	3	4	3	3
Unemployed	4	8	4	4	3	3
None: pensioners, students, retired, apprentices	13	18	12	10	12	20
Trade Union Membership:						
Yes, member	19%	18%	22%	17%	18%	14%
No	81	82	78	83	82	86
Age: *						
19 - 24 years	15%	11%	18%	16%	15%	13%
25 - 34 years	21	14	21	22	22	17
35 - 44 years	24	22	24	28	24	22
45 - 54 years	21	27	20	19	21	21
55 years and over	19	26	16	14	18	27
Party Preference:						
SPD	30%	40%	31%	26%	26%	23%
CDU/CSU	20	16	22	19	21	21
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	8	9	9	7	8	5
Other parties	8	7	8	7	8	8
No party	22	19	21	26	22	23
Don't know	12	9	9	15	15	20
Religion:						
Catholics	46%	49%	47%	51%	43%	44%
Protestants	49	48	48	45	52	52
Others	5	3	5	4	5	4
Origin:						
Natives (& Evacuees)	82%	77%	79%	82%	84%	84%
Expellees	13	17	15	11	12	11
Refugees (from Eastern Zone after 1945)	5	6	6	7	4	4
No. of cases:	(1494)	(232)	(437)	(186)	(639)	(787)

* Some of the age and income column tabulations in the above and following table do not quite add up to 100 per cent as a few respondents did not report their status in these respects.

CONFIDENTIAL

"How frequently do you listen to the 'Voice of America'?" (Asked of all radio listeners who indicated having heard VOA in preceding month.)

"Did you ever listen to the 'Voice of America'?" (Asked of those radio listeners who did not indicate having listened to VOA during preceding month.)

	ALL VOA LISTENERS	Very frequent listeners	Frequent listeners	Occasional & seldom listeners
WEST BERLIN*				
Sex:				
Men	43%	44%	44%	37%
Women	57	56	56	63
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Education:				
Elementary school	70%	71%	71%	65%
Secondary school	24	26	24	19
Diploma & University	6	3	5	16
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	25%	26%	24%	24%
150 - 299 DM	45	44	48	39
300 - 599 DM	26	25	26	28
600 DM and more	4	4	2	9
Occupation:				
Professionals	4%	3%	2%	14%
Businessmen	13	13	13	9
White-collar workers	17	17	18	19
Skilled laborers	13	13	16	7
Semi-skilled laborers	14	12	16	14
Dom. & prot. Service	4	4	4	8
Farmers	-	-	-	-
Housewives	1	1	1	-
Unemployed	14	18	11	9
None: pens., stud., retired, apprentices	20	19	19	20
Trade Union Membership:				
Yes, member	14%	13%	16%	11%
No	86	87	84	89
Age:				
19 - 24 years	11%	8%	14%	13%
25 - 34 years	14	10	18	20
35 - 44 years	24	23	27	18
45 - 54 years	26	29	21	28
55 years and over	25	30	20	21
Party Preference:				
SPD	47%	50%	47%	37%
CDU/CSU	20	21	16	25
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	21	19	24	19
Other parties	2	2	2	2
No party	6	5	7	9
Don't know	4	3	4	8
Religion:				
Catholics	12%	14%	9%	13%
Protestants	71	69	75	67
Others	17	17	16	20
Origin:				
Natives (& evacuees)	92%	92%	94%	86%
Expellees	4	4	2	4
Refugees (from Eastern Zone after 1945)	4	4	4	10
No. of cases:	(534)	(249)	(206)	(79)

* The group "Never heard VOA" is not included in the above tabulation as it has vanishingly few cases in West Berlin.

III. COMPARATIVE LISTENING TO VOA VERSUS SOME MAJOR WESTERN AND EASTERN PROGRAMS

COMPARATIVE COVERAGE IN WEST GERMANY ...

To shed additional light on the status of VOA's German coverage, the VOA listenership inquiry was designed so as to simultaneously obtain coverage data on a series of other politically relevant programs which compete for audience attention in West Germany and West Berlin.

The returns reveal (see following page) that the Voice of America ties for first among the programs listed with "Echo des Tages" (Echo of the Day), each with 41 per cent reported listenership in West Germany as a whole. This would seem to be a rather considerable achievement for VOA as Echo of the Day is very probably the most prominent native German political program in West Germany and West Berlin.*

As would be expected, extent of listenership is greatest for VOA in the US Zone, with 65 per cent of the radio audience reporting having heard the program in the past month, and greatest for Echo of the Day in the British Zone with a 69 per cent coverage figure. Across zones where both programs are limited by reception difficulties, Echo of the Day attains a 9 per cent listenership figure and VOA a 24 per cent. That VOA does somewhat better in the British Zone than Echo of the Day in the US Zone must be at least partly discounted in view of the fact that VOA is released over Radio Bremen which gives good British Zone facilities in the area adjacent to it. Radio Bremen is comparatively weak, however, (five kilowatts) so the importance of this consideration should not be overestimated.

Further evident in the tabulated returns is that the German service of BBC has but very modest coverage in West Germany with only seven per cent of radio listeners reporting having heard it in the preceding month. This coverage is slightly less than the 9 per cent attained in West Germany by the Soviet propaganda program - The Truth About America - aired over Radio Leipzig and other East Zone stations.

A final important indication in the coverage figures of the programs subjected to study, is that Mr. Boerner's Commentary - a HICOG-sponsored political program aired over the same facilities as VOA - apparently achieves the same extent of listenership in West Germany as the top commentary of the NWDR network - Peter von Zahn's "From Near And Far". In addition, Mr. Boerner's program outdraws in Bavaria - where they have somewhat comparable facilities - the well known commentary of Mr. von Cube and outdraws in Hesse the Radio Frankfurt commentator Mr. Herr. These facts clearly indicate that overt American political commentary can compete very favorably with the best the Germans have to offer.

* VOA and Echo of the Day provide a rather good basis of comparison for coverage figures as they are heard at the same time, are of the same length, are almost the same in frequency (VOA seven times a week, Echo of the Day six) and both put their program emphasis on news and commentaries on the affairs of the day. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, they have fairly equal technical advantages as NWDR matches in the British Zone VOA's excellent facilities in the US Zone. Across these zones, despite a VOA outlet over Radio Bremen, each program runs into fairly comparable difficulties on the average. In the French Zone VOA probably has some technical advantage with coverage emanating from Radio Stuttgart. This fact should not disturb the comparability of the West German returns, however, since the French Zone embraces only 11.7 per cent of the West German population, and the British Zone, in which Echo of the Day has the technical advantage, is more populous than the US and French zones combined (51.9 per cent of the population).

It is well to emphasize that the present comparisons refer strictly to extents of listenership over the preceding month. Which program is best liked among respondents who have heard VOA and others will be treated in a subsequent paper.

"Did you ever hear any of these programs during the past month?" **0200**
(Asked of all radio listeners.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
The Voice of America	41%	24%	65%	40%
Echo of the Day	41	69	9	12
Mr. Boerner's Commentary	24	8	48	21
From Near and Far	24	41	4	6
Germany in RIAS	13	14	13	14
Mr. von Cube's Commentary	10	4	20	4
The Truth About America	9	8	10	6
German Service of BBC	7	8	5	7
Mr. Herr's Commentary	6	2	12	4
Pulsebeat of the Time	5	7	4	3
None of them	26	23	24	48
No answer	-	-	1	-

	British Zone				US Zone			French Zone		
	Nd.-W.	Nd. Sa.	Schl. Wkst.	Freie Zonen	Ba-va-	Hes-	W.-Ba-	Ba-den	Rhld. Pfalz	Sued-Wttbg. H Zoll.
The Voice of America	19%	32%	25%	33%	65%	65%	64%	42%	42%	34%
Echo of the Day	70	62	79	71	9	10	11	8	18	2
Mr. Boerner's Commentary	4	10	9	21	44	57	51	17	23	20
From Near and Far	40	35	52	49	4	6	4	1	8	5
Germany in RIAS	12	16	22	13	14	8	14	15	16	10
Mr. von Cube's Commentary	3	5	5	5	35	1	3	5	4	2
The Truth About America	6	12	11	8	13	7	6	13	4	3
German Service of BBC	7	8	11	12	4	9	4	13	6	3
Mr. Herr's Commentary	2	3	2	2	2	41	2	3	6	-
Pulsebeat of the Time	6	6	10	9	4	5	4	7	2	-
None of them	23	30	15	12	23	23	25	48	45	54
No answer	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	2

* Outlets and broadcast data on these programs are as follows:

"The Voice of America": (Prior to change in length and broadcast time on July 1, 1951) News, political commentaries and features; heard daily from 19:00 to 19:30 over US Zone stations embracing Radio Frankfurt, Munich, Stuttgart, Bremen, and RIAS in West Berlin; RIAS also presents VOA news and commentaries from 0:05 to 0:20 (after April 16, 1951, 22:45 to 23:00 plus additional program 6:45 to 7:00).

"Echo of the Day": News and political commentaries 19:00 to 19:30 daily except Sunday over the North West German Network (Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk).

"Mr. Boerner's Commentary": Political commentaries of five minutes length at varying time in the evening on Tuesday and Friday each week over US Zone stations, Bremen and RIAS.

"From Near and Far": Political commentaries by Peter von Zahn; every Tuesday from 21:30 to 21:45 hrs over the North West German Radio Network.

"Germany in RIAS": Reports and on-the-spot interviews on current domestic affairs; was expanded from April 15th on to include such on other countries too; Monday through Friday from 18:00 to 18:25 hrs over RIAS.

"Mr. von Cube's Commentary": Commentaries on current political affairs, domestic and foreign; every second Saturday (alternating with Guggenheimer) from 19:30 to 19:45 hrs over Radio Munich.

"The Truth About America": Commentaries, interviews, radio plays and other features containing anti-American propaganda; 15 and 30 minutes; originated by Radio Leipzig and rebroadcast by Radio Berlin and "Deutschlandsender" at varying times in the evening and days of the week. (All three are Soviet Zone stations.)

"German Service of BBC": All-round program with emphasis on news and commentaries; from 6:00 until after midnight; over short wave, medium wave, and long wave - British stations.

"Mr. Herr's Commentary": Commentaries on, usually, foreign affairs; once a week for five minutes over Radio Frankfurt.

"Pulsebeat of the Time": Reports on political events in Berlin; Monday through 19:30 to 19:45 over Radio Berlin, and every day except Thursday over "Deutschlandsender", 18:45 to 19:00 hrs. (Both are Soviet stations.)

CONFIDENTIAL

COMPARATIVE COVERAGE IN WEST BERLIN ...

In West Berlin VOA enjoys a marked lead in coverage over all the programs investigated, with 90 per cent of the radio listeners reporting having listened to it during the past month. This coverage greatly overshadows the 36 per cent figure for VOA's neck-and-neck West German competitor - Echo of the Day. However, a technical factor which must be assumed to contribute at least partially to VOA's being so far in the van lies in the fact that in addition to the major VOA program, a 15-minute VOA broadcast is aired over RIAS in the late evening and on April 16, 1951 - soon enough to affect parts of the respondents sampled - another 15-minute VOA program was established in the early morning.

Two other RIAS-aired programs - Germany in RIAS and Mr. Boerner's Commentary - follow in second and third place in extent of radio listener coverage in West Berlin with 65 per cent and 59 per cent respectively. The extent of coverage for Mr. Boerner's programs would appear to be particularly notable in view of the fact that his remarks are broadcast for only five minutes twice weekly.

"Did you ever hear any of these programs during the past month?" (CARD)
(Asked of all radio listeners.)

	WEST BERLIN
The Voice of America (RIAS)	90%
Germany in RIAS (RIAS)	65
Mr. Boerner's Commentary (RIAS)	59
Echo of the Day (NWDR)	36
Pulsebeat of the Time (Radio Berlin)	19
From Far and Near (NWDR)	14
The Truth About America (Radio Leipzig)	11
Mr. von Cube's Commentary (Radio Munich)	6
German Service of BBC (BBC)	6
Mr. Horr's Commentary (Radio Frankfurt)	2
None of them	6
No answer	-

The Eastern-sponsored programs subjected to examinations - The Truth About America and Pulsebeat of the Time - appear to achieve levels of coverage very considerably below those of the three leaders aired over RIAS, and Echo of the Day over NWDR. Only 19 per cent of West Germans, it will be noted, report having heard Pulsebeat of the Time during the preceding month and 10 per cent the Truth About America.

Apparent too in the Berlin figures is that, just as was the case in West Germany, the German output of the British Broadcasting Company is listened to by only a very small fraction of the radio audience.

COMPARATIVE COMPOSITION OF PROGRAM AUDIENCES IN WEST BERLIN ...

Comparison of the proportion of various population elements that compose the audiences of the various political programs under study is most revealing in West Berlin, since in that area the technical facilities of the various programs are more nearly equal, and hence differences in audience composition can be more confidently ascribed to program qualities.

Comparative tabulations (see following pages) reveal fairly similar audience composition patterns in West Berlin for VOA, Germany in RIAS, and Mr. Boerner's Commentary, thus tending to suggest that in influencing the composition of their audiences, their points of similarity - all American, all political, all aired over RIAS - are much more important than their differences.

Bringing in the remainder of the Western programs which have enough cases for reliability, namely NWDR's Echo of the Day, and From Near and Far, does not show any considerable dissimilarity in audience composition from the American trio.

These facts suggest, all in all, that the major Western political programs in West Berlin, regardless of station outlet or American versus native German auspices, have a fairly similar audience in terms of the conventional sociological characteristics of sex, education, income, age, etc., etc.

It is the Eastern-sponsored program - The Truth about America (and Pulse-beat of the Time to a considerably lesser degree) - that generates an audience of dissimilar composition in many significant respects. In the audience of the Truth about America, as compared to the Western political programs, there are disproportionately more men, more less educated, more lower income respondents, more unemployed, more semi-skilled laborers, and more younger people. Not all of these differences are reliably beyond chance with the limited number of cases involved, but taken as a group they make it clear that though the overall listenership to the Truth about America is relatively low (11 per cent of West Berlin radio audience), it is attracting listeners disproportionately, in comparison with Western programs, from population elements likely to be most vulnerable to the anti-American propaganda.

COMPARATIVE COMPOSITION OF PROGRAM AUDIENCES IN WEST GERMANY ...

Comparison of audience compositions in West Germany for the political programs studied is, as stated, complicated by differences in technical facilities. The Voice of America program and Mr. Boerner's Commentary can best be compared as they are released over the same network. The figures (see following pages) strongly parallel the West Berlin indication, that the audience compositions of American political programs are very similar.

The NWDR programs - Echo of the Day and From Near and Far - are quite similar in audience composition to the two American programs, except in the rural urban composition of their listeners and the Catholic-Protestant ratio. Neither of these latter differences, however, have in all probability anything to do with program influences, but are only extraneous reflections of the fact that the British Zone - where NWDR gathers the bulk of its listeners - is more urban and more Protestant.

- The tendency evident in West Berlin for the anti-American propaganda program - the Truth about America - to recruit its listeners disproportionately from more vulnerable population groups - the less educated, less well off, unemployed, young, and the like - is not reliably indicated in West Germany.

Did you hear any of these programs during the last month? (asked of all West Berlin radio listeners.)*

WEST BERLIN

	Voice of America (RIAS)	Germany in RIAs (RIAS)	Boerner's Commentary (RIAS)	Echo of the Day (NWDR)	Pulsebeat of the Time (EAST)	From Near and Far (NWDR)	The Truth about America (EAST)
<u>Sex:</u>							
Men	44% 56 100%	47% 53 100%	47% 53 100%	53% 47 100%	37% 63 100%	53% 47 100%	61% 39 100%
Women							
<u>Education:</u>							
Elementary school	70%	69%	65%	69%	74%	61%	77%
Secondary school	25	25	29	24	21	29	20
Diploma & University	5	6	6	7	5	10	3
<u>Income (per month):</u>							
0 - 149 DM	25%	25%	23%	23%	27%	18%	38%
150 - 299 DM	45	46	44	45	44	50	43
300 - 599 DM	26	25	28	28	27	23	16
600 DM and more	4	4	5	4	2	9	3
<u>Occupation:</u>							
Professionals	3%	3%	5%	4%	1%	8%	5%
Businessmen	13	13	15	12	7	10	5
White-collar workers	18	17	20	17	19	17	11
Skilled laborers	14	13	12	14	12	13	13
Semi-skilled laborers	13	14	12	15	16	13	18
Dom. & prot. Service	4	5	3	4	8	3	5
Farmers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Housewives	1	1	2	2	1	1	2
Unemployed	15	15	13	11	21	14	20
None: pensioners, students, retired, etc. apprentices	19	19	18	21	15	21	21

* Comparative figures for Von Cube's Commentary, Herr's Commentary, the German Service of BSC, and respondents who reported not having listened in the last month to any of the programs listed, are omitted as in West Berlin each group embraces fewer than 35 cases.

(cont'd on next page)

WEST BERLIN

Trade Union Membership:

Yes, member
No

	Voice of America (RIAS)	Germany in RIAS (RIAS)	Boerner's Commentary (RIAS)	Echo of the Day (NWDR)	Pulsebeat of the Time (EAST)	From Near and Far (NWDR)	The Truth about America (EAST)
Age:							
19 - 24 years	15% 85 100%	16% 84 100%	16% 84 100%	17% 83 100%	8% 92 100%	14% 86 100%	16% 84 100%
25 - 34 years	11%	12%	9%	11%	18%	16%	18%
35 - 44 years	15	14	13	17	17	13	22
45 - 54 years	25	23	24	23	28	25	18
55 years and over	25	26	24	27	19	23	16
Party Preference:	24	25	30	22	18	23	26
SPD	47%	50%	46%	48%	57%	50%	54%
CDU/CSU	20	17	19	19	15	21	21
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	21	22	26	22	16	25	13
Other parties	2	2	1	2	3	1	3
No party	6	6	5	6	4	1	7
Don't know	4	3	3	3	5	2	2
Religion:							
Catholics	12%	12%	11%	12%	8%	17%	7%
Protestants	72	72	72	72	74	68	72
Other religions; no religion	16	16	17	16	18	15	21
Origin:							
Natives (A. Braunes)	92%	92%	92%	92%	92%	93%	88%
Expellees	4	4	3	4	6	3	5
Refugees (from Eastern Zone after 1945)	4	4	5	4	2	4	7
No. of cases:	(491)	(354)	(322)	(194)	(105)	(77)	(61)

WEST GERMANY

Trade Union Membership:

Yes, member
No

	Voice of America Day	Boerner's Comment-ary	From Near and Far	Germany in RIAS	Von Cube's Commentary	The Truth about America	German Service (BBC)	Herr's Pulse-Comment-ary	Pulse-beat of the Time	None
19% 81	23% 77	18% 82	25% 75	22% 78	18% 82	27% 73	20% 80	19% 81	25% 75	10% 90
100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Age:

19 - 24 years
25 - 34 years
35 - 44 years
45 - 54 years
55 years and over
No answer

Party Preference:

SPD
CDU/CSU
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV
Other parties
No party
Don't know

Religion:

Catholics
Protestants
Other religions; no religion

Origin:

Native (a Francuses)
Expellees
Refugees (from Eastern Zone after 1945)
No answer
No. of cases:

32% 20	30% 21	33% 18	34% 23	33% 18	29% 19	34% 17	31% 22	32% 15	33% 21	19% 18
8	9	10	9	9	5	11	10	11	7	4
7	8	7	7	9	14	10	6	6	8	8
22	18	23	15	19	22	17	19	29	21	28
11	14	9	12	12	11	11	12	7	10	23
47% 48	36% 58	46% 49	35% 58	40% 56	59% 37	42% 54	36% 58	38% 59	41% 58	49% 46
5	6	5	7	4	4	4	6	3	1	3
79% 15	81% 12	80% 14	83% 11	74% 17	83% 15	77% 18	81% 12	82% 14	79% 12	87% 10
6	6	6	6	9	2	5	7	4	8	3
-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
(933)	(952)	(546)	(554)	(310)	(220)	(195)	(162)	(133)	(126)	(596)

APPENDIX

COMPARATIVE GROUP VARIATIONS AMONG VOA LISTENER FREQUENCY GROUPS

"How frequently do you listen to the 'Voice of America'?" (Asked of all radio listeners who indicated having heard VOA in preceding month.)

"Did you ever listen to the 'Voice of America'?" (Asked of those radio listeners who did not indicate having listened to VOA during preceding month.)

	ALL VOA LIST.	Very freq. list.	Freq. list.	Occa- sional list.	Sel- dom list.	NEVER HEARD VOA	No ans- wer	...	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY									
Sex									
Men	72%	12%	23%	9%	28%	27%	1%	100%	1050
Women	58	8	15	7	28	41	1		1255
Education:									
Elementary school	62%	10%	18%	7%	27%	37%	1%		1817
Secondary school	74	11	25	10	28	26	-		369
Diploma & University	84	10	18	12	44	16	-		119
Income (per month):									
0 - 149 DM	58%	12%	15%	6%	25%	40%	2%		531
150 - 299 DM	65	10	20	9	26	34	1		1036
300 - 599 DM	70	10	21	8	31	30	-		618
600 DM and more	76	8	21	11	36	24	-		87
City Size:									
0 - 4,999 pop.	68%	11%	20%	9%	28%	31%	1%		872
5,000 - 24,999	67	9	20	6	32	33	-		430
25,000 - 99,999	70	12	22	12	24	28	2		298
100,000 - 249,999	61	9	17	7	28	38	1		239
250,000 and over	54	8	13	6	27	44	2		466
Occupation:									
Professionals	72%	9%	20%	13%	30%	28%	-%		113
Businessmen	72	11	18	10	33	27	1		315
White-collar work.	71	10	25	9	27	29	-		341
Skilled laborers	66	9	18	8	31	33	1		409
Semi-skilled lab.	63	9	22	8	24	36	1		285
Dom. & prot. Service	66	8	23	11	24	34	-		74
Farmers	58	6	15	6	31	40	2		251
Housewives	70	10	18	10	32	30	-		72
Unemployed	72	21	20	9	22	27	1		90
None; pens., stud., retir., etc., apprentices	53	12	14	5	22	45	2		355
Trade Union Membership:									
Yes, member	72%	11%	24%	8%	29%	28%	-%		402
No	64	10	18	8	28	35	1		1903
Age:									
19 - 24 years	67%	7%	23%	9%	28%	31%	2%		340
25 - 34 years	70	8	20	9	33	30	-		438
35 - 44 years	67	10	20	9	28	32	1		537
45 - 54 years	65	13	18	7	27	34	1		491
55 years and over	55	13	14	5	23	43	2		490
Party Preference:									
SPD	70%	15%	21%	7%	27%	29%	1%		631
CDU/CSU	65	8	20	8	29	35	-		472
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	76	13	24	8	31	23	1		160
Other parties	65	9	20	7	29	35	-		173
No party	64	9	18	9	28	36	-		514
Don't know	51	5	12	8	26	45	4		325
Religion:									
Catholics	66%	11%	20%	9%	26%	33%	1%		1043
Protestants	64	10	18	7	29	35	1		1156
Origin:									
Natives (& Evacuees)	64%	10%	18%	8%	28%	35%	1%		1892
Expellees	68	14	22	7	25	31	1		295
Refugees (from Eastern Zone after 1945)	72	13	24	12	23	26	2		107

CONFIDENTIAL

"How frequently do you listen to the 'Voice of America'?" (Asked of all radio listeners who indicated having heard VOA in preceding month.)
 "Did you ever listen to the 'Voice of America'?" (Asked of radio listeners who did not indicate having heard VOA in preceding month.)

	ALL VOA LIST.	Very freq. list.	Freq. list.	Occa- sional & sel- dom list.	NEVER HEARD VOA	No. of cases
WEST BERLIN						
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	100%	48%	40%	12%	2%...100%	229
Women	98	45	37	16	2	310
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	99%	47%	39%	13%	1%	378
Secondary school	100	50	38	12	-	129
Diploma & University	100	25	34	41	-	32
<u>Income (per month):</u>						
C - 149 DM	98%	48%	36%	14%	2%	136
150 - 299 DM	99	45	41	13	1	242
300 - 599 DM	100	45	39	16	-	137
600 DM and more	100	45	23	32	-	22
<u>Occupations:</u>						
Professionals	96%	30%	18%	48%	4%	23
Businessmen	98	48	40	10	2	68
White-collar workers	100	45	39	16	-	92
Skilled laborers	99	46	45	8	1	72
Semi-skilled laborers	100	40	45	15	-	73
Dom. & prot. Service	100	37	38	25	-	24
Farmers	-	-	-	-	-	-
Housewives	100	50	50	-	-	6
Unemployed	99	61	29	9	1	76
None: pens., stud., retir., etc., apprentices	99	46	38	15	1	104
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>						
Yes, member	100%	43%	45%	12%	2%	74
No	99	47	37	15	1	465
<u>Age:</u>						
19 - 24 years	98%	35%	47%	16%	2%	60
25 - 34 years	99	32	46	21	1	78
35 - 44 years	99	44	44	11	1	130
45 - 54 years	99	52	31	16	1	138
55 years and over	99	55	31	13	1	133
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	99%	49%	38%	12%	1%	252
CDU/CSU	98	49	30	19	2	107
FDP/LDP/DVP/EDV	100	43	44	13	-	112
Other parties	100	36	46	18	-	11
No party	100	35	44	21	-	34
Don't know	100	36	21	43	-	14
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	98%	54%	28%	16%	2%	63
Protestants	99	45	40	14	1	383
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives (& Evacuees)	99%	46%	39%	14%	1%	496
Expellees	100	56	28	16	-	18
Refugees (from Eastern Zone after 1945)	100	43	31	26	-	23

HOW DO WEST GERMAN YOUTH REACT
TO AMERICAN HISTORY

*Classification cancelled
by authority of Leo P. Crespi*
Preliminary Study of Stuttgart Pupils'
Appraisal of an Outline of American History
PUB/RAS:

Report No. 96
Series No. 2
August 30, 1951

R E S T R I C T E D

OFFICE OF THE U. S. BUREAU COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION ...

At the request of the Editorial Projection Branch, ISD, Office of Public Affairs, HICOG, a study of the reactions of German youths to the brochure "An Outline of American History" was conducted in Stuttgart by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs. The publication of the United States Information Service was distributed to 200 respondents in all, comprising pupils at four different types of schools (Elementary school, Middle school, High school, Trade School)*. between the ages of 13 and 20 years, teachers in the same schools and a number of prospective teachers currently in a Stuttgart teachers' training college. The respondents were given a week in which to read the brochure and then asked to express their opinions on write-in questionnaires. Two trained members of the staff of RAS conducted the interviews in Stuttgart on July 5th and 6th, 1951

The respondents showed great interest in both the brochure and the ensuing interview. In addition to the numerous questions the respondents were asked to mention anything in connection with the brochure that the ballot did not give an opportunity to express. Selected examples of these comments are included in the report.

Factual background and sample information are appended to the report.

Because of the relatively small number of cases involved, quantitative differences appearing in the report are not in all instances reliably beyond chance. However, the interviewers' experience in the discussion periods following the administering of the questionnaire suggests that the differences of viewpoints tend in fact to be real ones, especially as regards high school and Trade school respondents.

* Elementary school here refers to Volksschule. Almost without exception Volksschule pupils of the age interviewed in this study will complete their formal education at the end of 8 years of Volksschule schooling, usually at the age of 14.

Middle school (Mittel Schule) pupils normally receive 10 years of education in all.

In high school (Hochere Schule) pupils receive the diploma after 12 years of schooling. This permits them to enter a university.

Trade school (Gewerbeschule) is attended one whole day each week by apprentices in various trades. Their formal education generally is limited to Volksschule.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

In general, the publication entitled "Outline of American History" was well received by both its youthful Stuttgart readers and those of their teachers who also read it. Indications are that Trade school pupils were more appreciative on the whole than were high school students. Salient findings are detailed as follows.

I. GENERAL APPRAISAL

- ... American history is highly interesting to young Germans, judging by the reactions of Stuttgart pupils. More than eight out of 10 say they like the outline of American history. Scarcely anyone claims not to like it at all.
- ... Manner of presentation is a weighty factor in the popularity of the volume. Almost half (46%) of the respondents refer favorably to the overall excellence of the style of the booklet, and an added 21% bring up the pictures in relation to the general content. And while 19% speak of the content as being the reason for liking the publication, scrutiny indicates that manner of presentation also plays a part in the judgment.
- ... The few who claim not to have liked the brochure particularly well probably would not be too interested in any historical work. Judging by most of their comments they are critical of historical reporting rather than of any faults in the outline presentation.
- ... Further evidence of the importance format and style play is the fact that in mentions of what is best liked, references to the pictures, the make-up, and the written style largely preponderate. Scattered mentions are made regarding individual chapters, and a few (4%) are impressed by the American spirit of freedom and independence conveyed in the outline.
- ... Opinions scatter when the respondents indicate what they had liked least in the brochure. Some point to a certain heaviness in the style and flaws in the presentation and others to a lack of objectivity. However, a sizeable fraction declare that there is nothing they don't like.

II. REACTIONS TO THE CONTENT

- ... Most respondents did not read the entire outline but rather selected certain chapters. The fact that only 14% read it in its entirety is probably owing more to lack of time and the length of the publication than to lack of interest in it. The first chapter on the colonial period received the widest readership, with the War for Independence, the Civil War, and the World War II periods vying for second place. Other chapters were less frequently read.
- ... Further evidence of the generally favorable reception of the outline is that preponderant opinions among all groups interviewed are that it succeeded in giving a satisfactory overall view of American history.
- ... Over half believe that the publication presents an unbiased account of American history, but three in 10 respondents are skeptical of its general objectivity. High school students are markedly more critical.

- b -

RESTRICTED

R E S T R I C T E D

III. IMPACT ON ATTITUDES

- ... Perusal of the volume did not influence the preponderance of readers' opinions regarding the United States. It did, however, give three in 10 readers a better opinion of America, according to their own claims, and worsened the views of only a negligible fraction (3%).
- ... The aspects of American history most frequently mentioned as having made the greatest impression are the American concept of democracy and the principles of freedom and equality for all men.

IV. VALUE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

- ... Respondents almost unanimously declare that they would like to read more about America and in this form of presentation. They name a variety of subjects that they would be interested in.
- ... A clear majority of all pupils and also of the teachers advocate a more thorough study of American History in German schools.

V. SPECIFIC REACTIONS TO THE OUTLINE

- ... The rather unorthodox method of presenting history seems to find favor with most of the readers. Almost eight in 10 consider a brochure such as the outline quite suitable.

The most frequently mentioned argument against the brochure is one of practical considerations, namely that the format is too big and unwieldy. Some voice the opinion that the magazine appearance was not dignified enough for the subject.

- ... In the opinion of three out of four respondents such brochures should be used in class-room instruction. They also indicate in which courses brochures of this kind could be best used.

Reasons for opposition center around the lack of time and the amount of material already to be absorbed by German pupils, as well as the point of view that it should rather be considered private reading matter for those who are interested.

- ... Very few readers indicate that the outline contained words that they could not understand. However, it is well to bear in mind that the prestige factor enters into replies to queries of this nature. Thus, the proportion claiming no reading difficulty may be somewhat inflated. However, the fact remains that a large majority claim they read the brochure without any difficulty.
- ... Finally, large majorities recommend the inclusion of such books in their school libraries and say they would advise their friends to read it.

- 6 -

R E S T R I C T E D

RESTRICTED

I. GENERAL APPRAISAL

AMERICAN HISTORY APPEARS TO BE A POPULAR SUBJECT ...

American history is highly interesting to young Germans, judging by the reactions of Stuttgart pupils. More than eight out of 10 say they like the outline of American history. Scarcely anyone claims not to like it at all.

"In general, how did you like the brochure?"

	Total	Boys	Girls	Element- ary & Middle	High school	Trade school	Teachers
Liked it very well	13%	13%	13%	14%	7%	24%	23%
Liked it well	71	70	74	83	66	72	59
Did not like it too well	12	13	7	-	22	4	12
Did not like it at all	*	1	-	-	1	-	-
No opinion	2	-	6	-	3	-	-
Question not answered ^a	2	3	-	3	1	-	6
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As may be seen in the above table, high schools pupils, who represent those West German youths most likely to go on to a university career, appear proportionately more reserved than others in their enthusiasm for the outline, which undoubtedly reflects in part the generally more critical point of view of the better educated. But the youthfulness of these "better educated" respondents probably also causes them to be more critical than would be the case with adults of the same or better educational standing. However, though sample-size precludes making any definite comparisons, the fact that this group throughout the study tends to be relatively more skeptical than the bulk of the youthful respondents suggests that the potential West German leadership group which they may be said to represent, is less inclined than others to be impressed by the implications to the free world of the development of American history.

^a As often happens with write-in questionnaires, some questions were left unanswered or unchecked. Thus the "question not answered" figures in the tables of this report signify that some respondents failed to check any of the answer boxes provided or did not write an answer to open-end questions.

Manner of presentation is a weighty factor in the popularity of the ~~booklet~~. Almost half (46%) of the respondents refer favorably to the overall excellence of the style of the booklet, and an added 21% bring up the pictures in relation to the general content. And while 19% speak of the content as being the reason for liking the publication, scrutiny of their comments indicates that manner of presentation also plays a part in the judgment.

"Why did you like it (very well) (well)?"

The presentation of history is good, interesting, generally understandable and appealing: The brochure is interesting, one can use it well for history class; apart from the historical facts the brochure constitutes interesting reading matter; the brochure gives historical facts - e.g. science - without being dull and dry, but rather in a style that is appealing, captivating and clear; the brochure is good from a historical point of view; the presentation of US history is fairly exhaustive and generally understandable; everything is described very precisely and in such detail that everyone can understand it; because of the clear view that one got of American history; statements of American politicians are quoted and that serves to enlighten us on the motives that are at the basis of political decisions; etc.

Total:

46%

The manner of presentation (particularly the pictures) is liked: Generally liked the pictures well; this brochure is entertaining, informative for girls of our age, and also understandable because of the many pictures; the manner of presentation documents a great deal of good taste; the presentation is interesting; impressive way of presenting such a book (print and photos, graphotechnical method); generous way of presentation, the many pictures make everything very clear; the brochure is interesting because of the beautiful illustrations; I like the illustrations and it is easier for me to absorb historical data when I am interested in a succession of pictures; etc.

21

Knowledge of the United States was intensified: Because it is entirely new to us; one has here an account of the development of the United States, one can rarely find that in other books; American books on US history give a better idea than European books on the same subject; because it is a chapter of history that we don't learn about very thoroughly; because this brochure completes my knowledge of the United States; etc.

19

It is an objective account: This brochure gives us an objective account of the history of the United States - as far as I am in a position to judge; the history of America is dealt with very objectively; this is the first book on US history that I have found to be complete and objective; the Southerners are not - like they usually are - presented like evil black men; etc.

6

The presentation differs from that of the usual text-books: It is educating without having that dull and uninspiring style of text-books; it gives us an idea of American history in a way that is different from that of the usual text-book in which the main emphasis is on dates; etc.

2

Other opinions: The German style of writing is good; the following observation: I wanted to skip through the book, but didn't get very far and was forced by the way the text is written to read very carefully; I consider that to be a good phenomenon in a book; the brochure gives a good concise account; for more thorough understanding I would prefer the book on US History by Faulkner, published in the BM library; etc.

4

No opinion

1

Question not answered

7
106%

** Percentages add to more than the 84% of whom the question was asked as some respondents gave more than one answer.

CRITICS APPEAR TO BE DISINTERESTED IN HISTORY **.

The few who claim not to have liked the brochure particularly well probably would not be too interested in any historical work. Judging by most of their comments they are critical of historical reporting rather than of any faults in the outline presentation.

"Why (didn't you like it particularly well)(didn't you like it at all)?"

Total:

Chapters are too long - style a little heavy and dull: Particularly for youthful readers it seems to me that the style is a little too heavy; just right for a professor of history, but I feel sorry for the pupils who have to read or even learn the brochure. It may be all right for Americans but not for foreigners; the style was not very exciting; I object to the length of the chapters, the reader is encouraged to read very superficially; too much factual information, as a result it is difficult to recognize the really significant parts; the presentation is too dry and not sufficiently clear; etc.

5%

Presentation somewhat subjective: In the period of colonization for instance everything is presented a little better than it really was; because it is propagandistic; this brochure is sometimes subjective, it stresses too much the advantages of America over Europe; conditions in the different ages are seen through American eyes; we lack the enthusiasm that Americans probably have for their country, we are much more skeptical; etc.

3

Lack of interest in history: I am simply not interested in history; the content doesn't interest me; etc.

1

Other opinions: One cannot resist the impression that the presentation as such is too pompous for the content; because there were war pictures; most of the pictures are just lousy; the main reason is my personal attitude, which I had to begin with. I don't like to have a book like that recommended, those who are interested will find a way of getting to it; etc.

3

No opinion

-

Question not answered

2
14%**

** Percentages add up to more than the 12% of whom the question was asked because some people gave more than one answer.

RESTRICTED

FORMAT AND PRESENTATION ALSO CONTRIBUTE TO POPULAR APPEAL ...

Further evidence of the importance format and style play is the fact that in mentions of what is best liked, references to the pictures, the make-up, and the written style largely preponderate. Scattered mentions are made regarding individual chapters, and a few (4%) are impressed by the American spirit of freedom and independence conveyed in the outline. Comments follow in the table below.

"What did you like most about the brochure?"

	Total
<u>The pictures:</u> The many pictures appealed to me most; particularly the pictures, as one could see what conditions were like then and what they are now; the black-and-white prints and the color pictures; the pictures and the drawings were most interesting and educating; the large picture of Lincoln; I was very much surprised by these wonderful photographs; the historical pictures; etc.	35%
<u>The format:</u> The whole presentation; at a first glance the beautiful book strikes you, the good paper, the good arrangement of articles; the presentation as such; the cover page, the clear print; the whole appearance of the brochure; etc.	18
<u>The written style:</u> The lively descriptions; one can read it like a good novel and one doesn't have to ponder about the meaning of everything; the attempt to present history in a lighter fashion; the way only the important events are given without an overflow of dates of inferior significance; its objectivity; it is scientific without being boring; the clear, easy and versatile style; etc.	14
Specific chapters particularly liked:	
<u>Chapter V: Sectional Conflict</u>	8
<u>Chapter VII: America in the Modern World</u>	8
<u>Chapter II: The Winning of Independence</u>	8
<u>Chapter I: The Colonial Period</u>	6
<u>The American desire for freedom and independence:</u> The great urge for independence; the declaration of independence, its anniversary was celebrated in Stuttgart yesterday with a parade; Abraham Lincoln's struggle to eliminate slavery from the Southern states; the equality of Negroes in the Northern States in the last century; the ideals and the goal of all Americans are stressed so well, such as for instance in the picture showing soldiers who erect the flag of freedom on a totalitarian island. And all the instances that show understanding for the suppressed, e.g. Truman's speech on the reasons of totalitarianism; etc.	4
<u>The idea of publishing such a brochure:</u> The attempt to present history in such a way; the basic idea of such a publication; etc.	4
<u>Everything liked:</u>	2
<u>Others:</u> I didn't like anything; the fact that it was distributed free of charge; good characterization of values and weaknesses of leading Americans; etc.	4
<u>No opinion</u>	15
<u>Question not answered</u>	2
	128%**

**Some respondents gave more than one answer

RESTRICTED

Opinions scatter when the respondents indicate that they had liked least in the brochure. Some point to a certain heaviness in the style and flaws in the presentation and others to a lack of objectivity. However, a sizeable fraction declare that there is nothing they don't like. It will also be noted that the proportion of respondents who did not answer the question is exceptionally high.

"What did you like least about the brochure?"

Certain weak points in the presentation, style, language used:	Total
The brochure goes too far, the significant should be more emphasized; the chapters are too long; the German used in certain places is not very good; the lengthy deliberations surely could have been shortened a little bit, and the style in which it was written leaves a great deal to be desired; the format, it won't go in any bookcase or bag; the brochure should appear in booksize; the old-fashioned pictures should not fill whole pages; the maps shown are not detailed enough; etc.	16%
<u>Everything liked:</u> I liked everything; there wasn't anything I didn't like; all the chapters are written in an interesting way; it was good all around; etc.	14
<u>Lack of objectivity:</u> The slow annihilation of the Indians is not mentioned at all or else presented as something trivial; in a few places - particularly toward the end, there is a marked lack of objectivity; towards the close of the book only those facts are reported that demonstrate how America tries to bring about world peace; nothing detrimental is mentioned; doesn't America have any bad points?; the whole American concept of democracy is preached as the gospel; exaggerated emphasis on their "exemplariness"; I didn't like the fact that all you read is so highly positive, I would like to know about the social conflicts that they still have; the captions under the pictures show a certain amount of overbearing; etc.	12
<u>Certain chapters disliked:</u> Chapter III; Sectional Conflict; the Colonial Period; The Era of Expansion and Reform; etc.	10
<u>Certain flaws in the pictures shown:</u> Some of the pictures did not appeal to me at all; I didn't like the color pictures because the colors seem very unreal; I didn't like at all the pictures of war and destruction and the one of erecting the flag, such pictures were considered evil when they showed the Hitler Youth or the SS; for my taste some of the pictures were too primitive; the photographs were not always clear; pictures look as though they were taken from a little boy's first picture-book; etc.	9
<u>Chapter VII: America in the Modern World disliked:</u>	7
<u>Certain fields completely missing; other fields overly emphasized:</u> There is too little on the culture of the country, and after all, the culture is a part of the history of a country; there was no mention of American literature; important domestic events were not dealt with at all; the political development of the United States was overly emphasized; in the interest of improving relations between the United States and Germany it would have been better not to concentrate so heavily on domestic events, it would have been interesting to hear about the foreign policy, particularly present-day; etc.	4
<u>Lack of clear tables, geographical maps:</u> I miss a clear table of one or two pages, where all the important events are compiled; a clear division into the various periods should have been shown; there isn't an index; lack of a good map; etc.	3
<u>Other opinions:</u> The post-mortem discussion of Hitler, I am of the opinion that those things should at long last be forgotten; I object to the expression "Nazi" - I hate it just as much as the Americans would probably hate it if one would never call them anything but "Axis"; etc.	3
<u>No opinion</u>	1
<u>Question not answered</u>	26
	105%

** Some respondents gave more than one answer

RESTRICTED

II. REACTIONS TO THE CONTENT

READERS ARE SELECTIVE ...

Most respondents did not read the entire outline but rather selected certain chapters. The fact that only 14% read it in its entirety is probably owing more to lack of time and the length of the publication than to lack of interest in it. The first chapter on the colonial period received the widest readership, with the War for Independence, the Civil War, and the World War II periods vying for second place. Other chapters were less frequently read.

"Which part of this brochure did you read?"

	Total	Boys	Girls	Elementary & Middle	High school	Trade school	Teachers
Read the whole brochure	14%	15%	9%	13%	7%	32%	29%
Read certain chapters							
Which? (see table below)	60	63	54	73	50	68	59
Read only certain parts	17	15	24	9	29	-	12
Only pictures and captions	7	6	7	2	13	-	-
Didn't look at the brochure	2	-	6	3	1	-	-
No answer	-	1	-	-	-	-	-

"Which chapters did you read?" (Asked of those who said that they read certain chapters)

The Colonial Period	50%	52%	45%	62%	37%	60%	59%
The Winning of Independence	28	34	15	25	25	40	41
Sectional Conflict	27	30	20	44	15	32	23
America in the Modern World	26	25	28	21	27	32	24
The Formation of a National Government	15	18	5	3	18	20	29
Westward Expansion and Regional Differences	5	6	2	-	8	4	12
The Era of Expansion and Reform	4	6	2	5	5	-	6
	155%*	171%*	117%*	160%*	135%*	188%*	194%*

SPECIAL CASE OF TRADE SCHOOL PUPILS ...

It will be noted that Trade School pupils were persistent and thorough readers, though again the difference in the extent of readership among groups is not reliably beyond chance. However, the interviewers' experience with the Trade School group suggests that they actually had more real interest in the booklet than other groups. During a discussion period they exhibited a very lively curiosity in American history and developments, impelled in part because their course of training emphasizes the practical almost to the exclusion of such subjects as history and the social sciences. To the extent that these Trade School pupils are representative of the working class population, their lively interest in the outline suggests that the potential receptivity to US information campaigns of the "hard to reach" group is more real than apparent. Once reached, they are as receptive, if not more so, than their higher status compatriots.

*Percentages add to more than the percentage of people of whom the question was asked as some named more than one chapter.

BOOK GIVES A SATISFACTORY SUMMARY OF US HISTORY ...

Further evidence of the generally favorable reception of the outline is that preponderant opinions among all groups interviewed are that it succeeded in giving a satisfactory overall view of American history.

"Did this brochure succeed in giving you a satisfactory general view of the history of the United States, or were there certain things that the brochure did not clarify?"

	Total	Boys	Girls	Elementary & Middle	High school	Trade school	Teachers
Gave satisfactory view	75%	75%	72%	87%	63%	96%	53%
Did not clarify certain things	12	12	11	10	13	4	29
No opinion	1	2	-	-	1	-	6
Question not answered	<u>12</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>12</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As the criticisms listed below (in order of frequency of mention) indicate, the alleged negative aspects of American history are mentioned more frequently as the topics which were ignored or unexplained in the publication.

"What didn't it clarify?"

The Racial problem: Racial problems in present day life - do the Negroes actually have equal rights today?; the question of the Negroes and the Indians; psychological background of the race problem and its solution; the Indians were annihilated - and there isn't a word about in Chapter I; America doesn't consist merely of white people; etc.

Contemporary history: Territorial arrangements after World War II; the relationship with Soviet Russia; what America's stand on the most recent world events is; present-day America; etc.

Other opinions: To transmit a clear view of the history of America the brochure would have to be shorter and give more facts; why weren't there more details on Columbus?; reform and taxes; everything was unclear; the colonial period; too little foreign policy; economic considerations in foreign policy; acquisition of the French territories is not quite clear; etc.

PREPONDERANCE CONSIDERS OUTLINE UNBIASED ...

Over half believe that the publication presents an unbiased account of American history, but three in ten respondents are skeptical of its general objectivity. High school students are markedly more critical.

"As far as you can judge do you have the impression that in this brochure US history is presented objectively and as it really was, or do you think that the Americans presented themselves in too good a light?"

	Total	Boys	Girls	Elementary & Middle	High school	Trade school	Teachers
Objectively and as it really was	53%	57%	39%	68%	31%	96%	47%
In too good a light (for examples see list on following page)	29	31	26	16	42	4	47
No opinion	7	2	20	11	6	-	6
Question not answered	<u>11</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

RESTRICTED

Examples of bias named by the critical group are largely taken from contemporary history, as will be noted in the subsequent itemisation of their criticisms.

"Can you give me any examples?" (Asked of those who said that the Americans present themselves in too good a light)

	Total
<u>In the last chapter "America in the Modern World": America in the Modern World, especially toward the end of the book; in the last chapter; I am ready to believe the earlier periods but not the account of present-day; particularly toward the end there is obvious and clumsy propaganda; in the last chapter I find the presentation very pro-American; etc.</u>	6%
<u>The way the matter of the Indians is presented: Indian wars, the question of the Indians and all the battles with them are not mentioned; I missed a presentation of the whole problem of the Indians; etc.</u>	4
<u>General impression gained: The general impression that the brochure made; the presentation is too advantageous; "all that glitters is not gold"; etc.</u>	4
<u>Have the Americans no bad points?: There isn't anything negative in this brochure - do you think that the contemporary American is free of all guilt?; war criminals are named only on our side; are the Americans really so peace-loving and how about their democracy?; it doesn't appear very objective and invites opposition; the author seems to assume that everything Americans do is good, merely because it is done by a free people; etc.</u>	3
<u>Air-raids on non-military objectives not mentioned: The author presents the air-raids on German industry and living areas (not even mentioned) purely as reprisal raids; according to my opinion raids on such cities as Dresden cannot be considered of military importance; not military objectives, but defenseless cities were aimed at in the big raids, I found no mention of the terrible impression these raids left on the Germans; etc.</u>	3
<u>Presentation of America's entry into World War I and II: When they describe how America entered into World War I; misrepresentation of facts in connection with America's declaration of war in World Wars I and II; etc.</u>	3
<u>Presentation of the history of the Constitution: Wasn't there a Greek and English constitution before the American one?; to the best of my knowledge, Greece and England had a written constitution long before; etc.</u>	2
<u>Presentation of the Negro problem: The Negro problem has not been solved to this day and there is no mention of that in the last chapters of the brochure; they underplay unpleasant facts such as the negro problem; etc.</u>	2
<u>Others: Roosevelt's mistakes in his Russia policy are left out; America's fight in East Asia was mostly for markets and for a place to invest capital; the Morgenthau-Plan is presented to the Germans as though it had never had importance, I am of the opinion that the plan was quite far-reaching; etc.</u>	2
<u>No opinion</u>	1
<u>Question not answered</u>	2
	34%

* Percentages add to more than the 29% of whom the question was asked because some respondents gave more than one answer.

RESTRICTED

III. IMPACT ON ATTITUDES

OPINIONS OF US UNCHANGED OR IMPROVED AMONG MOST READERS ...

Perusal of the volume did not influence the preponderance of readers' opinions regarding the United States. It did, however, give three in 10 readers a better opinion of America, according to their own claims, and worsened the views of only a negligible fraction (3%).

"Is your opinion of America now better or worse than it was before reading the brochure, or hasn't your opinion changed?"

	Total	Boys	Girls	Elementary & Middle	High school	Trade school	Teachers
Better now (for explanation see table below)	27%	33%	13%	38%	12%	60%	23%
Worse now	3	3	2	-	5	-	-
Unchanged	61	59	66	59	69	40	53
No opinion	*	-	2	-	1	-	-
Question not answered	9	5	17	3	13	-	24
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Can you explain that?" (Asked of those who said that their opinion was better now)

	Total
<u>Opinions based on certain historical facts:</u> Their urge for freedom; Truman's message to Congress; because they had to fight for their freedom; I recognized certain traditions in their past and the way they fought for their right; etc.	8%
<u>Information on facts so far unknown:</u> It dealt with things that I didn't know anything about before; because everything is much clearer to me now; the information on American history that was unknown to me; my impression of the country and its people was improved; etc.	8
<u>More understanding for the individual American and his achievements:</u> One gets to know the individual, that must change an opinion - all we have known about the Americans is their power; I now understand the characteristics of Americans much better; my impression of the achievements of the Americans from the early days to this day is much better now; I had considered the individual American as much more of a business-man, rather than an idealist; etc.	4
<u>Other opinions:</u> Because the brochure reported in a positive sense; pictures of the period; etc.	2
<u>No opinion</u>	1
<u>Question not answered</u>	5 28%

*Percentages add to more than the 27% of whom the question was asked because some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

DEMOCRACY, FREEDOM AND PROGRESS MOST IMPRESSIVE ...

The aspects of American History most frequently mentioned as having made the greatest impression are the American concepts of democracy and the principles of freedom and equality for all men.

"What impressed you in the historical development of America?"

	Total
<u>Their concept of democracy, urge for freedom, equality, their participation in government affairs:</u> Particularly their fight for justice and freedom; the will for independence; the principle of democracy; the development of the democratic form of government; the equality and justice; the fact that the colored people have the same rights as the white people; the development of the pronounced sense of freedom that Americans have; Americans feel the responsibility to watch over the preservation of peace in the world; etc.	25%
<u>The rapid progress and general development:</u> The way America worked hard to get where it is; the rise of the United States from a poor people of settlers to a world power; America's development; I liked the book for its implications; it is interesting to see what can develop when there is the possibility to create a new mode of living and after all ties with traditions have been severed; the last chapter is particularly impressive because it shows a culmination point after a long period of development; rapid progress in all fields; etc.	13
<u>Persistence, courage, energy and initiative of the Americans:</u> The spirit of the colonists that led to their independence; their courage in the upheaval against England; the initiative documented by the immigrants; the hard struggle that the first settlers had to endure; energy of the population in general; the determination with which the Americans have constructed their country without being able to base it on any tradition; etc.	8
<u>The fusion of a multitude of races, peoples into one single nation:</u> That all these many peoples and races could be united under one government; the way all these foreign people held together; the fact that so many different peoples contributed to the formation of the United States; that America developed into a democracy so quickly and so successfully, not long after its beginning as a melting-pot of races and peoples; etc.	7
<u>The Colonial Period (Chapter I of the brochure):</u>	3
<u>Certain figures in the history of the United States:</u> President Roosevelt, Abraham Lincoln; Jefferson and Washington; etc.	2
<u>The Era of Expansion and Reform (Chapter VI of the brochure):</u>	1
<u>Other opinions:</u> How the Northern States held together; the gold rush; the America of today; etc.	5
<u>Nothing impressed me particularly:</u>	14
<u>No opinion</u>	1
<u>Question not answered</u>	22
	101%

*Percentages add to more than 100% because some respondents mentioned more than one fact that had impressed them.

LARGE MAJORITY WANTS TO READ MORE US HISTORY ...

Respondents almost unanimously declare that they would like to read more about America and in this form of presentation. They named a variety of subjects that they would be interested in.

"Would you like to read more about America in brochures like this one?"

IF: "Yes"; "What would you be interested in?"

	Total
<u>About life in America today:</u> The America of today; more about our present day and age; modern times and what it is like to live there; the problems that the US runs up against; the truth about present day life in America; the social structure; how one would live in the prairie nowadays; etc.	17%
<u>About American culture:</u> Cultural problems; the importance attributed to art in America today and something on American literature rather than history; poems of Walt Whitman; reports on theater productions; concert reports (Toscanini, Miller, "A Streetcar Named Desire"); poems by Americans in English; the history of American music; religion; etc.	15
<u>About industry and technical science, discoveries and explorations, machines, and means of communication:</u> The field of technics, technical development; technical progress; brochures of this kind dealing with machines and industry I am sure would be extremely popular; discoveries; machines; explorers; the history of exploring; etc.	15
<u>More about the history of the United States:</u> The history of that country; the significance of the history of the United States for other countries; whole brochure on the Colonial Period; George Washington; the history of their constitution; World War II; modern history; development of the social structure within the last century; etc.	10
<u>About American politics:</u> The foreign policy of the United States; party politics in the country, the Negro problem; the relationship between Germany and America, but in all honesty; their position in the politics of the world; their present policy; etc.	10
<u>About the geography of the United States; what the country looks like:</u> American landscapes, their flora, fauna and inhabitants; an impression of their geography; their natural resources; description of farms, of the animals, of what they grow; botany; the national parks, the large cities, the countryside; etc.	7
<u>About commerce, trades and economy:</u> The economy of the United States; about the various trades and the possibilities of advancement for an immigrant; artisans in America today; their economic policy; etc.	6
<u>About sports in the United States:</u> Sports in America; I would also like to read about sports, provided that the books are not paid for out of occupation costs; etc.	2
<u>About the Indians:</u> The ancient history of the Indians; how the Indians participated in the War of Independence; the Indians; etc.	1
<u>Other opinions:</u> About everything; about the individual states of the Union; the school system; etc.	8
<u>No, would not like to read more about America in brochures like this one:</u>	4
<u>No opinion</u>	-
<u>Question not answered</u>	22
	117%

*Percentages add to more than 100% because some people gave more than one topic they would like to read about.

PREPONDERANCE ADVOCATES STUDY OF US HISTORY ...

A clear majority of all pupils and also of the teachers advocate a more thorough study of American history in German schools.

"What is your opinion: should US history be taught more thoroughly in German schools, or do you consider it sufficient if European history is thoroughly dealt with?"

	Total	Boys	Girls	Elementary & Middle	High school	Trade school	Teachers
US history more thoroughly	78%	72%	76%	98%	58%	96%	76%
European history sufficient	20	19	22	2	40	4	6
No opinion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Question not answered	2	2	2	-	2	-	18
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

V. SPECIFIC REACTIONS TO THE OUTLINE

LARGE PREPONDERANCE JUDGES OUTLINE EFFECTIVE ...

The rather unorthodox method of presenting history seems to find favor with most of the readers. Almost eight in 10 consider a brochure such as the outline quite suitable indeed.

"Do you think that a brochure like this one lends itself well to a presentation of history, doesn't lend itself so well, or doesn't lend itself at all?"

	Total	Boys	Girls	Elementary & Middle	High school	Trade school	Teachers
Lends itself well	77%	75%	84%	86%	71%	92%	59%
Does not lend itself so well	17	20	7	14	20	4	23
Does not lend itself at all	2	2	-	-	2	-	6
No opinion	1	-	2	-	-	-	6
Question not answered	3	3	7	-	7	4	6
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The most frequently mentioned argument against the brochure is one of practical considerations, namely that the format is too big and unwieldy. Some voice the opinion that the magazine appearance was not dignified enough for the subject.

"Why does it not (lend itself so well) (lend itself at all)";
(Asked of those who said that the brochure does not lend itself so well or at all)

Total

The format is impractical: The format is too big and very impractical when you want to read it on a train or so; the size is too big; it can tear so easily; the format is unfavorable, it can tear; a brochure is always more exposed to wear and tear than a book; it is more difficult to read than a publication in the format of a book; etc.

8%

A more concise presentation of history is preferred: I would rather have history presented in purely scientific form and much shorter; this doesn't give a true picture of history, many people prefer a more concise form; etc. 4

It is too much like a magazine: Because it has more the character of a magazine than of an historical work; it is too much like an illustrated magazine; most people will not take it seriously because it is so much like a magazine; the illustrated brochure is too undignified a form of publication for a historical subject; etc.

3

Other opinions: It looks too much like advertising and sales promotion; this brochure does not achieve its goals as expressed in the introduction; etc.

1

No opinion

2

Question not answered

1
19%

LARGE PREPONDERANCE ADVOCATES CLASS-ROOM USE ...

In the opinion of three out of four respondents such brochures should be used in class-room instruction. They also indicate in which courses brochures of this kind could be best used.

"Would you favor or oppose the use of such brochures in class-room instruction?"

	Total	Boys	Girls	Element- ary & Middle	High school	Trade school	Teachers
Favor (see table below for classes)	74%	74%	72%	95%	57%	84%	70%
Oppose (see table below for reasons)	23	24	22	5	41	12	12
No opinion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Question not answered	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>18</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"In which class should they be used?" (Asked of those who said that they would favor the use of such brochures)

	Total
In history class	53%
In language classes	16
In geography class	33
In civics	11
In German class	4
In other classes: biology, sports, in sociology class, in all classes, etc.	7
No opinion	-
Question not answered	<u>3</u>
	127%*

Reasons for opposition (listed on the next page) center around the lack of time and the amount of material already to be absorbed by German pupils, as well as the point of view that it should rather be considered private reading matter for those who are interested.

*Percentages add to more than the 74% of whom the question was asked because some respondents gave more than one answer.

"For what reasons would you oppose the use of such brochures in class-room instruction?" (Asked of those who said that they opposed the use of such brochures)

Total

Our classes are over-burdened with material anyway, and this brochure on American history is too detailed: All the classes we have are terrifically over-burdened; instruction in German schools is top-heavy with material to learn anyway; this brochure deals with a small area and does it in great detail; the brochure is too long, think what one would have to learn in European history if that were taught in equal detail; etc.

8%

Brochures of this kind are better suited for private reading enjoyment: I think it's better to read the brochure at home where you have the leisure to do so, and then I would want it to be in German and English text on opposite sides; the brochure is nicer for private entertainment; it is better to study a book like this by oneself than in class; etc.

5

It cannot be considered because of lack of time: It takes too much time; lack of time; it would take so much time to deal with it that little would be left for everything else; etc.

3

The presentation is not objective: History should be objective and uninfluenced; but this book reflects only the American point of view; because it is propaganda material; history should be neutral and not one-sided; etc.

3

It should be left up to the interests of the individual pupil: Those who are interested in it should be able to take it out of the library, but for class-room instruction more precise manuals are needed; I say that because I think that the study of US history should be left up to the individual; America should not be the center of our interests - those who are interested can spend some time on it outside of school; etc.

2

Other opinions: If we read every bit of rubbish in class, where would we get?; the presentation with all the illustrations might distract the pupils; if it is going to be history, then why not a real book, like the one by Faulkner; as an elementary school teacher I think of elementary school attendants first, and for them it would be too difficult; etc.

4

No opinion

-

Question not answered

25%

*Percentages add to more than the 23% of whom the question was asked because some respondents gave more than one answer.

WRITTEN STYLE IS UNDERSTOOD BY MOST READERS ...

Very few readers indicate that the outline contained words that they could not understand. However, it is well to bear in mind that the prestige factor enters into replies to queries of this nature. Thus, the proportion claiming no reading difficulty may be somewhat inflated. However, the fact remains that a large majority claim they read the brochure without any difficulty.

"Were you able to understand the text easily, or were there words that you couldn't understand?"

	Total	Boys	Girls	Elementary & Middle	High school	Trade school	Teachers
Could understand everything easily	83%	80%	89%	80%	82%	88%	88%
There were words I couldn't understand	10	14	-	17	5	12	6
No opinion	1	1	2	-	2	-	-
Question not answered	6	5	9	3	11	-	6
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Further evidence of the popularity of the brochure is found in replies to the following queries.

MOST WOULD WELCOME IT IN SCHOOL LIBRARIES ...

"Would you welcome it if your school library had such brochures for you to take out, or not?" **

	Total	Boys	Girls	Elementary & Middle	High school	Trade school
Would welcome it	85%	84%	87%	87%	84%	96%
Would not welcome it	6	6	5	11	5	-
No opinion	3	3	2	-	6	-
Question not answered	6	7	6	2	5	4
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

AND WOULD RECOMMEND IT TO THEIR FRIENDS ...

"Do you think that your friends would like to read such brochures?" **

	Total	Boys	Girls	Elementary & Middle	High school	Trade school
Yes	74%	73%	80%	91%	67%	88%
No	7	7	5	3	11	8
No opinion	8	9	6	1	13	-
Question not answered	11	11	9	5	9	4
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

PARENTS WHO READ THE OUTLINE LIKED IT ...

Of the parents who read the brochure most were quoted as having liked it.

"Did your parents read the brochure?" **

Yes, they read it:

	Total	Boys	Girls	Elementary & Middle	High school	Trade school
They liked it	25%	22%	33%	40%	14%	48%
They didn't particularly like it	*	1	-	-	-	4
Don't know whether they liked it	6	5	8	6	9	-
No, they didn't read it	62	64	57	54	76	48
Question not answered	7	8	2	-	1	-
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** These questions were asked only of pupils, not of teachers.

SUMMARY COMMENTS ...

Space was provided on the write-in questionnaire for any additional comments respondents wished to add regarding their opinions on the outline. A large proportion chose to do so. Examples of their comments are as listed below.

"As a vivid presentation of history this publication will appeal much more to the pupil than the German text book still used at present. It is well suited as reading matter. The pupil, particularly the one in the lower grades between 12 and 14 years of age, wants history text books to have an anecdotal, 'story-like' character. This brochure - as all presentations of history in American text books - eminently meets that demand. There is no doubt that history here is brought to life for the pupils, to which are added the excellent illustrations. Such an all-round illustrative presentation of history is of course achieved at the expense of historical precision. Many facts - in order not to cause confusion - have had to be omitted or 'adapted,' owing to these facts this brochure is not suitable 'as is' for high school students (aged from 14 to 19) who demand an objective, factual, and particularly a critical attitude towards history, it would at least require additional commentaries even given by the teacher. The advanced student does not want history presented to him palatably but, instead, is keen on arriving at his own conclusions. On this count a certain lack of objectivity is likely to be embarrassing, this is painfully apparent particularly in the presentation of contemporary history. For reading matter for the low grades this fact is not too important.

Fundamentally there are two ways of presenting history:

- 1) Presentation in a novel-like (not meant in bad sense) form,
- 2) critical analysis of history, which, though admitted to be 'dry,' aims at strictest objectivity.

This brochure conforms excellently with the first mentioned type of historical presentation, much more so than any text book on history written in Germany up to now. However, when it comes to proper history, this brochure would have to be rejected for above stated reasons. These are limiting factors in its use in the schools."

"The way America endeavours to introduce her democracy in Germany, a defeated country. America does not have the desired success and merely evokes antipathy."

- "1) I would consider it advantageous to shorten the text considerably and to make it livelier by introducing colorful episodes. This would increase interest in the historical development of the United States.
- 2) Pictures are more effective than dull articles. Also a series of pictures can convey a vivid impression. Hence more pictures."

"Perhaps it would also be possible to give other youth groups a chance to see this outline. Only a small percentage of youth attend high school; most of them have some job that offers little opportunity for information."

"In my opinion a brochure that is distributed among German pupils should omit details which have specific importance only in the domestic policy of the United States. Instead more space should be given to matters of foreign policy which are of importance to the development of world history."

"I personally would welcome it if we could be given similar books on America at weekly or monthly intervals. The brochure should inform us very objectively on life in America and it should not have the appearance of a general magazine. The following fields would interest me particularly: culture and art, economy, politics, social conditions, the socio-economic pattern, etc. There should be pictures of all the presidents, and pictures of the countryside; those would help us understand the spirit that was created by these surroundings."

"If this brochure was and is to be printed on occupation costs, then I reject it! If it should be put up for sale few clients would be found. However, the presentation shows a certain taste."

"What chances does an immigrant have? Is everyone allowed to immigrate and where would he find the best opportunity to establish himself? Is there a way for a pupil of this trade school to enter into correspondence with an American boy? Is there such a thing as an exchange program for people like us? A book on problems of the modern world would be very interesting for us. What could be said for and against the ideology of Communism? Which form of government is the best in your opinion? Is America really only trying to preserve peace in its war against North Korea?"

"I would suggest the treatment of our present day and age and the real conditions in all walks of life. Inasmuch as I cannot form an opinion on the basis of hearsay, I would like to have someone prove to me what it really is like. What are the characteristics of the Americans? Are they always in a hurry, do they have a 'home' in our sense of the word, do they allow their children too much freedom? If it is so, I would welcome an explanation."

"I presume that the distribution of this brochure was merely an experiment. I would not recommend such a thing for the future, particularly not in schools. Pupils have to work so hard for their written tests, particularly now before the vacations that they have very little spare time. Furthermore, it must arouse the pupil's opposition if he is asked to read such a brochure in a certain period of time (pupils consider everything a compulsion). Another thing is that the whole thing is sponsored by the American Government. There are so many people who have lost their houses because American troops are billeted in them. One cannot expect them to receive what comes from the Americans with open arms. Also the wounds of the war are still too fresh."

"I want to consider the task that this brochure has set itself first. It is stated in the preface that the book is to contribute to a better understanding between the readers and the American people- through information. Yet it will never be able to reach all the pupils in German schools, but only a small group, the high school students. The bulk of the school group consists of elementary school pupils and for them the level of the outline is too high. It presupposes a certain amount of historical knowledge which an elementary school pupil cannot have. Its frame of reference is too high and there are many difficult words."

"As a German one feels the lack of understanding for the different conditions in this country and the needs of a country that is too densely populated."

"An objective evaluation of the job of history writing is difficult for anyone who is not a specialist. We are not familiar enough with facts in American history."

"According to my opinion a brochure like this cannot serve two purposes. If it is to entertain and educate at the same time, then it is too long and not simple enough, one has to think and try to understand. If it is to convey factual knowledge in a scientific sense, then it would have to contain maps and charts, it should be more clearly arranged and not so general."

"It would be nice if the Americans too would try to understand German history, so as to be better able to understand the German people and the way they act."

"Would it not be possible to add a set of questions to each chapter, in which the main events treated in the chapter would be repeated? And perhaps it would be good to give important historical dates on the side of the text, at the margin."

"Writing history is always interpreting it. Therefore one can never quite know how it really was. The author will not deny a certain optimistic and Western tendency. In spite of that I consider the brochure a good popular information media."

"The presentation is too abstract and general - episodes and anecdotes would be welcome."

"More books in German are always desirable. We can't read English, for instance the EM books from the military collection are very good but we can't do anything with them."

"It is a little too detailed. And too idealistic - less advantageous aspects are not treated - such as the bank crash and corruption cases. Representatives of personal freedom? Example to prove the contrary: Political questionnaire of 1945 (which party did you vote for in 1932 - secret ballot). However, this brochure has helped to improve understanding, it explains the American mentality. I am for it."

"The publication is too statistical. It should be much more alive, moving - one should be encouraged to think in terms of periods rather than historical dates."

APPENDIX A

FACTUAL BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Of the total sample of respondents:

- ... 73% are boys
- ... 27% are girls
- ... 32% are pupils of Elementary school and Middle school
- ... 47% are High school pupils
- ... 12% are Trade school pupils
- ... 9% are teachers still in training or currently teaching in the different schools where pupils were interviewed.

Main Breadwinner of Family ©:

	Total	Boys	Girls	Elementary & Middle	High school	Trade school
Father	82%	80%	89%	89%	85%	92%
Mother	15	17	7	24	9	24
Brother, sister	13	12	15	19	5	32
Uncle, aunt	2	2	2	5	1	-
Others	3	3	4	-	2	8
No answer	8	9	4	-	4	-
	123%**	123%**	121%*	137%**	106%**	156%**

Profession of the Main Breadwinner ©:

Professional	20%	22%	17%	3%	39%	4%
Business and Managorial	19	20	17	22	23	8
Clerical	21	15	37	27	21	16
Skilled labor	16	20	7	22	5	48
Semi-skilled labor	4	5	2	5	-	16
Domestic service	*	1	-	2	-	-
Farmers and farm laborers	*	-	2	2	-	-
Housewives	1	1	-	3	-	-
Retired, pensioners	11	8	13	9	10	4
No answer	8	8	5	5	2	4
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

© Question not asked of teachers

* Less than one half of one per cent

**Some respondents gave more than one answer

APPENDIX B

List of the selected Stuttgart schools, where teachers and pupils were interviewed:

<u>Name of School:</u>	<u>Type of School:</u>
Housteig-Schule fuer Jungen	Elementary school
Neckar-Mittelschule fuer Maedchen	Middle school
Karls-Oberschule fuer Jungen	High school
Moorike-Oberschule fuer Maedchen	"
Eberhard-Ludwig Gymnasium fuer Jungen	"
Jobstfaehschule	Trade school
Paedagogisches Institut	Training college for teachers

GERMANS VIEW THE VOICE OF AMERICA

II. Some Technical Factors In VOA Listenership

Classification cancelled
by authority of P. Crespi
Report No. 2
August 31, 1951
PUB/RAS.

CONFIDENTIAL

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

C O N F I D E N T I A L

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

SUMMARY

I. STATION COVERAGE AND THE QUESTION OF "CAPTIVE AUDIENCE"

Extent Of Coverage Of VOA Station Outlets ...
The "Captive Audience" Question In VOA Listening ...

II. TIME SCHEDULING FACTORS IN VOA LISTENING

Time Of Listening Preferences Of VOA Listeners ...
Time Of Listening Patterns Of General Radio Audience ...

III. RADIO OWNERSHIP AND VOA LISTENING ..

Extent Of Radio Ownership In West Germany And West Berlin ...
Radio Ownership And The Extent And Frequency Of VOA Listening ...

IV. GENERAL RADIO LISTENING VOLUME AND VOA LISTENING

Volume Of Radio Listening In West Germany And West Berlin ...
Volume Of Radio Listening And Extent And Frequency Of VOA
Listening ...

V. PROGRAM LENGTH AND VOA LISTENING

Length Preferences Of VOA Listeners ...
Program Length Preferences And Frequency Of VOA Listening ...

- 2 -

C O N F I D E N T I A L

INTRODUCTION

The present report by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, is the second of a series emanating from a detailed inquiry into the status of the Voice of America program in West Germany and West Berlin. The initial paper presented data on the extent and characteristics of the VOA audience in West Germany and West Berlin; subsequent papers will deal with program evaluations and indices of effectiveness.

The VOA survey marked the initial use of a full-scale probability sample of West Germany and West Berlin embracing 3,000 cases in the former and 600 cases in the latter area. Interviewing was conducted between March 27th and May 16th, 1951.

To eliminate the possibility of any pro-American sponsorship bias in the reactions to the Voice of America, the interviewing was conducted under the auspices of the Institute of Social Research, Darmstadt, Germany. This is a HICOG-financed institute but among the great bulk of respondents, if known at all, would be assumed to be a German research agency. This use of the Darmstadt auspices was a transitional expedient until RAS could conclude the negotiations then in process to set up the now established contractual relationship with a newly formed German survey agency "Deutsches Institut fuer Volksumfragen (DIVO).

It should be kept in mind that the present study presents German reactions to VOA as it was prior to the change in broadcast time and program length on July 1st, 1951. Most of the information obtained, however, is applicable to the VOA program in its present form.

SUMMARY

I. STATION COVERAGE AND THE QUESTION OF "CAPTIVE AUDIENCE"

EXTENT OF COVERAGE OF VOA STATION OUTLETS ...

- ... It is evident from the returns to inquiries on stations usually listened to and additional stations that can be clearly heard that the VOA program is aired over station outlets that have exceedingly good audience coverage in the US Zone - the Bavarian network reaches 91 per cent of the Bavarian radio listeners, the Hesse network 94 per cent of those in Hesse, and the South German network 95 per cent of the Wuerttemberg-Baden radio audience. Each of these outlets have in addition appreciable cross-Länder listenership.
- ... The coverage situation is considerably less enviable in the British Zone since with the exception of Radio Bremen the VOA program can only be obtained from stations outside this area. In Bremen proper VOA coverage is good since in that area 90 per cent point to Radio Bremen as a station usually listened to.
- ... Coverage of VOA station outlets is at its maximum in West Berlin where RIAS has achieved the remarkable record of being the station usually listened to by 98 per cent of the West Berlin radio audience (89 per cent of the total population).

- b -

C O N F I D E N T I A L

THE "CAPTIVE AUDIENCE" QUESTION IN VOA LISTENING ...

- ... The fact that VOA is broadcast over all the major station outlets in the US Zone has led some to believe that VOA listening in this area must be largely ascribed to the purely technical fact of a "captive audience" so to speak - that radio listeners cannot listen to any other program at the time even if they so desired. Even if such a situation were the case it must be said at the outset that it would not constitute a "captive audience" in any literal sense as the alternative exists at least of not listening to the radio at all during the VOA broadcast period. The question can be raised, however: "Are the US Zone VOA listeners 'captive' in the more limited sense of not being able to tune in any stations other than the VOA outlet if they wish to do so?"
- ... Analysis reveals that the answer to this question is yes and no - 55 per cent of the US Zone radio listeners can only hear VOA stations and 43 per cent can in addition hear other stations too.
- ... Even with 55 per cent who can only tune in on VOA stations, however, it yet remains to be demonstrated whether such a state of affairs plays any considerable role in determining the extent or the frequency of VOA listening. A way of checking on this is provided by comparing the extent of VOA listening and the frequency among VOA listeners who can only tune in VOA outlet stations, versus those who can tune in other stations also.
- ... The results of such a comparison reveal that both the extent and the frequency of VOA listening among auditors not technically constrained is of the same order of magnitude as among "captive" listeners. The suggestion is then that technical constraints do not play a central role in determining the volume of VOA listening.
- ... In wrapping up the question of station alternatives in the US Zone, a word of comment is called for on the status of the Armed Forces Network (AFN.) The point has occasionally been made that even if US Zone Germans could not listen to any other alternative to VOA at seven o'clock, they could at least tune in on the hour of semi-classical works broadcast over AFN at that time. Yet despite the fact that AFN is aired on a regional basis all over the US Zone, a total of only eight per cent of the radio listeners reported it as either a station that usually was listened to or as one that they can receive clearly enough. The conclusion that seems tentatively indicated - and it would be well to check it by future more direct inquiries - is that however much AFN may be an alternative channel technically for the German radio audience in the US Zone, except for a very limited proportion it does not function psychologically. The likelihood is that with the language barrier the average German simply does not conceive of AFN as a station he can use, and hence psychologically it does not exist for him as an important avenue of radio listening.

II. TIME SCHEDULING FACTORS IN VOA LISTENING

TIME OF LISTENING PREFERENCES OF VOA LISTENERS ...

- ... Study of the program time preferences expressed by pre-July VOA listeners indicate that the present time scheduling of the VOA program - 6:45 to 7:00 hrs is definitely not an auspicious revision from the original 7:00 to 7:30 hrs schedule.

- 6 -

C O N F I D E N T I A L

C O N F I D E N T I A L

... As is to be expected, the largest proportion of pre-July listeners favor the original time as these were the conditions under which their listening was established. However, appreciable proportions in all areas - the preponderance in the British Zone - and as many as favor the 7:00 o'clock hour in the French Zone - express a preference for another time. The preferred time in these instances, however, is from 20:00 to 22:00 hrs, that is to say later, not earlier than the 7 o'clock schedule. Only negligible proportions of the pro-change listeners express a preference for the time interval that embraces the present scheduling.

... Further study of time preference among different classes of VOA listeners - from "very frequent" to "seldom" - indicate that for all groups, if a change of scheduling had to be made, it were best made to a later (eight to ten o'clock) rather than an earlier period. The indications are that a later schedule would raise listening frequency among "occasional" to "seldom" listeners, though perhaps at the cost of some loss among pre-change more frequent listeners. In no group, however, is shift to an earlier schedule calculated to produce any gains in listenership.

TIME OF LISTENING PATTERNS OF GENERAL RADIO AUDIENCE ...

... When the VOA time scheduling problem is projected against a wider canvas - the time of listening patterns of all radio listeners - it becomes even clearer that the current revision of the VOA schedule is considerably less than optimum in terms of maximizing the potential audience.

... The figures reveal that (a) the old time was not the best for the largest potential audience and (b) the new time is poorer instead of better against such a criterion. This judgment appears to hold without exception for all three zones of West Germany as well as West Berlin, and for any day of the week - weekdays, Saturdays, or Sundays.

III. RADIO OWNERSHIP AND VOA LISTENING

EXTENT OF RADIO OWNERSHIP IN WEST GERMANY AND WEST BERLIN ...

... The proportion of German radio listeners who do not have access to their own facilities - and who hence are subject to technical limitations in this area in their radio listening - comprise apparently less than one in five in West Germany and West Berlin.

RADIO OWNERSHIP AND THE EXTENT AND FREQUENCY OF VOA LISTENING ...

... The indication emerges from West German returns that the proportion of radio listeners who listen to VOA is somewhat reduced by the technical limitation of not having access to their own radio sets. The same does not appear to be true in West Berlin where apparently the entire radio listening population listens to some degree to VOA whether or not they have their own radio facilities.

... Both in West Germany and in West Berlin some diminution in frequency of listening to the VOA program appears to be associated with not having ones own radio set.

IV. GENERAL RADIO LISTENING VOLUME AND VOA LISTENING

VOLUME OF RADIO LISTENING IN WEST GERMANY AND WEST BERLIN ...

... Another consideration that was subjected to inquiry, as a generalized more or less non-program factor which might possibly influence VOA listening, was general radio listening volume. Volume of radio listening appears to vary considerably among West German auditors. Three per cent indicate that they listen to the radio less than one hour per week; 29 per cent one to seven hours per week; 27 per cent eight to fourteen hours; and 41 per cent more than fourteen hours per week. In Berlin radio listening is at a fairly uniform high level with 79 per cent stating that they listen more than fourteen hours per week.

VOLUME OF RADIO LISTENING AND EXTENT AND FREQUENCY OF VOA LISTENING ...

- ... When volume of general radio listening is broken against extent of VOA listening, a direct relationship is revealed with the proportion of VOA listeners rising progressively among the population levels where general radio listening is higher. Such an outcome tends to suggest that one of the motivations to VOA listening is a generalized radio interest - people are more inclined to listen to VOA because they are more inclined to listen to the radio generally.
- ... The frequency of VOA listening as well as the extent appear to be related to general radio listening habits, with appreciably more frequent VOA listening among the population levels who are characterized by higher radio-listening volumes.

V. PROGRAM LENGTH AND VOA LISTENING

LENGTH PREFERENCES OF VOA LISTENERS ...

- ... A final topic that it is convenient to include in the present paper concerns the reactions of VOA listeners to the length of the program. Given a choice between the present length (as of before July 1951) of 30 minutes, two 15-minute programs or one 15-minute program, three-quarters in West Germany - 84 per cent in Berlin - expressed a preference for the 30-minute duration.

PROGRAM LENGTH PREFERENCES AND FREQUENCY OF VOA LISTENING ...

- ... Though preference for a 15-minute VOA broadcast is relatively greater among less frequent VOA listeners as compared to more frequent, in both groups the heavy majority preference is for a 30-minute program.

- 8 -

CONFIDENTIAL

I. STATION COVERAGE AND THE QUESTION OF "CAPTIVE AUDIENCE"

EXTENT OF COVERAGE OF VOA STATION OUTLETS ...

It is evident from the returns to inquiries on stations usually listened to and additional stations that can be clearly heard (see Table I and II on pages following) that the VOA program is aired over station outlets that have exceedingly good audience coverage in the US Zone - the Bavarian network reaches 91 per cent of the Bavarian radio listeners, the Hesse network 94 per cent of those in Hesse, and the South German network 95 per cent of the Wuerttemberg-Baden radio audience. Each of these outlets have in addition appreciable cross-Laender listenership.

The coverage situation is considerably less enviable in the British Zone since with the exception of Radio Bremen the VOA program can only be obtained from stations outside this area. In Bremen proper VOA coverage is good since in that area 90 per cent point to Radio Bremen as a station usually listened to.

Coverage of VOA station outlets is at its maximum in West Berlin where RIAS has achieved the remarkable record of being the station usually listened to by 98 per cent of the West Berlin radio audience (89 per cent of the total population). Population group breakdowns on the station coverage figures can be found in an appendix.

THE "CAPTIVE AUDIENCE" QUESTION IN VOA LISTENING ...

The fact that VOA is broadcast over all the major station outlets in the US Zone has led some to believe that VOA listening in this area must be largely ascribed to the purely technical fact of a "captive audience" so to speak - that radio listeners cannot listen to any other program at the time even if they so desired. Even if such a situation were the case it must be said at the outset that it would not constitute a "captive audience" in any literal sense as the alternative exists at least of not listening to the radio at all during the VOA broadcast period. The question can be raised, however: "Are the US Zone VOA listeners 'captive' in the more limited sense of not being able to tune in any stations other than the VOA outlet if they wish to do so?"

The composite table below reveals that the answer to this question is yes and no - 55 per cent of the US Zone radio listeners can only hear VOA stations and 43 per cent can in addition hear other stations too.

Table III

	TOTAL WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	WEST BERLIN
Can receive clearly enough:					
Only station(s) carrying VOA	22%	2%	55%	7%	20%
VOA station(s) and others	44	41	43	62	79
Only station(s) not carrying VOA	$\frac{34}{100\%}$	$\frac{57}{100\%}$	$\frac{2}{100\%}$	$\frac{31}{100\%}$	$\frac{1}{100\%}$
No. of cases:	(2301)	(1225)	(831)	(245)	(547)

Even with 55 per cent who can only tune in on VOA stations, however, it yet remains to be demonstrated whether such a state of affairs plays any considerable role in determining the extent or the frequency of VOA listening. A way of checking on this is provided by comparing the extent of VOA listening and the frequency among VOA listeners who can only tune in VOA outlet stations, versus those who can tune in other stations also.

Table I

Which stations do you usually listen to? (Asked of all radio listeners.)

TOTAL WEST GERMANY	British Zone					TOTAL	US Zone		TOTAL	French Zone		TOTAL	WEST BERLIN			
	Nd.-R. Westf.	Nd. Sa.	Schl. Hst.	Han- burg	Bre- men		Be- se	W- Ba-		Be- den	Be- den			Rhd. Pfalz	Sued- Wtbg. Hollern	
North West German Network (NDR, Hamburg, etc.)	56%	96%	92%	98%	98%	93%	95%	8%	17%	6%	10%	7%	26%	7%	17%	76%
South German Network (Stuttgart, etc.)	24	5	2	2	1	-	4	36	25	95	47	41	34	71	45	*
Bavarian Network (Munich, etc.)	22	4	3	8	2	3	4	91	5	16	52	5	2	10	5	1
South West Network (SWF; Baden-Baden, etc.)	21	19	6	17	6	6	14	3	48	25	19	55	84	27	63	1
Hessian Network (Frankfurt, etc.)	18	10	9	4	2	9	9	10	94	13	31	7	36	5	22	1
Western Stations (of countries this side of Iron Curtain)	16	15	5	12	24	6	13	16	4	16	13	72	11	71	40	3
Radio in American Sector of Berlin (RIAS)	14	15	16	22	2	15	15	18	11	4	13	12	6	5	7	98
Eastern Stations (of East Zone and countries behind Iron Curtain)	8	6	14	19	8	12	9	12	5	4	8	10	2	5	5	11
Radio Bremen	4	1	20	4	2	90	8	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	1	-
American Forces Network (AFN)	2	*	*	-	2	-	1	4	5	5	5	3	2	-	2	10
British Broadcasting Co. (BBC)	2	3	3	8	14	3	4	1	-	*	1	-	-	-	-	3
All stations which modern sets are able to receive	*	1	1	1	1	-	1	-	*	-	*	-	-	2	*	*
Not ascertained	2	1	2	1	-	-	1	2	1	1	2	3	1	9	3	*

Since Hamburg and Bremen (Freie Reichsstädte) have different stations of which the latter carries VOA, it was though desirable to separate the two in the present analysis.

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Started stations are those which carry the VOA program.

The results of such a comparison below reveal that both the extent and the frequency of VOA listening among auditors not technically constrained is of the same order of magnitude as among "captive" listeners. The suggestion is then that technical constraints do not play a central role in determining the volume of VOA listening.*

Table IV

	WEST GERMANY	US Zone	WEST BERLIN		
Can listen only to station(s) carrying VOA and listen to VOA	86%	87%	94%		
Number of cases:	(496)	(453)	(110)		
Can listen to other station(s) too, and listen to VOA	78%	91%	99%		
Number of cases:	(1014)	(356)	(428)		
	<u>Listen to VOA:</u>				
	Vory frequently	Frequently	Occa-sionally	Seldom	No. of cases
<u>WEST GERMANY</u>					
Can listen only to station(s) carrying VOA	24%	30%	11%	35%..100%	427
Can listen to others too	16	36	13	35	794
<u>US Zone</u>					
Can listen only to station(s) carrying VOA	25%	30%	11%	34%..100%	395
Can listen to others too	26	42	10	22	325
<u>WEST BERLIN</u>					
Can listen only to station(s) carrying VOA	40%	41%	9%	10%..100%	105
Can listen to others too	49	38	5	8	425

In wrapping up the question of station alternatives in the US Zone, a word of comment is called for on the status of the Armed Forces Network (AFN). The point has occasionally been made that even if US Zone Germans could not listen to any other alternative to VOA at seven o'clock, they could at least tune in on the hour of semi-classical works broadcast over AFN at that time. Yet despite the fact that AFN is aired on a regional basis all over the US Zone, a total of only eight per cent of the radio listeners - according to tables I and II - reported it as either a station that usually was listened to or as one that they can receive clearly enough. The conclusion that seems tentatively indicated - and it would be well to check it by future more direct inquiries - is that, however much AFN may be an alternative channel technically for the German radio audience in the US Zone, except for a very limited proportion it does not function so psychologically. The likelihood is that with the language barrier the average German simply does not conceive of AFN as a station he can use, and hence psychologically it does not exist for him as an important avenue of radio listening.

* It should be understood that the findings in Table IV do not rule out the possibility that technical constraints may play some role in determining VOA listening volume. This possibility arises from the fact that respondents who have radios that can tune in other than VOA outlet stations are probably not entirely comparable with those having more limited sets. The latter people are probably somewhat lower in the economic scale and hence in its usual correlate education. For this reason it is possible that without the aid of some effect of technical coercion the lower status group might have dropped below, rather than approximately equal, the volume of VOA listening in the presumably higher status group.

II. TIME SCHEDULING FACTORS IN VOA LISTENING

TIME OF LISTENING PREFERENCES OF VOA LISTENERS ...

Study of the program time preferences expressed by pre-July VOA listeners indicate that the present time scheduling of the VOA program - 6:45 to 7:00 hrs is definitely not an auspicious revision from the original 7:00 to 7:30 hrs schedule.

As is to be expected, the largest proportion of pre-July listeners favor the original time as these were the conditions under which their listening was established. However, appreciable proportions in all areas - the preponderance in the British Zone and as many as favor the 7:00 o'clock hour in the French Zone - express a preference for another time. The preferred time in these instances, however, is from 20:00 to 22:00 hrs, that is to say later, not earlier than the 7 o'clock schedule. Only negligible proportions of the pre-change listeners express a preference for the time interval that embraces the present scheduling.

Table V

"What would be the best time for you to listen to a program like the 'Voice of America'?" (Asked of all VOA listeners.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	WEST BERLIN
The present time is alright (19:00 hrs)	39%	29%	49%	34%	63%
From 20:00 to 22:00 hrs (not before)	31	39	23	36	20
In the evening, 18:00 hrs to 19:00 hrs	4	6	2	3	3
During the night hours (after 22:00 hrs)	3	4	1	3	2
In the afternoon (approx. between 14:00 and 18:00 hrs)	2	3	2	2	2
During the noon hour	3	3	4	2	2
Early in the morning or before noon	2	3	2	2	2
Not classifiable in terms of exact time of the day	18	16	18	21	8
No opinion / No answer	$\frac{1}{103\%^{**}}$	$\frac{1}{104\%^{**}}$	$\frac{1}{102\%^{**}}$	$\frac{1}{104\%^{**}}$	$\frac{*}{102\%^{**}}$

• The more extensive preference for other than the seven o'clock VOA schedule in the British and French Zone would seem to spring from the fact that in each area an important German current events program comes at the same time. What the results tend to indicate is that listeners in these areas would like the opportunity to hear both programs instead of one at the sacrifice of the other.

* Less than one half of one per cent.

**Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Further study of time preference among different classes of VOA listeners - from "very frequent" to "seldom" - indicate that for all groups if a change of scheduling had to be made, it were best made to a later (eight to ten o'clock) rather than an earlier period. The indications are that a later schedule would raise listening frequency among "occasional" to "seldom" listeners, though perhaps at the cost of some loss among pre-change more frequent listeners. In no group, however, is shift to an earlier schedule calculated to produce any gains in listenership.

Table VI

Relationship of Frequency of Listening to VOA and Preferred Time for Program

	<u>Listen to VOA:</u>			
	Very frequently	Frequently	Occasionally	Seldom
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Best time to listen to VOA:</u>				
Present time (19:00 hrs)	78%	55%	29%	18%
From 20:00 to 22:00 hrs	12	26	40	39
Evening before 19:00 hrs	1	4	3	4
During night hours (after 22:00 hrs)	*	2	2	4
Afternoon (approx. 14:00 to 18:00 hrs)	1	1	5	3
During noon hour	2	3	4	4
Early morning	2	2	2	3
Not classifiable in terms of exact time of the day	6	11	18	29
	102%**	104%**	103%**	104%**
No. of cases:	(232)	(437)	(186)	(639)

	<u>Listen to VOA:</u>		
	Very frequently	Frequently	Occasionally or Seldom
WEST BERLIN			
<u>Best time to listen to VOA:</u>			
Present time (19:00 hrs)	85%	57%	20%
From 20:00 to 22:00 hrs	8	28	38
Evening before 19:00 hrs	2	3	6
During night hours (after 22:00 hrs)	-	3	5
Afternoon (approx. 14:00 to 18:00 hrs)	1	3	4
During noon hours	1	2	3
Early morning	1	2	6
Not classifiable in terms of exact time of the day	2	4	26
	100%	102%**	108%**
No. of cases:	(249)	(206)	(79)

* Less than one half of one per cent.

**Some respondents gave more than one answer.

TIME OF LISTENING PATTERNS OF GENERAL RADIO AUDIENCE ...

When the VOA time scheduling problem is projected against a wider canvas - the time of listening patterns of all radio listeners - it becomes even clearer that the current revision of the VOA schedule is considerably less than optimum in terms of maximizing the potential audience.

The figures in Table VII reveal that (a) the old time was not the best for the largest potential audience and (b) the new time is poorer instead of better against such a criterion. This judgment appears to hold without exception for all three zones of West Germany as well as West Berlin, and for any day of the week - weekdays, Saturdays, or Sundays.

Table VII

"Do you listen to the radio?"

If "Yes": "Usually at what time?"

	WEST GERMANY			British Zone			US Zone			French Zone			WEST BERLIN		
	Week-	Sa	Su	Week-	Sa	Su	Week-	Sa	Su	Week-	Sa	Su	Week-	Sa	Su
	days			days			days			days			days		
The whole day	1%	1%	4%	1%	1%	3%	1%	2%	4%	1%	1%	6%	1%	2%	2%
8 hours	25	19	11	23	19	11	28	20	11	24	20	8	24	22	10
8 - 12 hrs	19	15	35	20	16	34	19	16	37	16	13	28	25	24	50
12 - 14 hrs	23	22	40	20	19	34	27	26	48	25	27	41	20	21	46
14 - 16 hrs	6	22	40	7	22	39	6	22	43	3	19	33	11	25	42
16 - 18 hrs	12	35	47	13	39	51	12	32	47	5	24	35	26	41	62
18 - 19 hrs	28	34	39	30	37	38	28	33	43	17	25	29	48	54	63
19 - 19:30 hrs	42	44	43	41	44	43	47	48	47	31	35	32	68	68	69
19:30 - 21 hrs	76	72	66	79	74	65	75	71	62	66	61	51	85	82	78
21 - 23 hrs	46	48	43	54	53	49	39	44	38	33	34	26	61	64	64
23 -	6	7	6	7	8	6	5	7	7	3	5	2	4	7	5
Different times (without naming exact hour)	4	5	6	5	6	6	3	3	4	8	8	13	4	5	6
No answer	5	8	5	4	7	5	5	8	5	5	13	7	2	4	3

III. RADIO OWNERSHIP AND VOA LISTENING

EXTENT OF RADIO OWNERSHIP IN WEST GERMANY AND WEST BERLIN ...

The proportion of German radio listeners who do not have access to their own facilities - and who hence are subject to technical limitations in this area in their radio listening - comprise apparently less than one in five in West Germany and West Berlin.

Table VIII

"Do you own a radio, is there one in your apartment, or do you listen to the radio some place else?" (Asked of all radio listeners.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	WEST BERLIN
Own a radio set	83%	83%	83%	82%	87%
Radio set in quarters	11	12	10	11	10
Listen some place also	6	5	7	7	3
No answer	-	-	-	-	-
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

RADIO OWNERSHIP AND THE EXTENT AND FREQUENCY OF VOA LISTENING ...

The indication emerges from West German returns that the proportion of radio listeners who listen to VOA is somewhat reduced by the technical limitation of not having access to their own radio sets. The same does not appear to be true in West Berlin where apparently the entire radio listening population listens to some degree to VOA whether or not they have their own radio facilities.

Table IX

Radio Ownership and Extent of Listening to VOA

	Listen to VOA	Do not listen to VOA	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY			
Own a radio set	67%	33% ... 100%	1906
Radio set in quarters	60	40	249
Listen some place else	45	55	142
WEST BERLIN			
Own a radio set	98%	2% ... 100%	472
Radio set in quarters	98	2	55
Listen some place also	100	-	17

Both in West Germany and in West Berlin some diminution in frequency of listening to the VOA program appears to be associated with not having one's own radio set.

Table X

Radio Ownership and Frequency of VOA Listening

	Listen to VOA:			No. of cases:
	Very frequently	Frequently	Occasionally or Seldom	
WEST GERMANY				
Own a radio set	17%	30%	53% ... 100%	1281
Radio set in quarters	7	28	65	250
Listen some place also	11	20	69	64
WEST BERLIN				
Own a radio set	48%	38%	14% ... 100%	462
Radio set in quarters	45	31	24	54
Listen some place also	12	59	29	17

IV. GENERAL RADIO LISTENING VOLUME AND VOA LISTENING

VOLUME OF RADIO LISTENING IN WEST GERMANY AND WEST BERLIN ...

Another consideration that was subjected to inquiry, as a generalized more or less non-program factor which might possibly influence VOA listening, was general radio listening volume. Volume of radio listening appears to vary considerably among West German auditors. Three per cent indicate that they listen to the radio less than one hour per week; 29 per cent one to seven hours per week; 27 per cent eight to fourteen hours; and 41 per cent more than fourteen hours per week. In Berlin radio listening is at a fairly uniform high level with 79 per cent stating that they listen more than fourteen hours per week.

Table XI

"Approximately how many hours do you listen to the radio in one week?"
(Asked of all radio listeners.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	WEST BERLIN
Less than one hour	3%	3%	4%	5%	4%
One to seven hours	29	25	29	42	5
Eight to fourteen hours	27	28	28	24	16
More	<u>41</u> 100%	<u>44</u> 100%	<u>39</u> 100%	<u>29</u> 100%	<u>79</u> 100%

	British Zone				US Zone			French Zone		
	Nd.-R. Westf.	Nd. Sa.	Sohl. Hlst.	Freio. Rehs. Staedte	Ba-va-ria	Hes-so	W-Ba-den	Ba-den	Rhld. Pfalz	Sued-Wttbg. Hsoll.
Less than one hour	3%	3%	1%	2%	5%	2%	3%	3%	3%	10%
One to seven hours	23	32	18	27	29	34	25	47	45	30
Eight to fourteen hours	31	23	26	23	26	33	26	18	26	24
More	<u>43</u> 100%	<u>42</u> 100%	<u>55</u> 100%	<u>48</u> 100%	<u>40</u> 100%	<u>31</u> 100%	<u>46</u> 100%	<u>32</u> 100%	<u>26</u> 100%	<u>36</u> 100%

VOLUME OF RADIO LISTENING AND EXTENT AND FREQUENCY OF VOA LISTENING ...

When volume of general radio listening is broken against extent of VOA listening, a direct relationship is revealed with the proportion of VOA listeners rising progressively among the population levels where general radio-listening is higher. Such an outcome tends to suggest that one of the motivations to VOA listening is a generalized radio interest - people are more inclined to listen to VOA because they are more inclined to listen to the radio generally.

Table XII

Radio Listening Volume and Extent of VOA Listening

Of those radio listeners who listen to the radio per week:

	% listening to VOA	% not listening to VOA	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY			
Less than one hour	33%	67% ... 100%	79
One to seven hours	55	45	656
Eight to fourteen hours	67	33	628
Fifteen hours and more	73	27	923
WEST BERLIN			
Less than one hour	50%	50% ... 100%	2
One to seven hours	85	15	26
Eight to fourteen hours	99	1	87
Fifteen hours and more	99	1	428

The frequency of VOA listening as well as the extent appear to be related to general radio listening habits, with appreciably more frequent VOA listening among the population levels who are characterized by higher radio-listening volumes.

Table XIII

Radio Listening Volume and Frequency of VOA Listening

Listen to VOA:

Amount of radio listening per week:

	Very frequently	Frequently	Occasionally	Seldom	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY					
Less than one hour per week	4%	15%	4%	81%...100%	26
One to seven hours	7	22	14	57	362
Eight to fourteen hours	14	32	12	42	424
Fifteen hours and more	21	32	12	35	671
WEST BERLIN					
Less than one hour per week	4%	4%	4%	100%...100%	1
One to seven hours	5	36	14	45	22
Eight to fourteen hours	29	44	12	15	86
Fifteen hours and more	53	37	5	5	423

V. PROGRAM LENGTH AND VOA LISTENING

LENGTH PREFERENCES OF VOA LISTENERS ...

A final topic that it is convenient to include in the present proper concerns the reactions of VOA listeners to the length of the program. Given a choice between the present length (as of before July 1951) of 30 minutes, two 15-minute programs or one 15-minute program, three-quarters in West Germany - 84 per cent in Berlin - expressed a preference for the 30-minute duration.

"Do you think that the length of the present program (30 minutes) is just right, would you rather have it divided into two programs of 15 minutes each, or would you prefer one broadcast of 15 minutes?" (Asked only of "frequent" to "very frequent" listeners of VOA, i.e. those who listen to VOA once a week or more.)

Table XIV

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	WEST BERLIN
Present program (30 minutes)	72%	66%	74%	75%	84%
Divided into two programs (each 15 minutes)	5	9	4	3	3
One broadcast (15 minutes)	15	19	14	12	8
No opinion	7	6	7	8	4
No answer	1	-	1	2	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

	British Zone				US Zone			French Zone		
	Nd.-R. Westf.	Nd. Sa.	Sohl. Hlst.	Freie Rchs. Staedte	Ba-va-ria	Hes-se	W-Baden	Ba-den	Rhld. Pfalz	Sued-Wittbg. H Zoll.
Present program (30 minutes)	63%	65%	75%	72%	70%	77%	78%	77%	79%	65%
Divided into two programs (each 15 minutes)	9	5	17	12	6	6	1	6	3	-
One broadcast (15 minutes)	22	21	8	16	17	7	16	17	6	21
No opinion	6	9	-	-	7	8	3	-	9	14
No answer	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	3	-
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

PROGRAM LENGTH PREFERENCES AND FREQUENCY OF VOA LISTENING ...

Though preference for a 15-minute VOA broadcast is relatively greater among less frequent VOA listeners as compared to more frequent, in both groups the heavy majority preference is for a 30-minute program.

Table XV

Relationship between Frequency of Listening to VOA and Preferred Length of Program

	ALL VOA LISTENERS	<u>Listen to VOA:</u> Very frequently	Frequently
WEST GERMANY*			
Present length is alright	72%	85%	65%
Two programs 15 minutes each is better	5	3	6
One program of 15 minutes is better	16	8	19
Don't know / No answer	<u>7</u> 100%	<u>4</u> 100%	<u>10</u> 100%
No. of cases:	(669)	(232)	(437)
WEST BERLIN			
Present length is alright	84%	87%	80%
Two programs 15 minutes each is better	3	2	4
One program of 15 minutes is better	8	6	10
Don't know / No answer	<u>5</u> 100%	<u>5</u> 100%	<u>6</u> 100%
No. of cases:	(455)	(249)	(206)

* Through an oversight the length preference question was only put to "frequent" or "very frequent" VOA listeners, i.e. those who reported listening once a week or more.

listened to and (b) other stations that can be obtained with clarity.

"Which broadcasting stations do you usually listen to?" (Asked of all radio listeners)

with
modern
sets

5051

Year	Men	Women	Total
1954	23	21	44
1955	22	19	41
1956	21	14	35
1957	20	12	32
1958	19	6	25
1959	18	4	22
1960	17	2	19
1961	16	2	18
1962	15	*	15
1963	14	2	16
1964	13	2	15
1965	12	2	14
1966	11	2	13
1967	10	2	12
1968	9	2	11
1969	8	2	10
1970	7	2	9
1971	6	2	8
1972	5	2	7
1973	4	2	6
1974	3	2	5
1975	2	2	4
1976	1	2	3
1977	0	2	2
1978	0	1	1
1979	0	1	1
1980	0	1	1
1981	0	1	1
1982	0	1	1
1983	0	1	1
1984	0	1	1
1985	0	1	1
1986	0	1	1
1987	0	1	1
1988	0	1	1
1989	0	1	1
1990	0	1	1
1991	0	1	1
1992	0	1	1
1993	0	1	1
1994	0	1	1
1995	0	1	1
1996	0	1	1
1997	0	1	1
1998	0	1	1
1999	0	1	1
2000	0	1	1
2001	0	1	1
2002	0	1	1
2003	0	1	1
2004	0	1	1
2005	0	1	1
2006	0	1	1
2007	0	1	1
2008	0	1	1
2009	0	1	1
2010	0	1	1
2011	0	1	1
2012	0	1	1
2013	0	1	1
2014	0	1	1
2015	0	1	1
2016	0	1	1
2017	0	1	1
2018	0	1	1
2019	0	1	1
2020	0	1	1
2021	0	1	1
2022	0	1	1
2023	0	1	1
2024	0	1	1
2025	0	1	1
2026	0	1	1
2027	0	1	1
2028	0	1	1
2029	0	1	1
2030	0	1	1
2031	0	1	1
2032	0	1	1
2033	0	1	1
2034	0	1	1
2035	0	1	1
2036	0	1	1
2037	0	1	1
2038	0	1	1
2039	0	1	1
2040	0	1	1
2041	0	1	1
2042	0	1	1
2043	0	1	1
2044	0	1	1
2045	0	1	1
2046	0	1	1
2047	0	1	1
2048	0	1	1
2049	0	1	1
2050	0	1	1
2051	0	1	1
2052	0	1	1
2053	0	1	1
2054	0	1	1
2055	0	1	1
2056	0	1	1
2057	0	1	1
2058	0	1	1
2059	0	1	1

Elementary school
Secondary school
Diploma & University

	Income (per month):
1	176
2	176
3	176
4	176
5	176
6	176
7	176
8	176
9	176
10	176
11	176
12	176
13	176
14	176
15	176
16	176
17	176
18	176
19	176
20	176
21	176
22	176
23	176
24	176
25	176
26	176
27	176
28	176
29	176
30	176
31	176
32	176
33	176
34	176
35	176
36	176
37	176
38	176
39	176
40	176
41	176
42	176
43	176
44	176
45	176
46	176
47	176
48	176
49	176
50	176
51	176
52	176
53	176
54	176
55	176
56	176
57	176
58	176
59	176
60	176
61	176
62	176
63	176
64	176
65	176
66	176
67	176
68	176
69	176
70	176
71	176
72	176
73	176
74	176
75	176
76	176
77	176
78	176
79	176
80	176
81	176
82	176
83	176
84	176
85	176
86	176
87	176
88	176
89	176
90	176
91	176
92	176
93	176
94	176
95	176
96	176
97	176
98	176
99	176
100	176

300 - 500 MI and more

City Size:

5,000 - 24,999
25,000 - 99,999
100,000 - 249,999
250,000 and over

Occupation	1990	2000	2010	2020
11-1011	11	11	11	11
11-1012	11	11	11	11
11-1013	11	11	11	11
11-1014	11	11	11	11
11-1015	11	11	11	11
11-1016	11	11	11	11
11-1017	11	11	11	11
11-1018	11	11	11	11
11-1019	11	11	11	11
11-1020	11	11	11	11
11-1021	11	11	11	11
11-1022	11	11	11	11
11-1023	11	11	11	11
11-1024	11	11	11	11
11-1025	11	11	11	11
11-1026	11	11	11	11
11-1027	11	11	11	11
11-1028	11	11	11	11
11-1029	11	11	11	11
11-1030	11	11	11	11
11-1031	11	11	11	11
11-1032	11	11	11	11
11-1033	11	11	11	11
11-1034	11	11	11	11
11-1035	11	11	11	11
11-1036	11	11	11	11
11-1037	11	11	11	11
11-1038	11	11	11	11
11-1039	11	11	11	11
11-1040	11	11	11	11
11-1041	11	11	11	11
11-1042	11	11	11	11
11-1043	11	11	11	11
11-1044	11	11	11	11
11-1045	11	11	11	11
11-1046	11	11	11	11
11-1047	11	11	11	11
11-1048	11	11	11	11
11-1049	11	11	11	11
11-1050	11	11	11	11
11-1051	11	11	11	11
11-1052	11	11	11	11
11-1053	11	11	11	11
11-1054	11	11	11	11
11-1055	11	11	11	11
11-1056	11	11	11	11
11-1057	11	11	11	11
11-1058	11	11	11	11
11-1059	11	11	11	11
11-1060	11	11	11	11
11-1061	11	11	11	11
11-1062	11	11	11	11
11-1063	11	11	11	11
11-1064	11	11	11	11
11-1065	11	11	11	11
11-1066	11	11	11	11
11-1067	11	11	11	11
11-1068	11	11	11	11
11-1069	11	11	11	11
11-1070	11	11	11	11
11-1071	11	11	11	11
11-1072	11	11	11	11
11-1073	11	11	11	11
11-1074	11	11	11	11
11-1075	11	11	11	11
11-1076	11	11	11	11
11-1077	11	11	11	11
11-1078	11	11	11	11
11-1079	11	11	11	11
11-1080	11	11	11	11
11-1081	11	11	11	11
11-1082	11	11	11	11
11-1083	11	11	11	11
11-1084	11	11	11	11
11-1085	11	11	11	11
11-1086	11	11	11	11
11-1087	11	11	11	11
11-1088	11	11	11	11

White-collar workers
Skilled laborers
Semi-skilled laborers
Dom. & prof. service
Farmers
Housewives
Unemployed
Pensioners, students,

retired, apprentices, etc.	60	17	19	17	14	10	11	9	6	3	3	-	3	...172	355
----------------------------	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	---	---	---	---	---	---	--------	-----

*Total percentages add to considerably more than 100 because most respondents gave more than one answer.

* Less than one half of one per cent.

WEST GERMANY

NWDR South Bavarian South-Eastern Other RIAS East-Bremen AFN BBC ALL Not No. of
 German Net- West- sian Western stations ern stations stations
 Network work Network Network stations stations stations stations stations
 with
 modern
 sets

Trade Union Membership:

Yes, member 66% 23% 19% 19% 16% 19% 18% 13% 5% 2% 4% 1% 2% 20% 402
 No 54 24 23 21 19 15 12 8 4 2 2 * 2 106 1903

Age:

19 - 24 years 53 29 25 22 18 20 16 10 6 5 3 1 1 209 340
 25 - 34 years 58 25 21 29 23 13 18 9 6 3 3 * 1 209 438
 35 - 44 years 54 25 20 22 21 20 12 7 4 1 3 * 2 191 537
 45 - 54 years 50 21 24 17 16 14 12 10 4 2 2 * 2 162 491
 55 years and over 56 20 21 17 14 11 10 7 4 1 2 * 3 166 490

Party Preferences:

SPD 58 24 23 23 19 16 16 11 5 2 4 1 1 203 631
 CDU/CSU 57 23 22 22 15 17 13 7 3 2 2 * 2 185 472
 FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV 63 30 15 22 21 15 15 13 4 3 5 2 2 206 160
 Other parties 57 21 32 9 10 15 14 15 9 1 1 1 2 190 173
 No party 49 25 21 25 23 13 13 7 3 3 4 2 * 2 186 518
 Don't know 56 19 18 10 17 15 10 5 5 2 1 * 4 170 325

Religions:

Catholics 46 26 31 25 17 19 12 7 1 2 1 2 * 2 189 1043
 Protestants 63 22 14 19 19 12 15 10 0 2 4 * 2 190 1156

Origins:

Natives (& Evac.) 56 24 21 22 17 16 12 7 4 3 2 * 2 186 1892
 Expellees 51 26 32 16 23 15 10 13 6 1 3 1 2 207 295
 Refugees (from East-
 Zone after 1945) 69 18 17 22 26 9 24 16 7 1 2 - 1 212 107

* Less than one half of one per cent.

WEST BERT II

[illegible]

CONFIDENTIAL

"Are there other radio stations that you can receive clearly enough?" (Asked of all radio listeners)
If "Yes?" Which ones?

WEST COAST		WOM	NWDR	South West Network	Other Western stations	Eastern stations	ATN	RBC	All stations with no. sets	No answer	No. of cases
Sex	Men	20%	4%	6%	23%	17%	3%	4%	5	84%	1050
	Women	15	3	4	14	10	1	2	5	54	1255
Education:	Elementary school	17	3	5	16	13	2	2	6	63	1817
	Secondary school	20	6	6	23	16	2	4	6	84	369
	Diploma & University	15	3	6	35	18	3	5	10	95	119
	Income (per month):										
Income (per month):	0 - 149 DM	14	4	4	13	11	1	2	4	53	531
	150 - 299 DM	17	3	5	17	12	2	3	7	66	1096
	300 - 599 DM	19	4	5	23	17	2	4	7	82	618
	600 DM and more	20	7	3	32	17	5	3	6	93	87
City Size:	0 - 4,999 pop.	18	5	5	15	14	2	1	5	65	872
	5,000 - 24,999	18	4	4	23	18	3	4	5	86	470
	25,000 - 99,999	20	3	4	17	12	1	2	5	64	298
	100,000 - 249,999	19	4	4	20	9	2	3	6	67	239
Occupation:	250,000 and over	10	2	5	18	10	2	5	7	59	466
	Professionals	16	3	3	20	16	3	7	5	74	113
	Businessmen	18	3	3	24	14	2	4	4	85	315
	White-collar workers	20	4	4	21	18	3	3	4	75	409
Occupation:	Skilled laborers	15	4	5	19	14	3	3	7	68	285
	Semi skilled laborers	15	1	3	12	5	2	1	1	49	74
	Dom. & prot. service	13	5	7	12	10	2	1	3	54	29
	Farmers	22	1	1	18	11	2	4	3	69	90
Occupation:	Housewives	20									
	Unemployed	20									
	Pensioners, students, retired, apprentices, etc.	13	3	3	15	9	2	2	8	55	355

(cont'd on next page)

• The constituent stations were not separately coded here because the primary interest was on WOM and there was a dearth of space on the punch cards.
* These percentages do not add up to 100 because of a proportion of radio listeners who answered the question in the negative.

CONFIDENTIAL

"Are there other radio stations that you can receive clearly?" (Asked of all radio listeners.)
If "Yes": "Which ones?"

WEST BERLIN									
	VOA Broadcast Stations	BRDR	Eastern Stations	South West Network	Other Western Stations	HBC	AFM	All Stations with modern sets	No. of answer cases
<u>Sex</u>									
Men	13%	7%	44%	4%	23%	11%	14%	8%	-4...124%
Women	6	10	38	1	16	6	13	8	-...98
<u>Education</u>									
Elementary school	8%	8%	42%	2%	17%	7%	14%	8%	-4...106%
Secondary school	10	11	37	3	25	9	11	8	-...114
Diploma and University	19	-	47	3	22	13	19	9	-...132
<u>Income (per month):</u>									
0 - 149 DM	7%	10%	37%	2%	14%	1%	10%	4%	-4...87%
150 - 299 DM	6	7	43	2	18	9	15	8	-...108
300 - 599 DM	15	11	43	3	25	11	14	11	-...133
600 DM and more	14	-	27	5	23	14	9	9	-...100
<u>Occupations</u>									
Professionals	20%	-4%	53%	7%	13%	13%	27%	27%	-4...160%
Businessmen	17	10	52	2	31	17	14	23	-...166
White-collar workers	13	13	60	3	34	10	24	13	-...170
Skilled laborers	16	14	63	2	29	23	23	16	-...166
Semi-skilled laborers	9	6	75	4	36	8	22	4	-...164
Dom. & prof. Service	7	27	61	-	17	11	6	6	-...138
Housewives	20	20	80	-	20	-	-	-	-...140
Unemployed	17	12	69	7	20	7	17	12	-...172
Pensioners, students, retired, typhoid	13	22	65	1	27	8	28	6	-...170

(cont'd on next page)

WEST BERLIN									
Trade Union Membership									
Yes, member									
No									
Age:									
19 - 24 years	16%	3%	41%	5%	34%	7%	12%	100%	74
25 - 34 years	17	11	54	4	27	10	8	100%	74
35 - 44 years	10	12	39	2	20	8	8	100%	74
45 - 54 years	5	6	40	1	13	7	8	100%	74
55 years and over	4	8	36	1	13	7	7	100%	74
Party Preference:									
SPD	10%	10%	42%	3%	17%	6%	8%	100%	74
CDU/CSI	6	6	40	1	24	7	11	100%	74
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	10	10	40	3	20	12	6	100%	74
Other parties	9	9	37	1	18	9	6	100%	74
No party	12	9	47	1	17	3	6	100%	74
Don't know	7	1	33	1	20	13	13	100%	74
Religion:									
Catholics	5%	6%	41%	1%	19%	11%	8%	100%	74
Protestants	10	9	40	2	20	8	8	100%	74
Origin:									
Natives (a. Exchanges)	9%	9%	41%	2%	19%	8%	8%	100%	74
Expellees	1	1	39	1	11	5	17	100%	74
Refugees (from East Zone after 1945)	13	9	44	1	22	4	1	100%	74

REACTIONS OF THE BERLIN AUDIENCE
TO THE TRAIN OF EUROPE

A Study of the impact of the Exhibit
of the East and West Germans

Classification cancelled
by authority of Leo P. Ciespi
PUB/RAS.

Report No. 98
Series No. 2
September 13, 1951

R E S T R I C T E D

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION . . .

This study on reactions of the Berlin audience to the Train of Europe was made by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, from August 1 - 15, 1951, that is, during the Communist world youth meeting in East Berlin. The main aim of the study was to explore East German reactions to the theme and purpose of the train, and compare them with opinions of those West Germans who visited the Berlin showing, as well as with those recorded by the Mains audience in June of this year.* Though many members of the Freie Deutsche Jugend (the Communist youth group meeting in East Berlin) visited the train, only a small number of them were interviewed, as it was considered unwise to expose them to risks inherent in being publicly interviewed by a West German research organization. However, all results of the Berlin study are shown in the report by age groupings, thus giving an indication of the trend of opinions among East German youth as well as adults. Selection of respondents was on a strict probability or random basis, a number of German interviewers being stationed at train exits where they interviewed every nth person to leave the train. But since proportionately fewer visitors were from East Germany than West Germany, quotas were set up in order to obtain as many East German as West German respondents. Within these quotas, randomness was ensured by the method stated above. In all, 255 persons were interviewed, of whom 141 were from the East, and 114 from the West.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

I. REACTIONS TO THEME AND PURPOSE OF TRAIN OF EUROPE

- ... The basic theme of the Train of Europe was readily understood by the bulk of its Berlin visitors, those from behind the Iron Curtain as well as those from West Berlin. As with the West German visitors at the Mainz showing, the train's message, "strength through unity," reached eight out of ten of the audience. An added observation by some Berlin visitors was that the idea of the train was to stress the need for unification as a bulwork against the East.
- ... The majority of Berlin respondents - of both Eastern and Western origin - believed, as had the Mainz audience, that the Train of Europe purported to further the desire for unity and understanding among the peoples of Europe. Some in Berlin saw the exhibit as advertising the Marshall Plan, but no one there attributed irrelevant or unfavorable motives to the showing of the train, as a few Mainz respondents had done.
- ... The Berlin visitors to the train, East as well as West Germans, were also overwhelmingly in sympathy with the theme of the train - West European unity. More than nine out of ten expressed the opinion that West Europe would be considerably strengthened by closer economic ties. It will be noted that East German youth do not yield to other members of the Berlin audience in this opinion. In general, the Berlin group appeared to be more frequently convinced on this score than had the earlier Mainz audience.

II. REACTIONS TO EXHIBIT

- ... Reactions of Berlin visitors to the Train of Europe tended to be more positively favorable than those of the previous Mainz audience. In Berlin the expression "I liked it very much" strongly outweighed the more non-committal statement "I liked it." The preponderance of Mainz visitors on the other hand were content with the less effusive estimate.

* For more detailed information on Mainz returns see Report No. 85, Series No. 2, dated June 15, 1950, THE IMPACT OF THE EUROPE TRAIN, a Preliminary Study of a Mainz audience.

RESTRICTED

- ... The majority of Berlin visitors to the train not only failed to criticize anything about the exhibition but went out of their way to state that they liked everything about it. Here again they departed from their Mainz counterparts, only a quarter of whom had shared this appreciative attitude. Of those in the Berlin audience who did have criticisms to offer, some pointed to the abstraction of the presentation and the need for practical examples. Others criticized particular features of the exhibit or the whole manner of presentation. A few East German visitors complained that too little attention had been devoted to the East.
 - ... It is not without interest to note that the theme of the train - European unity - was most frequently mentioned by the visitors from the East as "best liked." Other popular features were the technical expertness of the exhibit, and the car on Germany. Some respondents had liked everything equally well and were not prepared to voice any preference.
 - ... Indicative, perhaps, of their hunger for more information is the fact that East German visitors to the train were more inclined than West Germans to mention additional things they would have liked to see in the exhibition.
 - ... Further evidence of the effectiveness of the exhibit is the fact that nine out of ten of the Berlin audience believed the display to be factually sound. It is to be noted that the age group (under 30) which included those FDJ members attending the showing, was as frequently convinced of the honesty of the presentation as were older people.
- III. REACTIONS TO WEST EUROPEAN ECONOMIC INTEGRATION
- ... In order to explore East German reactions to the issue of West European economic integration, several questions not asked in the previous Mainz survey were included in the Berlin study.
 - ... There seemed to be little doubt in the minds of the respondents as to where West Germany's future should lie - a very large majority said it would be better for Western Germany to join the economic system of the West. No Western Berliners advocated economic integration with the East, and only a miniscule 1% of East Germans were of this view. Only a small fraction advised economic neutrality.
 - ... Nor did the preponderance of Berlin visitors to the train feel that the eventual unification of Germany would be jeopardized by West Germany's joining the West European economic orbit. In fact, a plurality of both East and West Germans claimed that this participation would facilitate unification. It is to be noted, however, that large minorities of the younger visitors, Eastern and Westerners alike, took a more skeptical position, holding that the economic integration with West Europe on the part of the Germans on the far side of the Elbe would seriously hamper German unification.
 - ... The attraction of European economic unity portrayed in the train exhibit is further evidenced in the fact that it is almost a unanimous opinion that East European countries would like to adhere to the West European economic system, if they had the chance to do so. Again, East German visitors do not differ from West Germans.
 - ... The fact that East Germany is mentioned less frequently, especially by West Germans, than some other East European countries very obviously does not mean that the Berlin train audience felt that this part of Germany should be excluded. Replies to the follow-up query give an almost unanimous vote for East German participation. Omission of mention of East Germany in this matter is indeed revealing - it could be said to represent a basic assumption of Germany unity oriented to the West.

- b -

RESTRICTED

BASIC THEME GENERALLY UNDERSTOOD ...

The basic theme of the Train of Europe was readily understood by the bulk of its Berlin visitors, those from behind the Iron Curtain as well as those from West Berlin. As with the West German visitors at the Mains showing, the train's message "strength through unity" reached eight out of ten of the audience. An added observation by some Berlin visitors was that the idea of the train was to stress the need for unification as a bulwork against the East.

"What do you consider to be the basic idea that this train expresses?"

	Berlin audience East	Mains West audience
--	-------------------------	------------------------

Rallying call for the economic and political unification as basis of strength of Europe:

To rouse and further the spirit of cooperation in Europe; there is but one way - the European countries must unite and cooperate in every possible way; the realization of economic and cultural cooperation among European countries; to convince the audience that every individual can contribute to understanding among nations; to achieve understanding and cooperation in spite of language barriers; to save Europe by uniting it; to assure people that a decent standard of living can only be achieved by unification of the European nations; once united we can make progress in every possible field; mutual aid, which would mean an improvement of the economy of each state; cooperation to the advantage of all, many can do more than one; unification is to assure lasting peace; etc.

82%	74%	78%
-----	-----	-----

An expression of the need to unite as a protection against the East: To counteract the Russian influence; to repeat again and again the necessity of unification, so that the threat from the East need no longer be feared; to show that the intentions of the West are good and are a defense against Eastern aggression; only a mutual effort, regardless of particular interests, can save us from Communism; etc.

11	9	-
----	---	---

Correctly identifying the basic idea:

93%	83%	78%
-----	-----	-----

Information on American aid to Europe: To show America's economic aid to Europe; to show how we - as well as other countries - are being helped; it documents American help for Europe and how the two continents together can be strong; etc..

3	11	3
---	----	---

Propaganda:

-	-	4
---	---	---

Information for the people (general): To inform the general public; this informs the public more than reports in the newspapers; etc.

-	-	3
---	---	---

Other opinions: To show what has been done since the end of the war; how everything is produced; etc..

3	3	9
---	---	---

No opinion/No answer

1	3	9
---	---	---

Not identifying the basic idea:

7%	17%	29%
100%	100%	100%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer

PURPOSE OF TRAIN ALSO GRASPED BY HULK OF VISITORS !!.

The majority of Berlin respondents - of both Eastern and Western origin - believed, as had the Mains audience, that the Train of Europe purported to further the desire for unity and understanding among the peoples of Europe. Some in Berlin saw the exhibit as advertising the Marshall Plan, but no one there attributed irrelevant or unfavorable motives to the showing of the train, as a few Mains respondents had done.

"What, in your opinion, is the purpose of this Train of Europe exhibit?"

Berlin audience Mains
East West audience

<u>To further the idea of unification and to point out the advantages of such a unification: To show people what the conditions are now and what they could be some day; to show cooperation and its beneficial effects; make propaganda for a unified Europe; to achieve economic cooperation among the peoples of Europe at least; to win as many people as possible for the idea; to demonstrate Europe's strength when once united; etc.</u>	48%	43%	42%
<u>To promote understanding among the peoples (general): To bring the peoples of the world more closely together; to convince visitors that it helps when several countries work together; to promote cooperation between Europe and the rest of the world; to explain to people that there is some sense in understanding and cooperation among different countries; etc.</u>	27	31	26
<u>To point out the necessity of unification as a counter-force against the East: Advise the European countries to cooperate as a counter-measure against the East; to show everyone that the West European nations can only master the Russians if they stand together; to show the peoples of Europe that the United Nations can do more than the East, where the different countries have merely been plundered by the Russians; etc.</u>	14	10	-
<u>To spread information on the Marshall Plan: To tell people what the European relief program is; to demonstrate how the free countries work together under the Marshall Plan; to convince Europe of how well the Marshall Plan has revived our trade; to further understanding of the Marshall Plan; etc.</u>	8	12	-
<u>To promote America: Promotion for America, people are to be convinced of how well-meaning the Americans are; to put American help in the foreground, so that we may not forget to say thank you again and again; etc.</u>	-	-	6
<u>To familiarize people with conditions in other countries: We are to see what conditions in other countries are like; we are to form an opinion on the 16 other European countries; etc.</u>	-	-	4
<u>To show what has been achieved: It is to show what has been achieved so far; so that the people might see what has been achieved since the war; etc.</u>	-	-	3
<u>To speak for the West:</u>	-	-	3
<u>Other opinions: So that the Berliners may see what the West is doing; to give the population an opportunity to look at such an exhibit; etc.</u>	4	3	7
<u>No opinion/No answer</u>	<u>1</u> 102%	<u>1</u> 100%	<u>8</u> 101%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer

THEME OF COOPERATION GENERALLY CONSIDERED VALID ...

The Berlin visitors to the train, East as well as West Germans, were also overwhelmingly in sympathy with the theme of the train - West European unity. More than nine out of ten expressed the opinion that West Europe would be considerably strengthened by closer economic ties. As will be noted in the table below, East German youth do not yield to other members of the Berlin audience in this opinion. In general, the Berlin group appeared to be more frequently convinced on this score than had the earlier Mainz audience.

"Are you of the opinion that closer economic cooperation will increase the strength of Western Europe on the whole, or do you think that Western Europe would then not be any stronger than it is now?"

	East Und. 30 30 & over		West Und. 30 30 & over		Total East West		Mainz audience
Considerably stronger	94%	92%	95%	99%	93%	98%	75%
Somewhat stronger	6	5	-	1	6	1	11
Would not then be stronger	-	3	5	-	1	1	5
No opinion/No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

II. REACTIONS TO EXHIBIT

TRAIN WELL LIKED ...

Reactions of Berlin visitors to the Train of Europe tended to be more positively favorable than those of the previous Mainz audience. In Berlin the expression "I liked it very much" strongly outweighed the more non-committal statement "I liked it." The preponderance of Mainz visitors on the other hand were content with the less effusive estimate.

"In general, did you like the Train of Europe or not?"

	East Und. 30 30 & over		West Und. 30 30 & over		Total East West		Mainz audience
Liked it very much	65%	65%	57%	75%	65%	72%	29%
Liked it	32	35	33	22	34	24	55
Did not like it particularly	3	-	10	3	1	4	13
Did not like it at all	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
No opinion/No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

PREPONDERANCE OF BERLIN AUDIENCE HAD NO CRITICISMS ...

The majority of Berlin visitors to the train not only failed to criticize anything about the exhibition but went out of their way to state that they liked everything about it. Here again they departed from their Mains counterparts; only a quarter of whom had shared this appreciative attitude. Of those in the Berlin audience who did have criticisms to offer some pointed to the abstraction of the presentation and the need for practical examples. Others criticized particular features of the exhibit or the whole manner of presentation. A few Eastern visitors complained that too little attention had been devoted to the East.

"What didn't you particularly like about the Train of Europe?"

Berlin audience	Mains
East	West audience

Everything was liked - nothing disliked: I liked everything; there wasn't anything that one could have disliked; everything interested me, everything pleased me; particularly when one comes from the East one is impressed, this is not a Hennecke activist-system; it was nice, in the East Zone one doesn't see anything of the kind; etc.

65%	60%	24%
-----	-----	-----

More practical examples - instead of figures and statistics - wanted: There could be more practical examples, instead of all the statistics and figures; the exhibit contains too much statistical material which is not interesting to the layman; more emphasis on the practical; etc. 8

2	-
---	---

Criticism of certain features of the exhibit: The American music bothered me and distracted me; the percentages - there isn't anything to compare them with, for instance one doesn't know whether Europe's production represents so much of the world's production or just compared to the United States; some of the expressionistic props seem unreal; in the group "you too belong to Europe" there were little men and along with them also sheep and hogs - they don't belong there and just ridicule the whole thing; in the brochure "Nicht Vergessen" the Germans were presented as beggars; etc.

6	16	11
---	----	----

General criticism of the manner of presentation: The advantages and disadvantages of a unification should have been more clearly shown; the whole presentation - it seems uncoordinated; the personal contact was lacking - there should have been Englishmen and Americans with whom visitors could have discussed things; it is somewhat superficial, there was some propaganda in it and nobody answered the questions I asked; it is hard to get a clear picture; etc.

6	7	10
---	---	----

(Cont'd on next page)

Berlin audience East	West	Main audience
-------------------------	------	------------------

The East was omitted: It should have been emphasized more strongly that the Eastern Zone, Poland, Czechoslovakia and other Eastern countries also belong to Europe; more about the East; one didn't think very much of the East; etc.

4%	4%	4%
----	----	----

Certain features of the exhibition remind of the East: It makes a strange impression on us from the East, when slogans are repeated over and over again, that remind us of conditions in the East; I resented the word "Arbeitsproduktivitaet," because we hear it all the time in the East; etc.

3	-	-
---	---	---

The crowds in the train, no ventilation, the heat: It was awful that we were pushed through the train so quickly; the heat! there wasn't a ventilator or anything; yes, it was awfully hot in there; there were too many people for one to look at anything with leisure; etc.

1	7	16
---	---	----

Certain topics not dealt with: I would have liked to see about the future development of Marshall Plan aid; I missed an account of increased coal production; one should have shown how Europe is all in little parts now, and what the Council of Europe is doing; etc.

1	5	-
---	---	---

Dissatisfaction with the German car: Less attention was devoted to the German car than to the others; they showed very little of Germany; the German car was just an export show; etc.

-	-	5
---	---	---

Dislike of the section with the pictures of many faces: The many heads on the wall in one of the cars; I didn't think that the room with the heads documented a lot of taste; etc.

-	-	4
---	---	---

European cooperation is presented much more ideally than it is as yet: European cooperation is not as far advanced as they present it; they give you illusions that the unity of Europe is achieved, but the true picture is a different one; etc.

-	-	1
---	---	---

Other mentions: So many visitors went through the train just superficially, as though they had no interest in it; etc.

1	-	8
---	---	---

No opinion/No answer

7	4	26
102%	101%	105%

* Percentages add to more than 100% as some respondents gave more than one answer

R E S T R I C T E D

THEME OF TRAIN IS "BEST LIKED" FEATURE AMONG EASTERN VISITORS ...

It is not without interest to note that the theme of the train - European unity - was most frequently mentioned by the visitors from the East as "best liked." Other popular features were the technical expertness of the exhibit, and the car on Germany. Some respondents had liked everything equally well and were not prepared to voice any preference.

"What did you like most about this Train of Europe?"

Berlin audience Mains
East West audience

<u>The main idea that forms the basis of this exhibition; European cooperation, that is what every German wishes for; the fact that the principle of cooperation was expressed and that it can lead to success; when unity will be achieved we will be well off; the European idea is emphasized - nationalistic tendencies have no place in European thinking; the way the different European nations aspire to unification; etc.</u>	33%	19%	15%
<u>The manner of presentation-devices used-the organization of the train; The whole technical equipment; the lights in the first car -one could see where the train had been; the clear compilation of statistical material; polite service rendered by the train personnel; the generous manner of presentation; the variety in the exhibition; the organization; etc.</u>	18	24	30
<u>The German car-presentation and significance; The car on Germany, the German export goods; the car of Federal Republic I found very interesting; the whole principle of foreign aid for Germany; one can see from the last car that Germany has been admitted to the family of nations; etc.</u>	17	11	9
<u>Various facts shown or reported in the exhibition: All the information on steel industry, that is my profession; agriculture interested me most; the presentation of production and the way one country depends on the other; the distribution of raw materials; etc.</u>	14	23	17
<u>Everything was liked: I liked everything equally well; I liked everything; there wasn't anything that one could have disliked; etc.</u>	14	11	14
<u>Reports on the Marshall Plan: The section on ERP aid; how Marshall Plan money is used; the clear presentation of the Marshall Plan aid necessary to start the reconstruction of West Germany; etc.</u>	5	5	-
<u>Section with the pictures of many faces: The many faces prove that all countries belong together; I thought that the aisle with the heads of many people was well done; etc.</u>	1	6	-
<u>Nothing was liked: I did not like anything; nothing, my eyes still hurt; etc.</u>	-	-	6
<u>Other mentions: I don't really know, perhaps the idea of making this kind of propaganda, one should have more of it; the good German workmanship in the construction of the train; etc.</u>	2	4	3
No opinion/No answer	2 106%	3 106%	10 106%

* Percentages add to more than 100% because some respondents gave more than one answer

MANY SUGGESTIONS FOR ADDITIONS TO EXHIBIT ...

Indicative, perhaps, of their hunger for more information is the fact that East German visitors to the train were more inclined than West Germans to mention additional things they would have liked to see in the exhibition.

"Was there anything lacking in this Train of Europe exhibition that you would have liked to see?"

	East		West		East		Mains
	Und.30	30 & over	Und.30	30 & over	East	West	audience
Yes	46%	39%	47%	33%	43%	36%	23%
No	49	50	53	62	49	60	65
No opinion/No answer	5	11	-	5	8	4	12
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"What was lacking that you would have liked to see?" (Asked of those who said "Yes" in the above question).

Berlin audience Mains
East West audience

Topics not dealt with: Statistics about things that have been accomplished so far; exchange of goods between the countries should be given in semi-annual statistics; more about the living standard and buying capacity of the individual - there should be an index so that one can compare; the solution of the unemployment problem - this question was not dealt with; there are still slums in England today - that was not shown; I missed comparisons with forestries of other countries; something about shipping - tonnage of their tradeships; housing construction - youth problems - I found that nothing was shown about what is done for the youth - in contrast to all the hubbub in East Germany; there used to be a lot of horse breeding in Germany in the past - I would have liked to see something about that; etc.

18% 23% 8%

More on Eastern Europe: What is being done about the oppressed nations?; how will one go about the unification of East and West Germany? - a comparison of the countries which do not belong to the European Union; comparison with the Eastern part of the world - production especially; they did not deal with the other half of Europe; a comparison with the East European block; one should have shown more of the dangers of the East to the people; more about poor conditions in the USSR; a comparison of the low rate of production in the East in contrast to Western Europe; how far it is possible to help the defenseless East - everything concerns the West; etc.

17 3 2

(Cont'd on next page)

Berlin audience Mains
East West audience

More practical examples in the interest of understanding: Plastic presentation of novelties and industrial products; I would have liked to see more products - much of it is theory; it could have been shown with models - would have been more interesting and instructive; not so many figures but more pictures about production - perhaps movies; perhaps a movie where one could see leading personalities together - an Englishman beside a Frenchman and a German - something more lively; etc.

4 3 5

More on West German reconstruction: More about reconstruction in West Germany; little was shown about housing construction; they should have shown more about German housing construction; they should have shown more of the construction work; this is the way it used to be - and this is today; etc.

3 2 2

The basic idea expressed in this exhibit lacked power of conviction: They should have expressed more clearly in what way they intend to realize those aims; it should have been emphasized that Europe represents more than just the participating countries; one should try to awaken a national feeling for all of Europe; etc.

1 2 4

Lack in organizational matters: Not enough space to look at everything in peace; there should have been a really big cinema; a refreshment counter; there should be a discussion room especially for us from the East so we can obtain more information; etc.

- - 2

Other opinions: The explanations should have been more informative; everything should be treated more extensively - something about everything; what a Europe train really looks like - the furnishings - the engines; I would have liked to see what things are like in America - one hears much but one sees only little; etc.

$\frac{4}{47\%}$ $\frac{3}{36\%}$ $\frac{1}{24\%}$

* Percentages add to more than the number of people of whom the question was asked as some respondents gave more than one answer

R E S T R I C T E D

PRESENTATION GENERALLY CONSIDERED FACTUAL ...

Further evidence of the effectiveness of the exhibit is the fact that nine out of ten of the Berlin audience believed the display to be factually sound. It is to be noted that the age group (under 30) which included those FDI members attending the showing was as frequently convinced of the honesty of the presentation as were older people.

"Do you have the impression that all that was shown in this exhibit was true to facts, or do you think that it was exaggerated?" •

	East		West		Total	
	Und.30	30 & over	Und.30	30 & over	East	West
True to facts	87%	92%	95%	98%	90%	97%
Exaggerated	1	3	-	-	2	-
Q.A.	7	2	-	2	4	2
No opinion/No answer	5	3	5	-	4	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Those who could not answer the query without qualifications commented as listed below:

"I would not say that it is exaggerated, but whether it corresponds exactly to facts is hard for me to say; in the East we are given too distorted a picture of the West and we are not quite free of that influence."

"Whether the percentages in the statistics are quite trustworthy I would not know."

"I am not enough of an expert to be able to judge whether everything corresponded to facts."

"One doesn't really know if everything is correct, it may be, it may not be, one is skeptical nowadays." etc.

• Question not asked of Mainz audience

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

III. REACTIONS TO WEST EUROPEAN ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

In order to explore East German reactions to the issue of West European economic integration, several questions not asked in the previous Mains survey were included in the Berlin study. Results are reported in the following pages.

LARGE PREPONDERANCE ADVOCATES WEST EUROPEAN INTEGRATION FOR WEST GERMANY ...

There seemed to be little doubt in the minds of the respondents as to where West Germany's future should lie - a very large majority said that it would be better for Western Germany to join the economic system of the West. No Western Berliners advocated economic integration with the East, and only a miniscule 1% of East Germans were of this view. Only a small fraction advised economic neutrality.

"What, in your opinion, would be better for West Germany -
to join the economic system of the East or that of the West?"

	East		West		Total	
	Und. 30	30 & over	Und. 30	30 & over	East	West
West	87%	97%	86%	98%	92%	95%
East	-	2	-	-	1	-
Neither nor	8	1	5	-	5	1
Both	2	-	9	2	1	4
No opinion/No answer	3	-	-	-	1	-
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Advocates of a Western economic orientation reasoned that there was both personal and economic freedom in the West and none in the East; another fraction envisaged considerable economic advantages to be found in the Western camp; some presented the argument that West Germany culturally and geographically belongs in the family of Western nations.

"Why would you consider that to be better?" (Asked
of those who said "West" would be better)

Berlin audience
East, West

Economic freedom in the West and not in the East:
It is a free economy, here in the West, in the East we have one controlled by force; contrary to the situation in the East, there is free economy in the West, with the possibility for private capital to develop; if we were to join the East, then the Russians would merely consider us another prey, loot everything and build up their own heavy industry; here in the West there is free competition, while in the East goods are thrown on the market and must be bought regardless of their quality; etc.

30%

17%

(Cont'd on next page)

Personal and political freedom in the West and not in the East: We want to live as free human beings and not as slaves; because the West is democratic, not so the East; because everyone can have his own free opinion in the West and no pressure is applied in any way; it is often said that East Germany is behind the Iron Curtain. That is entirely right - they live under a dictatorship; we have just lived through one dictatorship, we don't want to experience another one; etc.

24%

26%

Considerable economic advantages in the West:
Life in the West is better, one can see that when comparing East and West Berlin; the standard of living must be raised - that the East cannot achieve; the West is more suited for us and we have economic advantages there; a cooperation with Western Europe would be more productive; Western Europe is industrially much more developed than the East pretends to be, therefore our chances are with the West; etc.

22

24

Culturally and geographically Germany belongs with the West: Germany belongs to the cultural sphere of the West; the whole culture and civilization is ours, the East does not appeal to us; it is the natural course for us, in the East they just go backwards - they have absolutely no culture; because geographically West Germany is part of the West, the East is Asiatic; etc.

18

27

Comments generally unfavorable toward the East:
I know the USSR too well, the East is out of the question; I have many Eastern refugees in my house, therefore I know what conditions are like there; to save the West from Communism; I was in Aue, I know what they are like, they just give empty promises; because I am in a position to judge it, I live there; etc.

9

11

Other opinions: The help from the West is more sincere and honest, because Western Europe is not preparing for a war; etc.

$$\frac{4}{107\%}$$
$$\frac{5}{110\%}$$

* Percentages add to more than the number of people of whom the question was asked as some respondents gave more than one answer

R E S T R I C T E D

WEST EUROPEAN INTEGRATION WILL NOT JEOPARDIZE GERMAN UNIFICATION ...

Nor did the preponderance of Berlin visitors to the train feel that the eventual unification of Germany would be jeopardized by West Germany's joining the West European economic orbit. In fact, a plurality of both East and West German claimed that this participation would facilitate unification. It is to be noted, however, that large minorities of the younger visitors, Eastern and Westerners alike, took a more skeptical position, holding that the economic integration with West Europe on the part of the Germans on the far side of the Elbe would seriously hamper German unification.

"Would West Germany's integration in the West European economic system render the unification of all of Germany more difficult, would it have no influence, or would it facilitate the unification of all of Germany?" @

	East		West		Total	
	Und.30	30 & over	Und.30	30 & over	East	West
Facilitate	49%	65%	24%	57%	56%	51%
Render considerably more difficult	32	11	33	14	23	18
More difficult, but not considerably	6	1	14	9	4	9
No influence	12	18	29	15	14	17
No opinion/No answer	1	5	-	5	3	5
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

MOST EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WOULD LIKE TO JOIN THE WEST ECONOMIC SYSTEM ...

The attraction of European economic unity portrayed in the train exhibit is further evidenced in the fact that it is almost a unanimous opinion that East European countries would like to adhere to the West European economic system, if they had the chance to do so. Again, East German visitors do not differ from West Germans.

"Do you think that some of the Eastern European countries would join the economic system of Western Europe, if it were possible for them to do so, or don't you think so?"

	East		West		Total	
	Und. 30	30 & over	Und. 30	30 & over	East	West
Yes	95%	99%	95%	97%	96%	96%
No	3	1	5	2	2	3
No opinion/No answer	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

All of the countries beyond the Iron Curtain were mentioned with varying degrees of frequency as potential participants in the integrated European economy instituted by the West.

"Which countries would join the economic system of Western Europe?" (Asked of those who said that some of the Eastern European countries would join the economic system of the West if they could) ©

	Berlin audience	
	East	West
Poland	41%	33%
Czechoslovakia	34	27
Hungary	30	28
All satellites would	27	31
Roumania	27	27
East Germany	22	4
Bulgaria	20	24
Jugoslavia	19	29
Russia herself would	3	7
The Baltic countries: Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia	3	8
Others: Albania, Eastern Austria	5	9
No opinion/No answer	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>
	235%*	228%*

EAST ZONE ALSO BELONGS WITH WEST ...

The fact that East Germany is mentioned less frequently, especially by West Germans, than some other East European countries very obviously does not mean that the Berlin train audience felt that this part of Germany should be excluded. Replies to the follow-up query give an almost unanimous vote for East German participation. Omission of mention of East Germany in this matter is indeed revealing - it could be said to represent a basic assumption of Germany unity oriented to the West.

"And how about the East Zone?" (Asked of those who did not mention the East Zone in the previous query)

	Berlin audience	
	East	West
Also the East Zone would join the West European economic system	51%	86%
No, the East Zone would not join	1	1
Q.A.	1	3
No opinion/No answer	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	54%	91%

* Percentages add to more than the number of people of whom the question was asked as some respondents gave more than one answer

WEST GERMAN REACTIONS TO A
 "PRESERVATION OF DEMOCRACY" CLAUSE
 IN THE PROJECTED CONTRACTUAL AGREEMENT

Classification **Changed to**
 OFFICIAL USE ONLY
 by authority of **CRITICAL**
 PUB/RAS. **Crespi**

Report No. 99

21, 1951

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
 OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
 REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

C O N F I D E N T I A L

INTRODUCTION ...

This report dealing with West German attitudes toward the issue of the Allies' right to intervene in the preservation of West German democracy is based on a survey made during August 20 - 31, 1951, by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs. The sample used was a probability sample of 800 cases representing a scientific cross-section of the population in the British, US, and French Zones of West Germany.

Interviewing in the study was conducted by the German staff of DIVO (Deutsches Institut fuer Volksumfragen). The analysis of results was made in the headquarters office of RAS, in Frankfurt/Main.

HIGHLIGHTS ...

- ... The preponderance (42%) of the West German public vetoes the inclusion of a "preservation of democracy" clause in the contractual agreement to be drawn up between the three Western Allies and the Federal Republic whereby the Allies would retain the right to intervene against any attempts to overthrow German democratic government. Only a quarter (24%) approve of such a clause, and a third (34%) have not made up their minds.
- ... But a preponderance of similar proportions (45%) welcomes the assurance of Allied help to the Federal government in the thwarting of any attempted coup d'etat by anti-democratic groups. A quarter (24%) would not welcome this assurance, and 31% do not express an opinion.
- ... The reversal of opinions on the two issues strongly suggests that objections are based on the contractual right of the Allies to intervene, not to intervention per se. Many West Germans apparently are averse to having limitations on their sovereignty so patently stated as would be the case in an "intervention" clause. The preponderance objects to the form, but welcomes the substance.
- ... The minority of the public (24%) favoring a "preservation of democracy" clause are also prepared to give the Allies wide latitude in the measures to be taken to insure this preservation, going so far for the most part as to grant the Allies the right to over-ride election returns in order to prevent a dictatorship either of the right or of the left. Thus two-thirds of them (or 15% of the total West German public) say that if there were a chance that a neo-Nazi group would be voted into power, the Allies should have the right to take steps to prevent it. And almost all of the minority queried (or 21% of the total public) would grant similar rights to prevent a Communist victory at the polls.
- ... There is little evidence in the arguments advanced by those opposing an Allied reservation clause or Allied aid that the issues are rejected because they allegedly contradict democratic procedures. Opponents tend rather to argue that this is a German problem, the Germans know best what to do about their own problems, and so on. Nor are the proponents of intervention or aid apparently largely concerned with the question of procedures. Their interest is generally in the thwarting of a dictatorship, by whatever means or agencies.

- 2 -
C O N F I D E N T I A L

CONFIDENTIAL

PREPONDERANCE AGAINST ALLIED INTERVENTION RIGHTS IN CONTRACTUAL AGREEMENT ...

A "preservation of democracy" clause has no place in the contractual agreement between the Western powers and the Federal Republic, according to a preponderance of the West German public. Four in ten believe that if any West German group should try to overthrow the Republic by force, the West German government should deal with the matter alone, and the Allies should have no right to interfere. However, as many as a quarter (24%) believe the Allies should have the right to intervene in order to protect West German democracy, and a large proportion (34%) have not made up their minds.

"As you probably know, the Western powers are planning to transfer many rights to the West German Federal government. Which of the following opinions comes closest to your own?"

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone
"The Western powers should continue to have the right to take measures for the protection of the Federal government, the moment a West German party attempts to overthrow the government by force;	24%	23%	27%	17%
"It should be left to the West German Federal government to deal with any West German party which intends to overthrow the government by force, and the Western powers should not have the right to interfere in any way."	42	46	37	39
No opinion	<u>34</u> 100%	<u>31</u> 100%	<u>36</u> 100%	<u>44</u> 100%

BUT WOULD WELCOME ALLIED HELP IF NEEDED ...

Apparently what many West Germans object to is the contractual right of the Allies to intervene, not to possible intervention itself. In fact, assurance of help from the three Western powers, if any political group attempted to overthrow the Federal Republic, would be welcomed by a two to one preponderance of the public.

"Would you personally welcome it or not if you had assurance that the Western powers would help the Federal government in case any of the West German parties tried to overthrow the government by force?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Welcome	45%	41%	52%	42%
Not welcome	24	28	19	22
No opinion	<u>31</u> 100%	<u>31</u> 100%	<u>29</u> 100%	<u>36</u> 100%

The reversal of opinions in the two queries strongly suggests that what people dislike is having the limitations on German sovereignty so patently stated as would be the case in a reservation clause. They object to the form, not to the substance.

CONFIDENTIAL

REASONS FOR OPPOSING THE RIGHT OF THE ALLIES TO INTERVENE ...

The reservation by the Allies of the right to intervene to protect West German democracy is opposed by the preponderance of the West German public on the grounds that: (1) the problem is a German problem, (2) intervention would prevent the development of German self-reliance and independence, and (3) the German people and/or government are capable of dealing with the problem. Other scattered comments are pointedly critical of Allied competence in this regard and suggest that some opponents of intervention would welcome an attempt to overthrow the Federal Republic.

"Why are you of this opinion?" (The Allies should not have the right to intervene.)

WEST Brit.US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

It is a German problem: This is a purely German matter; if you grant the Germans a Bundesregierung you should consequently leave everything to them; a government is unable to work if somebody else takes the command; as a German state we have to deal with all matters ourselves; anyone who works as much as we do should obtain all rights; because it is their duty to protect themselves against all mischiefmakers; this must be left to the Germans themselves; what happens in Germany, is solely the German government's concern - or we need no government of our own; it is the Germans' business if they are dissatisfied with a government, it is nobody else's business; we have always been able to rule ourselves, why should we no longer be able to do so now?, in principle I am against the Allies interfering in German matters; the Western powers should mind their own business; etc. 15% 15% 15% 12%

Otherwise we cannot be self-reliant, free, and independent: It is better if you can help yourself rather than be dependent on other countries; we shall never get anywhere if we keep letting others solve our problems; else we would never be a people fit to live; our government will have to get real sovereignty one day - neither can we interfere in the home affairs of other countries; it makes us free, or else we would always depend on the Western powers; the Bundesregierung has steered everything up to now, and must remain independent; in order to remain independent from the Western powers; in order to keep our freedom; if the Western powers are allowed to defend us they can claim more rights; if we have a government at all they should be allowed to act independently; I am all for winning autonomy gradually; etc. 9 11 7 10

German people/government are capable of dealing with problem: The Americans are scared of every party and would ban anyone - only the German government is able to judge what serves us best and what does not; because it is our government and has to decide on us Germans; if in Germany any party should intend to overthrow the government, the government should know ways and means to prevent (such a party from doing so; our government has enough power (police) to win over any party, we don't need the Western powers for it; the Germans are quite capable of looking after themselves and need no foreign supervision; the government must be strong enough to be able to help themselves; the German government can settle their matters by themselves; they are no longer as stupid as to let any mishaps occur; the Germans can look after themselves; etc. 9 10 8 5

(cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

	WEST	Brit.US	French
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone

Intentions of the Western powers are suspect: The Western powers take advantage of us, they impose a heavy financial burden on us and will prevent us from getting any further; I consider the Americans more or less as enemies; the Americans merely seek their advantage; I have not much confidence in the Western powers; the enemies don't bear us good will; the Allies ought to leave Germany, they merely strip us; we remain the milk-cow for the Americans; we had been promised the Western powers would liberate us, but since we are defeated we are practically put behind barbed wire - that is why we should look after ourselves; I would like to see "people" (the occupation) leaving; etc.

3%	3%	2%	3%
----	----	----	----

The Western powers are unable to judge conditions in Germany: We have quite different conditions and quite a different way of life in Germany; it would be the right thing - people from over there have no way of understanding our situation; etc.

1	1	1	-
---	---	---	---

It might be better to change the government: I suppose there is a justifiable reason if another big party should try to overthrow the government; I would prefer to see the present government being overthrown, but the Americans should not interfere; etc.

1	*	1	3
---	---	---	---

Other reasons: If other powers should interfere it might mean a great danger of war; the confidence in the new West German Bundesregierung would be greater if they could solve such problems by themselves; so that the people could have a say; because the Bundesregierung has done much good for us; etc.

2	4	2	4
---	---	---	---

No opinion:

$\frac{2}{42\%}$	$\frac{3}{47\%**}$	$\frac{1}{37\%}$	$\frac{3}{40\%**}$
------------------	--------------------	------------------	--------------------

* Less than one half of one per cent.

**Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

REASONS FOR GRANTING THE RIGHT OF THE ALLIES TO INTERVENE ...

Advocates of an intervention clause argue generally that the Germans - the government and/or the people - are not strong enough to ward off any attempt at a coup d'etat.

"Why are you of this opinion?" (The Allies should have the right to intervene.)

WEST	Brit.	US	French
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone

The Federal government is too weak, too immature, too divided; Because the Federal government is not able to protect itself; if somebody else backs the defense of the government it can take stricter measures; our government is not capable of defending itself, the brains in the government are weak from old age - they should give way to younger people; the Federal government can't handle it alone - there are too many parties which can't agree among themselves; so that the government is protected - otherwise we'll be in a pig's sty all of a sudden without the government being in a position to take countermeasures; because I think that the Federal government can't handle it alone; the Federal government is not able to keep its position without outside protection; otherwise everything would get out of hand - the Federal government is hardly in a position to make a stand against possible coups from the extreme left or the extreme right - then our young democracy would be stifled in the cradle; etc.

6%	7%	4%	7%
----	----	----	----

The political situation is too insecure - there would be chaos otherwise and we would be lost; We have to have some protection, otherwise everything will be mixed up; it's our neck and we would be lost otherwise; unrest inside the country would lead to chaos; if we were alone it would be civil war; because our political situation is not secure enough; we need protection, otherwise there'll never be peace; because I fear that otherwise there would be unrest; etc.

4	4	4	1
---	---	---	---

We (the German people) are not in a position to protect ourselves; Because we alone can't help ourselves - be it in the economic, the inner political, or the military field; with what should we do it, if it should come to it?; because we don't have the means to defend ourselves; we ourselves are not strong and united yet; as the situation is at the moment it means that we are not strong enough; I consider it a favorable solution since we can't do it alone; I don't think the German people have the political maturity and firmness to protect themselves against that; etc.

3	3	3	3
---	---	---	---

The Western powers have helped us so far and they should continue to do so since they are stronger; They can do a much better job of finishing them off than we could do; the Western powers are stronger and can protect Germany; the Western powers are here for our protection - our government does not have the means to protect itself; they have been here all along and have ruled us and helped us, they know what to do; because so far we have been satisfied with everything - they can continue in the same way; the Western powers should help us to defend the democratic form of government which they have given us; etc.

3	2	4	1
---	---	---	---

(cont'd on next page)

WEST Brit. US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

Because of the Russians and the Communists (and their influence): Because the KPD activity is too strong here; the influence from the East is too strong; so we won't have the Russians here all of a sudden; I have not been here in the West very long and I know that in the East Zone the occupation holds all the power, therefore the Western powers have to help too; it could be that the KPD would try to get the upper hand by force - the Western powers would have to prevent that; in order to make a better stand against Bolshevism; the influence from the East is too strong - we cannot handle it alone; etc.

2% 2% 3% 1%

We don't have a strong police force or an army: The West German government is not in a position to protect itself - the police force and the border police are not enough of a protection; what can Germany do alone? - we have no army and no weapons - we need protection; we have no army and a people that do not have an army to protect them are lost; I don't think our government is in a position for it without military protection; because our police force is not big enough to prevent that; because the Federal government is too weak at the moment to fend it off - it does not have an army; because our government does not have any troops at its disposal and the few policemen won't be enough in a case like that; etc.

2 1 2 1

Do not want to repeat history: Because I don't want another dictatorship and a new party doesn't want anything else; otherwise another minority would head the government and our old men were too weak once before; because the government would be too late in agreeing to fight such a party - there would only be another 1933; so the whole affair of 1933 cannot repeat itself; because those forces who held the power before 1945 are regaining influence today; we have already had the experience that our government couldn't handle it; etc.

1 * 3 -

Other reasons: The others will make a lot of trouble if there is no protection; because it can't go on as it is at the present, it would be right; because one lives better under the Western powers than in the East zone; it is the best for us; etc.

2 3 3 2

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{1}{24\%}$ $\frac{1}{23\%}$ $\frac{2}{28\%}$ $\frac{1}{17\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

**Some respondents gave more than one answer.

OPPOSITION TO RESERVATION CLAUSE MORE FREQUENT AMONG HIGHER STATUS GROUPS ...

The preponderance of all population groups favors leaving the protection of the Republic to the German government without the Allied right of intervention. However, the higher status groups - the better educated, the upper socio-economic levels, and the men - are more frequently than others of this opinion. These same groups also tend more often than their counterparts to have made up their minds on the matter.

"As you probably know, the Western powers are planning to transfer many rights to the West German Federal government. Which of the following opinions comes closest to your own?"

"The Western powers should continue to have the right to take measures for the protection of the Federal government, the moment a West German party attempts to overthrow the government by force";

"It should be left to the West German Federal government to deal with any West German party which intends to overthrow the government by force, and the Western powers should not have the right to interfere in any way."

	The Western powers should have the right to intervene	The Western powers should not have the right to intervene	No opinion	No. of cases
WEST GERMANY				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	30%	57%	13%...100%	361
Women	18	30	52	431
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	23%	38%	39%	653
Beyond elementary school	27	58	15	145
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	19%	35%	46%	381
Middle and upper class	28	49	23	416
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	21%	37%	42%	521
300 - 399 DM	27	51	22	157
400 DM and more	32	59	9	104
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	23%	46%	31%	388
40 years and over	24	38	38	409
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	30%	52%	18%	186
CDU/CSU	31	42	27	131
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	43	47	10	49
Other parties	26	56	18	62
No party	17	42	41	208
Don't know	13	22	65	161
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	32%	47%	21%	38
Businessmen	28	49	23	83
White-collar workers	30	48	22	106
Skilled laborers	24	45	31	149
Semi-skilled laborers	22	45	33	117
Farmers	17	40	43	103
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	20	31	49	110
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	28%	60%	12%	140
No	23	38	39	658
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	26%	38%	36%	366
Protestants	22	43	35	393
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	22%	43%	35%	631
Expellees, Refugees	28	40	32	167

OPPOSITION TO ALLIED HELP ALSO MORE FREQUENTLY FOUND IN HIGHER STATUS GROUPS ...

Among all population elements, more persons would welcome the assurance of Allied aid to Bonn in the event of an attempted coup d'etat than would find such help unwelcome. However, it is to be noted that negative attitudes on this issue are particularly frequent among certain influential groups: the non-, the better educated, those in higher income brackets, trade union members and Protestants.

"Would you personally welcome it or not if you had the assurance that the Western powers would help the Federal government in case any of the West German parties tried to overthrow the government by force?"

WEST GERMANY	Welcome	Not welcome	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	49%	34%	17%...100%	361
women	41	15	44	437
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	44%	21%	35%	653
Beyond elementary school	50	34	16	145
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>				
Lower class	38%	22%	40%	381
Middle and upper class	52	25	23	416
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	41%	22%	37%	521
300 - 399 DM	52	26	22	157
400 DM and more	58	32	10	104
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	48%	22%	30%	388
40 years and over	42	25	33	409
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	59%	25%	16%	186
CDU/CSU	53	27	20	131
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	70	24	6	49
Other parties	52	34	14	62
No party	29	27	44	208
Don't know	34	11	55	161
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	60%	24%	16%	38
Businessmen	51	29	20	83
White-collar workers	54	21	25	106
Skilled laborers	40	27	33	149
Semi-skilled laborers	41	26	33	117
Farmers	47	21	32	103
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	40	23	37	110
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	46%	34%	20%	140
No	45	22	33	658
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	51%	17%	32%	366
Protestants	40	28	32	393
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	45%	24%	31%	631
Expellees, Refugees	45	23	32	167

CONFIDENTIAL

MINORITY WOULD GRANT ALLIES WIDE POWERS AGAINST NEO-NAZI OR COMMUNIST THREAT ...

The minority favoring an intervention clause were further queried on what rights they would grant the Allies in the event that neo-Nazi or Communist groups should attempt to use the ballot-box to gain power. Results of this line of questioning reveal that the 24% who favor an intervention clause would also grant wide latitude to the three Western Allies. For the most part, they would go so far as to permit the Western powers the right to override election returns in order to prevent the establishment of a dictatorship of either rightist or leftist variety.

Thus two-thirds of this group (or 15% of the total public) say that if there were a likelihood that a party similar to the National Socialists should win an election, the West should have the right to take preventive measures.

"Supposing it were anticipated that through public elections a party similar to the NSDAP would come into power in West Germany, do you think that under those circumstances the Western powers should have the right to take steps to prevent it, or should the Western powers not have this right?" (Asked of those who favored the right of the Allies to intervene to prevent a coup d'etat)

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Should have the right	15%	13%	18%	14%
Should not have the right	6	6	7	3
No opinion	<u>3</u> 24%	<u>4</u> 23%	<u>2</u> 27%	<u>-</u> 17%

And almost all of the minority approving the intervention clause would grant the Allies the right to prevent the Communists from being voted into power.

"Supposing it were anticipated that through public elections a group of Communist nature would come into power in West Germany, do you think that under those circumstances the Western powers should have the right to take steps to prevent it, or should the Western powers not have the right?" (Asked of those who favored the right of the Allies to intervene to prevent a coup d'etat)

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Should have the right	21%	20%	24%	15%
Should not have the right	2	1	3	2
No opinion	<u>1</u> 24%	<u>2</u> 23%	<u>-</u> 27%	<u>-</u> 17%

Thus 15% of the German public queried think the West ought to retain the right to bar the voting into power of a neo-Nazi group, and 21% would grant the same right regarding the Communists.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

REASONS WHY THE ALLIES SHOULD HAVE RIGHT TO PREVENT A NEO-NAZI THREAT ...

The preponderance of those who want the Western Allies to retain the right to prevent a neo-Nazi resurgence appear to be more concerned with memories of their bitter experiences under National Socialism than with the problem of reserved powers for the former occupiers. For the most part they appear to believe that the main issue is the prevention of rightist dictatorship rather than who is to prevent it.

"Why do you think so?" (Asked of those who would approve Allied intervention)

WEST	Brit.	US	French
GERMANY	Zone	Zone	Zone

We have had our warning in the past - we don't want another Nazi-dictatorship. We have seen what that came to - we don't ever want that again; in order not to get into the same fix a second time as under the Third Reich; so the disaster won't repeat itself; because we have experienced a lot under that kind of government; because we have had enough of the Nazis; because a NSDAP should never come up again; these kinds of organizations only bring disaster - we had the example in our past - it would save us new misery and suffering; it would be good if the Western powers had the right to interfere in such a case - otherwise the same would happen to us as after 1933; before 1933 it was the same - if such a party gets a foothold, the people are helpless; because they understand how to appeal to the masses; they would throw us into concentration camps again and we wouldn't be permitted to speak freely anymore; the Nazi party brought down enough suffering on our heads - we don't ever want such a party again; dictatorship is bad - we have experienced that; etc.

10%	10%	13%	8%
-----	-----	-----	----

We need the help of the Western powers because we are too weak to manage it alone. We are still in need of a certain amount of help; our democracy has not developed far enough, therefore we still need the help of the Western powers; we still need help from abroad; because we cannot help ourselves; etc.

1	1	1	2
---	---	---	---

The Western powers are more capable of preventing a dictatorship since they have more experience and are neutral. Because the Western powers have a thorough experience of democracy; Facism meant the state under one Fuehrer and I have come to the conviction that it isn't right, a democracy as in America is right; because the Western powers can preserve peace and quiet for Germany; the Western powers have a neutral view; etc.

1	1	1	-
---	---	---	---

Because the present government is not strong enough to fend it off. The German government is not able to manage it alone - they are not yet energetic enough; the Federal government alone is not able to defend itself; our own government would not be able to prevent it; etc.

1	*	*	3
---	---	---	---

Other opinions: It is a matter of course since the danger of rightist radicalism has not been overcome yet; it is rare that something good comes of a government upset - therefore we should have protection; because such elections are not quite honest; then it wouldn't come to civil war; etc.

$\frac{2}{15\%}$	$\frac{1}{13\%}$	$\frac{3}{16\%}$	$\frac{2}{15\%}$
------------------	------------------	------------------	------------------

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

- 9 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

REASONS WHY ALLIES SHOULD NOT HAVE RIGHT TO PREVENT NEO-NAZISM ...

The few who when queried say the Allies should not have the right to prevent the voting into power of a neo-Nazi party advance a variety of arguments among which the view that it is up to the Germans to decide the matter either because they understand the German situation better, or because a party like the National Socialists might do a good job, is expressed as often as the argument that such intervention would be undemocratic.

"Why are you of this opinion?" (Asked of those who would disapprove of Allied intervention)

WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	---------------	------------	----------------

It would not be in accord with democratic principles: It would not be according to democratic principles to act contrary to the will of the majority of a people; an election shows the will of the people and one would impair democratic rules by that; it is the free will of a person to vote as he likes - democracy is freedom; because it would happen by right and by elections; the decision should be left to the people; the majority decides who will be in power; public elections reveal the will of the people and that has to be respected; then the people should bear their chosen pitiful fate; etc.

3%	3%	5%	1%
----	----	----	----

The Germans are able to deal with it alone: We can manage it alone; the Germans can deal with it by themselves; the West German government could handle that alone; etc.

1	1	1	-
---	---	---	---

Intervention would be a limitation of our political freedom - it's an internal German affair: Then we will never be our own masters; if they want to make peace with us then they have to grant us internal political freedom; because they can't ever understand the German mentality; - it is our own affair; etc.

1	1	*	2
---	---	---	---

The new party could be more beneficial to the people than the present one: Why shouldn't other parties do a better job than the present ones?; if it is better than the NSDAP why should the Western powers concern themselves with it?; the Nazi party did a lot for the workers - if a similar party came up and was elected by the people it would probably do more for the people than the present government; etc.

1	1	1	-
---	---	---	---

Because there is no such danger - Communism is the threat: Because I don't consider it a danger for our people; because a rightist party is not as evil as Communism perhaps; etc.

* 6%	* 6%	* 7%	* 3%
---------	---------	---------	---------

* Less than half of one percent

The very few who would deny the Allies the right to bar a Communist victory at the polls argue generally that bad as Communism is, it would be wrong to go against the wishes of the majority. Advocates of Allied intervention, as in the case of the National Socialist issue tend to stress the evils of Communism rather than the issue of who is to prevent Communists from being elected into power. Some argue that the Federal government is too weak to combat a Communist threat, or that Communism is too strong either because of Russian support or its international ramifications for Bonn to tackle without Western aid.

"Why are you of this opinion?" (Asked of those who would approve of Allied intervention)

WEST Brit. US French
GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

We don't want Communism - it has to be prevented with all means: Because we don't want Communism - they don't mean well; Communism must never spread; because Communism has to be prevented; the nature of Communism is such that it has to be prevented for humanity's sake; Communism has to be stopped because it does not fit our conditions; one cannot live well under Communist rule; the German living standard would be even lower under Communism, I don't want to have anything to do with Communism; because the KPD is criminal; because Communist groups shall never gain a foothold here; etc. 9% 7% 12% 6%

Communism means slavery and dictatorship and the end of freedom: Because I am fundamentally opposed to dictatorship and a firm believer in democracy; no dictatorship under any conditions - neither rightist nor leftist; Communism must never gain - it deprives one of all freedoms; I can only say the same as before - besides, my personal freedom is too dear to me; etc. 3 4 3 4

We alone are too weak to suppress Communism: According to our experiences it would be better to prevent it before it starts - we are too weak, though, to do it alone; we have to preserve democracy - it is better to do it now while we have support; if we are too weak to prevent the Communists from forming a government the Western powers should help us - only this way we can preserve our freedom; the Communists seem too dangerous to me and the Federal government alone is not able to avert this danger; etc. 2 3 2 1

Russia (the East) supports Communism: They are too strong - they are supported by the East and therefore it is difficult; because then there is the danger that all of Germany would come under Russian domination; all of Germany could be played into Russian hands; because otherwise we would be left to the Russians; etc. 2 2 1 1

We know what Communism is: I have experienced Communism - I know what would happen to us then; we have gotten to know Communism and its "benefits" - chaos and ruin is their aim; you can plainly see in the East Zone what Communism will lead to; etc. 2 2 3 -

We don't want Communism any more than we want National Socialism: Because we have no use for Communism here, just as we don't have any use for National Socialism; we don't want the Nazis either; we can expect nothing better from Communism - no salvation - neither can we expect anything from Nazism; etc. 1 - 2 2

Communism is an international menace: The free people of the whole world have to side with each other - the threat is too great; etc. 1 2 - 1

Other opinions: The Communists rely on the stupid and dissatisfied class of the population - and those usually don't know what they are doing; etc. 1 1 1 1

**Some respondents gave more than one answer.

21% 21% 24% 15%

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP BREAKDOWNS ON THE ALLIES' RIGHT TO INTERVENE AGAINST NEO-NAZISM ...

In interpreting the group breakdowns on this and the following page it should be kept in mind that only a quarter of the West German public were queried about the Allied right to intervene to prevent Nazi or Communist groups from coming into power, since the inquiries were put only to the 24% who believed the Allies should retain the right to intervene in the event of a threat to overthrow the Republic.

Since women, those of lower socio-economic status, and the low income groups were less likely than their opposites to hold an opinion on the general right of the Allies to intervene, fewer of them were asked the question under consideration here.

However, among all groups replying to the question a two to one preponderance on the average grants the Allies the right to take preventive measures against a neo-Nazi victory at the polls.

"Supposing it were anticipated that through public elections a party similar to the NSDAP would come into power in West Germany, do you think that under these circumstances the Western powers should have the right to take steps to prevent it, or should the Western powers not have this right?"

	Should have the right	Should not have the right	No opinion	Quest. not asked	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	20%	8%	2%	70%..100%	361
Women	11	4	3	82	437
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	14	6	3	77	653
Beyond elementary school	18	7	2	73	145
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	10	6	3	81	381
Middle and upper class	19	7	2	72	416
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	13	5	3	79	521
300 - 399 DM	18	7	2	73	157
400 DM and more	21	9	2	68	104
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	13	8	2	77	388
40 years and over	16	5	3	76	409
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SED	21	7	2	70	186
CDU/CSU	20	7	4	69	131
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	25	12	6	57	49
Other parties	15	8	3	74	62
No party	9	6	2	83	208
Don't know	9	3	1	87	161
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	19	8	5	68	38
Businessmen	17	10	1	72	83
White-collar workers	20	8	2	70	106
Skilled laborers	15	7	2	76	149
Semi-skilled laborers	13	7	2	78	117
Farmers	11	4	2	83	103
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	14	2	4	80	110
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member	19	7	2	72	140
No	14	6	3	77	658
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	18	6	2	74	366
Protestants	12	7	3	78	393
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	14	6	2	78	631
Expellees, Refugees	17	7	4	72	167

C O N F I D E N T I A L

GROUP BREAKDOWNS ON THE ALLIES' RIGHT TO INTERVENE AGAINST COMMUNISTS ...

Keeping in mind the precautionary note regarding the relatively small proportion queried on this issue, it will be noted in the table below that among all groups a very large preponderance - eight to one on the average - would like to have the Western Allies have the right to step in to prevent a Communist group from winning an election.

"Supposing it were anticipated that through public elections a group of Communist nature would come into power in West Germany, do you think that under these circumstances, the Western powers should have the right to take steps to prevent it, or should the Western powers not have this right?"

	Should have the right	Should not have the right	No opinion	Quest. not asked	No. of cases:
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	26%	3%	1%	70%..100%	361
Women	16	1	1	82	437
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	20	2	1	77	653
Beyond elementary school	25	2	-	73	145
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower class	15	2	2	81	381
Middle and upper class	26	2	-	72	416
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	18	2	1	79	521
300 - 399 DM	24	2	1	73	157
400 DM and more	28	4	-	68	104
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	20	2	1	77	388
40 years and over	21	2	1	76	409
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	27	3	-	70	186
CDU/CSU	27	2	2	69	131
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	33	8	2	57	49
Other parties	24	2	-	74	62
No party	14	1	2	83	208
Don't know	11	2	-	87	161
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	29	3	-	68	38
Businessmen	27	1	-	72	83
White-collar workers	26	3	1	70	106
Skilled laborers	22	1	1	76	149
Semi-skilled laborers	18	3	1	78	117
Farmers	15	1	1	83	103
Not employed; pension- ers, students, retired, etc.	18	1	1	80	110
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member	24	3	1	72	140
No	20	2	1	77	658
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	23	2	1	74	366
Protestants	19	2	1	78	393
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	20	1	1	78	631
Expellees, Refugees	23	4	1	72	167

C O N F I D E N T I A L

ATTITUDES ON ALLIED INTERVENTION AS RELATED TO SATISFACTION WITH BONN GOVERNMENT...

Attitudes pro and con the Allies' right to intervene or assist in protecting the Federal Republic against neo-Nazi and Communist threats are tied in with opinions on the effectiveness of the present Bonn government. Since the alleged subservieney of the Adenauer government to the occupying powers is frequently asserted by its critics, it is not surprising to find that opponents of an intervention clause and of Allied help tend more often than proponents to express dissatisfaction with the present Bonn government. It may be surmised that a reason for the more frequent satisfaction with the Adenauer regime among those who desire continued Allied protection against internal threats to the Republic is that these people have greater appreciation not only of the democratic basis of the government, but of its need for help until such time as democracy is more firmly rooted in West Germany.

The comparative tables follow:

	Satisfied with Federal government	Dissatisfied with Federal government	No opinion	No. of cases
Allies should have right to defend German government from coup d'etat	56%	35%	9%...100%	188
Allies should not have this right	36	55	9	334
Would welcome Allied help if group tried to overthrow government by force	50%	40%	10%...100%	359
Would not welcome Allied help	34	56	10	189

PROGRAM TASTES
OF WEST GERMAN AND WEST BERLIN RADIO LISTENERS
A Tabular Summary

Report No. 100

Classification cancelled
by authority of Leo P. Crespi
PUB/RAS. RESTRICTED

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS SECTION

INTRODUCTION

The present report by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, is a by-product of a detailed inquiry into the status of the Voice of America program in West Germany and West Berlin. Presented are overall returns and group breakdowns on the reactions of West German and West Berlin radio listeners to the major types of radio program fare.

The results are based upon a probability sample embracing 3,000 cases in West Germany and 600 cases in West Berlin, obtained between March 27th and May 16th, 1951. Interviewing was conducted by trained German interviewers of the Reactions Analysis Staff under the auspices of the Institute of Social Research, Darmstadt, Germany. This is a NICOG-financed institute but among the great bulk of respondents, if known at all, it would be assumed to be a German research agency. This use of the Darmstadt institute's auspices was a necessary transitional device until RAS could conclude the negotiations then in process to set up the now established contractual relationship with a newly formed German survey agency "Deutsches Institut fuer Volksumfragen" (DIVO).

The group breakdowns presented in this paper embrace first a series of sociological variables - sex, education, income, city size, occupation, trade union membership, age, party preference, religion, and origin. In addition comparisons are presented on a group of four psychological variables: a measure of political activity and interest, and three measures of basic attitudinal orientations - attitude towards democracy, attitude towards America, and degree of readiness to learn from America.

The questions upon which these psychological comparisons are based and the way in which the answers are scored are described in an appendix to the present report.

The question which was employed as the basis for ascertaining respondent's preferences in radio program content went as follows:

"Which of these radio programs would you not want to miss under any circumstances, which of these do you like to hear once in a while, and which don't you particularly want to hear?" (Asked of all radio listeners.) (CARD)

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| - News | - Folk Music |
| - Commentaries | - Operettas |
| - Press Reviews | - Variety Programs |
| - Reports on Current Events | - Classical Music |
| - Lectures | - Religious Programs |
| - Sport News and Reports | - Radio Plays |
| - Dance Music | - Agricultural Programs |
| - American Jazz | |

- a -

PROGRAM INTEREST RANKINGS IN WEST GERMANY AND WEST BERLIN ...

The general finding in the present report is that marked variations in program tastes exist among West German and West Berlin radio listeners - ranging from very widespread interest in news down to very widespread disinterest in American jazz music. Other types of radio fare that stand high in audience interest in West Germany are variety programs, folk music, and operettas. Program features rating low in popular interest are classical music, press reviews, and lectures.

"Which of these radio programs (CARD) would you not want to miss under any circumstances, which of these do you like to hear once in a while, and which don't you particularly want to hear?" (Asked of all radio listeners.)

	WEST GERMANY				WEST BERLIN			
	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No op/ No answ.	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No op/ No answ.
News	71%	17%	11%	1%	87%	9%	4%	1%
Variety Programs	60	29	10	1	73	21	6	-
Folk Music	55	37	7	1	45	40	14	1
Operettas	42	33	24	1	51	35	13	1
Dance Music	32	32	36	-	39	32	29	-
Radio Plays	31	41	27	1	33	46	21	-
Commentaries	30	27	41	2	49	27	23	1
Sport, Reports and News	29	18	52	1	31	20	48	1
Agricultural Programs	22	26	51	1	8	20	71	1
Religious Programs	20	36	43	1	12	24	64	-
Reports on Current Events	18	34	46	2	34	37	27	2
Classical Music	18	27	54	1	21	30	49	-
Press Reviews	18	26	54	2	33	30	36	1
Lectures	11	38	49	2	17	45	38	-
American Jazz	4	11	83	2	9	13	77	1
Average	31	29	39	1	35	29	35	1
(No. of cases:)			(2301)			(547)		

It will be noted that West Berlin program rankings show some general similarity to those in West Germany - particularly at the extremes of most interesting and least - but differ in particulars. Informational programs - commentaries, reports on current events, press reviews and lectures - appeal more widely to West Berliners than to residents of West Germany. Commentaries, for example, rank fourth in West Berlin among 15 types of programs listed with 49 per cent indicating that they do not like to miss such a program. In West Germany, in contrast, the ranking is seventh with but 30 per cent expressing such a judgment. Among other West German-West Berlin differences it is interesting to note that there is lower interest in religious programs in the latter area. The drop in interest in agricultural programs among West Berliners is, of course, to be expected in a large urban center.

PROGRAM INTEREST RANKINGS IN ZONES AND LAENDER ...

The program interest rankings in various zones and Laender of Germany are tabulated in the pages immediately following. These data will not be discussed other than to say that they contain information of considerable pertinence to anyone with the problem of tailoring radio program material to the interests of listeners in particular zones and Laender. Fortunately from the point of view of the program planner, the similarities of program tastes among the various regions of West Germany are considerable more marked than the differences.

RESTRICTED

	BRITISH ZONE TOTAL				NORTH-RHINE-WESTPHALIA				LOWER SAXONY			
	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't partic- ularly want to hear it	No op/ No answ.	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't partic- ularly want to hear it	No op/ No answ.	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't partic- ularly want to hear it	No op/ No answ.
News	71%	18%	11%	-%	71%	18%	11%	-%	66%	21%	13%	-%
Variety Programs	61	30	9	-	63	29	8	-	52	37	11	-
Folk Music	49	43	8	-	51	42	7	-	50	41	8	1
Operettas	44	34	21	1	44	34	22	-	37	36	26	1
Commentaries	33	28	38	1	32	26	41	1	32	27	40	1
Dance Music	32	34	34	-	30	32	38	-	34	37	29	-
Radio Plays	28	42	29	1	25	45	29	1	28	38	32	2
Sport, News and Reports	28	20	51	1	26	21	51	-	27	18	53	2
Press Reviews	22	28	49	1	22	26	51	1	23	25	51	1
Reports on Current Events	20	36	43	1	18	36	45	1	22	33	45	-
Classical Music	19	29	52	-	20	30	50	-	17	28	54	1
Agricultural Pro- grams	19	24	57	-	17	24	58	1	25	23	50	2
Religious Programs	18	35	46	1	20	40	40	-	21	37	40	2
Lectures	11	40	48	1	11	41	47	1	11	37	51	1
American Jazz	4	11	83	2	3	11	84	2	4	9	82	5
Average	30	30	39	1	30	30	39	1	30	30	39	1
(No. of cases:)	(1225)				(682)				(299)			

(cont'd on next page)

RESTRICTED

(BRITISH ZONE cont'd)

	SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN				BREITEN				HAMBURG			
	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't partic- ularly want to hear it	No op/ No answ.	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't partic- ularly want to hear it	No op/ No answ.	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't partic- ularly want to hear it	No op/ No answ.
News	79%	15%	6%	-	67%	15%	18%	-	75%	15%	10%	-
Variety Programs	69	23	8	-	67	27	6	-	65	26	8	1
Folk Music	38	52	10	-	58	36	6	-	37	49	14	-
Operettas	57	29	14	-	58	30	12	-	46	39	15	-
Commentaries	37	39	24	-	33	27	40	-	40	31	29	-
Dance Music	36	38	26	-	46	27	24	-	31	41	28	-
Radio Plays	36	36	23	-	30	37	30	-	34	43	22	1
Sport, News and Reports	27	21	52	-	27	27	46	-	29	18	53	-
Press Reviews	19	38	42	1	18	21	61	-	23	37	40	-
Reports on Current Events	23	39	36	2	27	24	49	-	29	45	26	-
Classical Music	15	32	53	-	21	15	64	-	26	28	46	-
Agricultural Programs	18	27	55	-	24	27	49	-	9	18	73	-
Religious Programs	11	23	56	-	12	9	76	-	13	13	73	1
Lectures	13	42	44	1	3	33	64	-	18	42	40	-
American Jazz	3	9	88	-	12	12	70	-	3	16	81	-
Average	32	31	37	*	34	24	41	1	32	31	37	*
(No. of cases:)										(87)		

* Less than one half of one per cent.

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

	US ZONE TOTAL				BAVARIA				HESSE				WURTEMBERG.-BADEN			
	Would not miss to hear it in a while	Like to hear it once in a while	No op/No ans.	Would not miss to hear it once in a while	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't partic- ularly want to hear it	No op/No ans.	Would not miss to hear it once in a while	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't partic- ularly want to hear it	No op/No ans.	Would not miss to hear it once in a while	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't partic- ularly want to hear it	No op/No ans.	
News	72%	16%	11%	74%	15%	10%	1%	63%	22%	14%	1%	79%	11%	9%	1%	
Folk Music	62	28	8	68	24	7	1	53	39	8	-	62	27	10	1	
Variety Programs	60	28	11	59	28	12	1	64	26	8	2	59	29	11	1	
Operettas	40	30	28	40	28	31	1	49	32	19	-	31	35	33	1	
Radio Plays	33	40	25	34	39	25	2	34	42	22	2	32	41	26	1	
Dance Music	32	30	37	30	28	41	1	35	35	29	1	34	29	36	1	
Sport, News and Reports	30	17	52	30	19	50	1	24	16	59	1	35	13	50	2	
Commentaries	29	28	41	28	30	41	1	31	27	40	2	30	26	42	2	
Agricultural Programs	26	28	44	29	27	43	1	23	31	44	2	25	27	46	2	
Religious Pro-grams	22	37	39	28	37	34	1	13	37	48	2	20	37	42	1	
Classical Music	17	25	56	17	25	57	1	15	24	57	4	17	28	53	2	
Reports on Current Events	17	32	48	18	30	50	2	16	40	40	4	18	27	53	2	
Press Reviews	14	24	59	12	26	61	1	17	23	58	2	15	23	60	2	
Lectures	12	35	50	13	40	45	2	10	29	54	7	10	32	57	1	
American Jazz	6	11	81	5	12	82	1	5	10	81	4	7	9	82	2	
Average	32	27	39	33	27	39	1	30	29	39	2	32	26	41	1	
(No. of cases:)	(831)	(438)	(205)	(188)												

- 4 -

RESTRICTED

02158

R E S T R I C T E D

FRENCH ZONE TOTAL				BADEN				RHEINLAND-PFALZ				WUERTTEMBERG.-HOHENZOLLERN			
Would not miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't like to hear it	No op/No answ.	Would not miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't like to hear it	No op/No answ.	Would not miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't like to hear it	No op/No answ.	Would not miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't like to hear it	No op/No answ.
67%	16%	16%	1%	75%	10%	13%	2%	59%	22%	19%	-	75%	10%	10%	5%
62	31	5	2	78	17	3	2	59	36	5	-	51	37	7	5
54	27	15	4	67	18	15	-	53	27	15	5	43	34	15	8
34	35	27	4	53	22	22	3	34	36	26	4	13	46	34	7
34	32	29	5	41	27	27	5	35	32	30	3	24	41	27	8
31	26	41	2	35	20	43	2	34	26	39	1	20	29	44	7
Agricultural Programs	28	43	4	29	27	42	2	23	26	47	4	25	32	36	7
Sport, Reports and News	16	56	3	31	17	50	2	25	14	59	2	19	22	52	7
Commentaries	21	51	6	29	15	53	3	22	22	48	3	15	25	53	7
Classical Music	21	58	3	20	25	55	-	21	22	53	4	8	14	73	5
Religious Programs	17	41	3	13	45	40	2	14	44	40	2	31	30	34	5
Reports on Current Events	12	29	5	18	28	52	2	11	32	50	7	7	22	64	7
Press															
Reviews	11	23	5	13	20	65	2	11	25	58	6	7	19	66	8
Lectures	8	32	5	7	38	53	2	7	30	57	6	12	32	49	7
American Jazz	4	10	4	7	17	75	1	4	7	85	4	2	8	83	7
Average	26	42	4	34	23	41	2	27	27	42	4	23	27	43	7

02159

(59)

(126)

(60)

(245)

(No. of cases:)

R E S T R I C T E D

II. GROUP DIFFERENCES IN PROGRAM INTERESTS

Group differences among various sectors of the West German and West Berlin population are presented in an extensive tabular summary appended to the present report. Again they are presented without comment as a handbook, so as to speak, of the differential appeal of various types of program fare among all the more important target elements in Germany.

SEX AND AGE DIFFERENCES ...

As an additional aid to understanding for two of the more crucial target groups in Germany - women and youth - the data in these two sectors have been reworked into more condensed and unified fashion below. It becomes evident in studying the sex comparison tables that there is considerable agreement between men and women in most liked and least liked program features. But in the middle range there is an appreciable divergence of program tastes. These facts are of course among the most important the program planner should take into account, whether his interest is to obtain the widest possible audience among both men and women, or whether his aim is to achieve the most effective program design for attracting women or men as particular target groups.

WEST GERMANY	Would not want to miss		Like to hear it once in a while		Don't particu- larly want to hear it		No opinion/ No answer	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
News	84%	60%	11%	23%	5%	17%	*%	*%
Variety Programs	55	64	34	25	10	10	1	1
Folk Music	53	57	37	37	9	6	1	*
Sport, News and Reports	45	14	18	19	36	66	1	1
Commentaries	44	19	28	27	27	52	1	2
Operettas	37	46	34	32	28	22	1	*
Dance Music	31	33	30	33	39	34	*	*
Press Reviews	26	11	30	23	43	64	1	2
Radio Plays	25	35	42	40	32	24	1	1
Reports on Current Events	25	13	39	29	35	56	1	2
Agricultural Programs	24	21	24	28	51	50	1	1
Classical Music	18	18	24	29	57	52	1	1
Religious Programs	15	24	32	40	52	35	1	1
Lectures	14	8	39	37	45	53	2	2
American Jazz	6	3	11	10	82	84	1	3
<u>Average</u>	33	28	29	29	37	42	1	1
(No. of cases:)	Men: (1050) Women: (1255)							

WEST BERLIN								
	Would not want to miss		Like to hear it once in a while		Don't particu- larly want to hear it		No opinion/ No answer	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
News	94%	82%	4%	12%	2%	5%	-%	1%
Variety Programs	70	75	20	20	10	4	-	1
Commentaries	58	41	25	29	16	28	1	2
Operettas	48	55	35	35	17	9	-	1
Sport, News and Reports	47	20	22	18	31	61	-	1
Folk Music	43	46	41	40	16	13	-	1
Reports on Current Events	42	28	38	36	18	32	2	4
Dance Music	41	37	27	35	32	27	-	1
Press Reviews	41	26	31	30	27	42	1	2
Radio Plays	32	34	46	45	22	21	-	-
Lectures	20	14	39	49	41	35	-	2
Classical Music	19	22	28	32	53	45	-	1
American Jazz	12	7	12	14	76	78	-	1
Religious Programs	7	15	16	29	77	55	-	1
Agricultural Programs	10	6	20	22	70	71	-	1
<u>Average</u>	39	34	27	30	34	35	*	1
(No. of cases:)	Men: (229) Women: (310)							

* Less than one half of one per cent.

R E S T R I C T E D

The divergence of program taste between youth and their elders, it will be noted below, is considerably greater than between men and women. This means for the program planner a greater difficulty in designing radio shows that will attract both groups, and means that more careful attention to the facts of differential appeal is necessary if the objective is to have maximum impact upon youth.

WEST GERMANY	Would not want to miss		Like to hear it once in a while		Don't partic- ularly want to hear it		No opinion/ No answer	
	Elders (25&over)	Youth (15-24)	Elders (25&over)	Youth (15-24)	Elders (25&over)	Youth (15-24)	Elders (25&over)	Youth (15-24)
News	73%	58%	16%	23%	10%	19%	1%	-%
Variety Programs	59	64	29	29	11	7	1	-
Folk Music	55	53	36	38	7	9	2	-
Operettas	41	45	34	27	24	28	1	-
Commentaries	32	17	28	25	38	57	2	1
Radio Plays	29	37	41	41	28	22	2	-
Dance Music	27	63	32	27	40	10	1	-
Sport, News and Reports	25	48	18	19	55	33	2	-
Agricultural Pro- grams	22	24	26	23	50	53	2	-
Religious Pro- grams	20	15	36	35	42	50	2	-
Press Reviews	19	10	27	22	52	68	2	-
Reports on Current Events	18	20	33	34	46	46	3	-
Classical Music	18	20	27	26	54	54	1	-
Lectures	11	10	38	32	48	57	3	1
American Jazz	3	15	8	23	86	61	3	1
<u>Average</u>	30	33	29	29	39	38	2	*

(No. of cases:)

Elders: (1956) Youth: (34)

WEST BERLIN

News	89%	71%	8%	18%	3%	11%	-%	-%
Variety Programs	73	74	20	25	7	1	-	-
Operettas	52	49	35	38	12	12	1	1
Commentaries	50	33	27	31	22	36	1	-
Folk Music	45	43	41	38	14	18	-	1
Dance Music	35	66	33	26	32	8	-	-
Press Reviews	34	20	30	31	35	49	1	-
Reports on Current Events	33	39	37	39	27	22	3	-
Radio Plays	32	46	46	41	22	13	-	-
Sport, News and Reports	29	48	20	21	50	31	1	-
Classical Music	21	20	31	28	48	52	-	-
Lectures	17	16	46	38	36	46	1	-
Religious Pro- grams	12	10	25	20	63	70	-	-
Agricultural Pro- grams	8	7	21	15	70	77	1	1
American Jazz	6	30	12	26	81	44	1	-
<u>Average</u>	35	38	29	29	35	33	1	*

(No. of cases:)

Elders: (479) Youth: (60)

* Less than one half of one per cent.

WEST GERMANY	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases:	WEST BERLIN	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases:
				<u>answer</u>						<u>answer</u>	

Series	Men	Women	Education:	Elementary	school	Secondary school	Diploma & Uni-	versity	Income(per month):	0 - 149 IM	150 - 299 IM	300 - 599 IM	600 IM and more	City Size:	0 - 4,999 pop.	5,000 - 24,999	25,000 - 99,999	100,000-249,999	250,000 and over	Occupation:	Professionals	Businessmen	White-collar	Workers	Skilled lab.	Semi-skilled lab.	Dom.& prof.Serv.	Farmers	Housewives	Unemployed	Pena., stud., retir.	apprentices, etc.																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																												
	84%	60-		11%	5%	*...100%	1050	94%	4%	2%	*...100%	229	310		69%	18%	12%	1%	9%	341	84	8	7	1	92	73	15	12	10	18	12	9	18	355	89	9	-	2	104																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																					
				23	17	*	1255	82	12	5	1	310	82	12	72	17	15	8	71	70	82%	73	12%	6%	1%	9	341	84	8	7	1	92	73	15	12	10	18	12	9	18	355	89	9	-	2	104																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																														

(cont'd on next page)

* Less than one half of one per cent.

**WEST
GERMANY**

WEST GERMANY		Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases:	WEST GERMANY	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases:
Trade Union Membership:												
Yes, member												
No												
Age:												
19 - 24 years												
25 - 34 years												
35 - 44 years												
45 - 54 years												
55 years and over												
Party Preference:												
SPD												
CDU/CSU												
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDP												
Other parties												
No party												
Don't know												
Religion:												
Catholics												
Protestants												
Origin:												
Natives (Aussiedler)												
Expellees												
Refugees (from East Zone after 1945)												

* Less than one half of one per cent.

RESTRICTED

R E S T R I C T E D

Which of these radio programs would you not want to miss under any circumstances, which of these do you like to hear once in a while, and which don't you particularly want to hear? (Returns on News)

	WEST GERMANY		No. of cases:		WEST GERMANY		No. of cases:	
	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion
Political activity and interest:								
Completely disinterested, inactive	54%	24%	21%	1%	1015	80%	12%	7%
Little interested, inactive	77	16	7	-	679	85	11	4
Somewhat interested, somewhat active	89	9	2	*	436	96	3	1
Interested 4/10 active	93	5	1	1	126	91	7	2
Very interested and active	98	2	-	-	45	100	-	-
Basic Orientations:								
Attitude towards Democracy								
Democrat	81%	13%	6%	*8...100%	959	90%	7%	3%
Undecided	69	20	11	*	1033	86	8	6
Non-Democrat	66	12	21	1	68	46	36	18
Attitude towards USA								
Positive	75%	18%	7%	*8...100%	340	90%	7%	3%
Undecided (neutral)	74	17	9	*	803	84	11	5
Negative	75	15	10	*	687	83	9	8
Readiness to learn from USA								
We can learn very much	85%	11%	4%	*8...100%	322	92%	6%	2%
We can learn much	81	14	5	-	470	87	7	6
We can learn something	74	17	9	*	661	87	10	-
We can't learn anything	56	22	20	2	820	74	19	1

* Less than one half of one per cent.

10114944

"Which of these radio programs would you not want to miss under any circumstances, which of these do you like to hear once in a while, and which don't you particularly want to hear?" (Returns on Variety Programs)

	WEST GERMANY	Would not want to miss it	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases:	WEST GERMANY	Would not want to miss it	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex					answer						answer	
Men	55%	34%	10%	1%	100%	1050	70%	20%	10%	1%	100%	229
Women	64	25	10	1	100%	1255	75	20	4	1	100%	310
Education:												
Elementary school	62%	27%	9%	2	1817	79%	16%	4%	1	378		
Secondary school	58	33	9	*	369	62	29	9	-	129		
Diploma & University	31	41	26	2	119	37	41	22	-	32		
Income (per month):												
0 - 149 DM	54%	30%	14%	2%	531	65%	28%	6%	1%	136		
150 - 299 DM	63	28	8	1	1036	82	12	6	-	242		
300 - 599 DM	62	28	9	1	618	70	27	3	-	137		
600 DM and more	45	37	16	2	87	36	27	37	-	22		
City Size:												
0 - 4,999 pop.	57%	29%	13%	1%	872	4%	4%	4%	4%	-		
5,000 - 24,999	58	31	10	1	430	-	-	-	-	-		
25,000 - 99,999	65	28	6	1	298	-	-	-	-	-		
100,000 - 249,999	56	34	10	-	239	-	-	-	-	-		
250,000 and over	67	25	8	-	466	-	-	-	-	-		
Occupation:												
Professionals	40%	38%	18%	4%	1,133	52%	22%	26%	4%	23		
Businessmen	59	31	10	-	315	59	31	10	-	68		
White-collar workers	68	26	6	-	341	76	21	3	-	92		
Skilled laborers	70	25	5	-	409	79	18	3	-	72		
Semi-skilled laborers	64	28	6	2	285	88	9	3	-	73		
Dom. & prot. Service	65	28	7	-	74	88	8	4	-	24		
Farmers	45	31	21	3	251	-	-	-	-	-		
Housewives	54	35	8	3	72	83	17	-	-	6		
Unemployed	59	36	4	1	90	83	13	4	-	76		
Pens., stud., retir., apprentices, etc.	56	28	15	1	355	57	32	10	1	104		

* Less than one half of one per cent.

(cont'd on next page)

DEMOCRATIC

DEMOCRATIC

Trade Union Membership		WEST GERMANY	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion No answer	No. of cases:	WEST BERLIN	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion No answer	No. of cases:
Yes, member		65%	30%	4%	1%	100%	402		81%	14%	5%	-	74
No		59	29	11	1	100%	1903		71	22	7	-	465
Age:													
19 - 24 years		64%	29%	7%	-		340		74%	27%	1%	-	60
25 - 34 years		65	27	6	2		438		72	26	2	-	78
35 - 44 years		63	29	7	1		537		74	18	7	-	130
45 - 54 years		59	29	10	2		491		82	11	7	-	138
55 years and over		50	30	18	2		490		62	28	9	-	133
Party Preference:													
SPD		67%	27%	5%	1%		631		81%	13%	5%	1%	252
CDU/CSU		52	32	15	1		472		66	28	6	-	107
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV		56	28	15	1		160		63	27	10	-	112
Other parties		64	27	8	1		173		73	27	-	-	11
No party		61	28	10	1		514		74	20	6	-	34
Don't know		55	30	12	3		325		67	33	-	-	14
Religion:													
Catholics		58%	30%	10%	2%		1043		69%	19%	12%	-	63
Protestants		61	29	10	-		1156		73	22	5	-	383
Origin:													
Natives (A. Europeans)		60%	29%	10%	1%		1892		72%	21%	7%	-	496
Expellees		64	26	9	1		295		83	17	-	-	18
Refugees (from East Zone after 1945)		52	33	10	-		107		74	22	4	-	23

* Less than one half of one per cent.

Which of these radio programs would you not want to miss under any circumstances, which of these do you like to hear once in a while, and which don't you particularly want to hear? (Returns on Variety Programs)

WEST GERMANY	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases:	WEST GERMANY	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases:
--------------	------------------------	---------------------------------	------------------------------------	------------	---------------	--------------	------------------------	---------------------------------	------------------------------------	------------	---------------

Political activity and interest:

Completely disinterested, inactive	60%	28%	10%	2%	100%	1015	74%	21%	4%	1%	100%	178
Little interested, inactive	61	30	9	*		679	77	16	7	-		172
Somewhat interested, somewhat active	60	29	11	*		436	69	23	8	-		137
Interested & active	55	33	11	1		126	66	25	9	-		144
Very interested and active	49	38	11	2		45	50	29	21	-		14

Basic Orientations:

Attitude towards Democracy	61%	30%	9%	*		959	70%	22%	8%	-		306
Democrat	61	29	9	1		1033	77	19	4	-		215
Undecided	49	34	10	1		68	73	18	9	-		11
Non-Democrat												

Attitude towards USA	63%	27%	9%	1%		340	80%	15%	5%	-		213
Positive	60	28	11	1		803	69	23	7	1		236
Undecided (neutral)	60	31	8	1		687	70	24	6	-		79
Negative												

Readiness to learn from USA	58%	31%	10%	1%		322	71%	22%	7%	-		179
We can learn very much	61	28	10	1		476	72	22	6	-		162
We can learn something	59	31	9	1		681	81	14	5	-		122
We can't learn anything	60	27	11	2		820	67	25	7	1		82

* Less than one half of one per cent.

"Which of these radio programs would you not want to miss under any circumstances, which of these do you like to hear once in a while, and which don't you particularly want to hear?" (Returns on Folk Music)

	WEST GERMANY																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																											
--	--------------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

* Less than one half of one per cent. (cont'd on next page)

DECEMBER

DECEMBER

WEST GERMANY		Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases:	WEST GERMANY	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases:
Trade Union Membership:												
Yes, member												
No												
Age:												
19 - 24 years	53%	35%	5%	1%	100%	402	51%	42%	7%	1%	100%	74%
25 - 34 years	53%	37%	8%	1%	100%	1903	44%	40%	15%	1%	100%	465
35 - 44 years	59%	38%	9%	1%	100%	340	37%	38%	18%	1%	100%	60
45 - 54 years	59%	35%	5%	1%	100%	438	45%	40%	23%	1%	100%	78
55 years and over	59%	34%	7%	1%	100%	537	50%	34%	20%	1%	100%	130
Party Preference:						491	46%	42%	8%	1%	100%	138
SPD	60%	35%	5%	1%	100%	490	46%	46%	7%	1%	100%	133
CDU/CSU	55%	37%	7%	1%	100%	631	48%	39%	12%	1%	100%	252
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	42%	43%	14%	1%	100%	472	42%	45%	12%	1%	100%	107
Other parties	61%	26%	12%	1%	100%	160	43%	38%	19%	1%	100%	112
No party	54%	35%	10%	1%	100%	173	45%	46%	9%	1%	100%	11
Don't know	49%	43%	7%	1%	100%	514	41%	47%	12%	1%	100%	34
Religion:						325	40%	33%	27%	1%	100%	14
Catholics	60%	33%	6%	1%	100%	631	48%	39%	12%	1%	100%	252
Protestants	51%	40%	9%	1%	100%	472	42%	45%	12%	1%	100%	107
Origin:						1156	45%	42%	13%	1%	100%	63
Netives (& Evacuees)	56%	36%	7%	1%	100%	1043	45%	42%	13%	1%	100%	383
Expellees	56%	36%	7%	1%	100%	1156	45%	42%	13%	1%	100%	63
Refugees (from East Zone after 1945)	43%	47%	10%	1%	100%	492	45%	42%	13%	1%	100%	383
						295	56%	44%	14%	1%	100%	496
						107	61%	22%	17%	1%	100%	15

* Less than one half of one per cent.

Which of these radio programs would you not want to miss under any circumstances, which of these do you like to hear once in a while, and which don't you particularly want to hear? (Returns on Folk Music)

WEST GERMANY	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases:	WEST. GERM. would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases:
--------------	------------------------	---------------------------------	------------------------------------	------------	---------------	------------------------------------	---------------------------------	------------------------------------	------------	---------------

Political activities and interests:

Completely disinterested, inactive	56%	36%	6%	2%..100%	1015	46%	38%	15%	1%..100%	175
Little interested, inactive	54	38	8	*	679	45	43	12	-	172
Somewhat interested, somewhat active	55	37	8	*	436	47	41	12	-	137
Interested a/o active	51	38	10	1	126	43	37	18	2	44
Very interested and active	60	29	9	2	45	36	43	21	-	14

Basic Orientations:

Attitude towards Democracy	58%	35%	6%	1%	959	49%	38%	13%	-	306
Democrat	54	38	8	*	1033	41	41	18	-	215
Undecided	62	25	10	3	68	27	73	-	-	11
Non-Democrat										

Attitude towards USA	58%	34%	8%	*	340	47%	39%	14%	-	213
Positive	55	37	8	*	803	44	41	14	1	236
Undecided (neutral)	58	35	7	-	687	44	38	18	-	79
Negative										

Readiness to learn from USA	50%	38%	12%	*	322	38%	46%	16%	-	179
We can learn very much	57	35	8	*	476	52	36	11	1	162
We can learn something	56	38	6	*	631	49	39	12	-	122
We can't learn anything	55	36	7	2	820	42	39	18	1	82

* Less than one half of one per cent.

RESTRICTED

"Which of these radio programs would you not want to miss under any circumstances, which of these do you like to hear once in a while, and which don't you particularly want to hear?" (Returns on Operettas)

		WEST GERMANY	Would not want to miss it	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases:	WEST GERMANY	Would not want to miss it	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases:
						No answer						No answer	
Sex													
Men		37%	34%	28%	1%	100%	1050		48%	35%	17%	4%	229
Women		46	32	22	*		1255		55	35	9	1	310
Education:													
Elementary school		41%	31%	27%	1%		1817		56%	32%	10%	2%	376
Secondary school		51	37	12	*		369		45	40	14	1	129
Diploma & University		30	45	25	-		119		25	47	28	-	32
Income (per month):													
0 - 149 DM		33%	28%	35%	3%		531		48%	37%	13%	2%	136
150 - 299 DM		43	32	24	1		1036		56	31	12	1	242
300 - 599 DM		47	38	15	*		618		52	38	9	1	137
600 DM and more		32	43	24	1		87		27	46	27	-	22
City Size:													
0 - 4,999 pop.		34%	29%	34%	3%		872		4%	4%	4%	4%	-
5,000 - 24,999		39	36	25	-		430		-	-	-	-	-
25,000 - 99,999		54	33	12	1		298		-	-	-	-	-
100,000 - 249,999		45	40	15	-		239		-	-	-	-	-
250,000 and over		48	34	18	-		465		-	-	-	-	-
Occupation:													
Professionals		38%	41%	20%	1%		113		39%	30%	31%	4%	23
Businessmen		46	33	21	-		315		44	44	12	-	68
White-collar workers		55	35	10	-		341		60	35	5	-	92
Skilled laborers		47	33	19	1		409		56	32	8	4	72
Semi-skilled laborers		40	34	24	2		285		61	20	19	-	73
Dom. & prot. Service		54	31	15	-		74		64	16	20	-	24
Farmers		22	23	52	3		251		-	-	-	-	-
Housewives		40	36	21	3		72		50	50	-	-	6
Unemployed		39	38	22	1		90		48	44	8	-	76
Pens., stud., retir., apprentices, etc.		33	31	33	3		355		41	40	16	3	104

* Less than one half of one per cent.

(cont'd on next page)

RESTRICTED

WEST GERMANY		Would not want to miss a while	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases	WEST GERMANY	Would not want to miss a while	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases
Trade Union Membership					ANSWER						ANSWER	
Yes, member	No											
46%	41	36%	18%	26	100%	402	55%	32%	10%	3%	100%	74
Age:						1903	52	35	13	-		465
19 - 24 years	45%	27%	28%	-		340	49%	38%	12%	1%		60
25 - 34 years	50	33	15	2		458	54	34	11	1		76
35 - 44 years	43	34	21	2		537	57	31	10	2		130
45 - 54 years	43	32	25	*		431	56	30	14	-		138
55 years and over	28	36	33	3		490	42	43	14	1		133
Party Preferences												
SPD	42%	35%	19%	1%		671	56%	29%	14%	1%		252
CDU/CSU	38	32	29	1		472	49	40	9	2		107
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDP	38	42	19	1		160	45	40	15	-		112
Other parties	43	16	30	1		173	45	55	-	-		11
No party	48	28	23	1		514	50	38	9	3		34
Don't know	37	31	29	3		323	47	47	6	-		14
Religion												
Catholics	39%	32%	28%	1%		1043	50%	36%	14%	-		63
Protestants	44	34	22	*		1150	51	35	12	2		383
Origin												
Natives (Aussiedler)	42%	33%	24%	1%		1892	52%	35%	12%	1%		496
Expellees	41	30	29	*		295	50	44	6	-		18
Refugees (from East Zone after 1945)	41	37	21	1		107	56	22	18	4		23

* Less than one half of one per cent.

Q E A T C I T H A T O R A N

WEST GERMANY Would not want to miss Like to hear it once in a while Don't particularly want to hear it No opinion No. of cases: WEST BERLIN Would not want to miss Like to hear it once in a while Don't particularly want to hear it No opinion No. of cases:

Trade Union Memberships

Yes, member	44%	27%	28%	15...100%	402	54%	27%	19%	74
No	27	28	43	2	1903	4%	28	23	45

Age:

19 - 24 years	17%	25%	57%	1%	340	33%	31%	36%	60
25 - 34 years	30	28	40	2	438	37	33	29	78
35 - 44 years	31	29	37	3	537	49	26	25	130
45 - 54 years	34	29	35	2	491	56	25	19	138
55 years and over	34	26	37	3	490	53	27	16	133

Party Preferences:

SPD	37%	29%	32%	2%	631	46%	27%	24%	252
CDU/CSU	29	29	40	2	472	56	26	16	252
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	46	33	21	*	160	52	25	23	107
Other parties	34	26	39	1	173	45	37	18	112
No party	27	24	48	1	514	32	41	27	11
Don't know	16	27	52	5	325	47	20	33	34

Religion:

Catholics	30%	25%	43%	2%	1043	55%	28%	16%	63
Protestants	30	30	39	1	1156	46	28	25	383

Origin:

Expellees (from East Zone after 1945)	43	29	26	2	107	61	13	26	23
Refugees (from East Zone after 1945)	43	29	26	2	107	61	13	26	23
Expellees	32	29	38	1	295	56	22	17	16
Native (East Zone)	29%	27%	42%	2%	1892	47	28	23	496

* Less than one half of one per cent.

R E S T R I C T E D

"Which of these radio programs would you not want to miss under any circumstances, which of these do you like to hear once in a while, and which don't you particularly want to hear?" (Returns on Commentaries)

WEST GERMANY	Would not want to miss it	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases:	WEST GERMANY	Would not want to miss it	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases:

Political activity and interest:

Completely disinterested.	14%	24%	58%	100%	1015	21%	28%	38%	100%	178
Little interested, inactive	33	32	34	1	679	46	32	21	1	172
Somewhat interested, somewhat active	50	30	19	1	436	63	25	12	-	137
Interested a/o active	62	23	14	1	126	75	18	7	-	44
Very interested and active	69	24	7	-	45	72	14	14	-	14

Basic Orientations:

<u>Attitudes towards Democracy</u>										
Democrat	37%	32%	30%	1%	959	55%	27%	18%	-	306
Undecided	30	26	43	1	1033	41	28	29	2	215
Non-Democrat	28	18	53	1	68	27	27	46	-	11

Attitudes towards USA

Positive	40%	27	32	1%	340	52	26	21	1	213
Undecided (neutral)	32	28	39	1	803	49	28	21	2	236
Negative	33	29	38	-	687	37	30	32	1	79

Readiness to learn from USA

We can learn very much	51%	30%	18%	1%	322	56%	29%	15%	-	179
We can learn much	38	32	30	2	476	53	24	22	1	162
We can learn something	30	28	40	2	681	42	21	25	2	122
We can't learn anything	17	23	56	4	820	31	26	40	3	82

* Less than one half of one per cent.

"Which of these radio programs would you not want to miss under any circumstances, which of these do you like to hear once in a while, and which don't you particularly want to hear?" (Returns on Dance Music)

	WEST GERMANY																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																									
--	--------------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

* Less than one half of one per cent.

(cont'd on next page)

WEST
GERMANY

Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases
------------------------	---------------------------------	------------------------------------	------------	--------------

Trade Union Membership

Yes, number	No	100%	100%	100%
-------------	----	------	------	------

Age:	15 - 24 years	65%	27%	10%	1%	40
	25 - 34 years	50	32	17	1	438
	35 - 44 years	23	38	33	1	537
	45 - 54 years	18	35	47	1	491
	55 years and over	11	25	62	2	490

Party Preference

SPD	35%	24%	30%	1%	631
CDU/CSU	25	3	14	1	412
FRP/DFP/DVP/BNP	29	21	29	1	160
Other parties	33	25	31	1	171
No party	35	28	35	1	514
Don't know	32	33	34	1	315

Religion

Catholics	32%	28%	19%	1%	1043
Protestants	33	35	32	1	1258

Origin

Natives (A. Tracues)	11%	31%	37%	1%	1892
Expellees	35	34	31	-	295
Refugees (from East Zone after 1945)	39	31	30	-	107

* Less than one half of one per cent.

"Which of these radio programs would you not want to miss under any circumstances, which of these do you like to hear once in a while, and which don't you particularly want to hear?" (Returns on Pence Radio)

Political activity and interest:

	WEST GREATLY not want to miss	Would like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion No answer	No. of cases:	WEST BERLIN	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion No answer	No. of cases:
Completely disinterested, inactive	364	305	325	2%..100%	1015		445	314	244	2%..100%	178
Little interested, in- active	32	33	35	*	673		40	31	29		172
Somewhat interested, some- what active	27	37	42	*	456		35	33	32		144
Interested & active	22	37	41	*	126		27	34	39		44
Very interested and active	11	31	58		45		28	36	36		24

Basic Orientations:

Attitude towards Democracy	32	304	314	24	953		354	324	334	4	306
Democrat	33	33	34	*	1033		45	31	24		245
Undecided	35	23	35	1	68		18	45	37		11
Non-Democrat											
Attitude towards USA											
Favorable	324	304	314	24	340		434	284	294	4	211
Undecided (neutral)	34	30	36	*	803		36	32	30		230
Negative	32	33	35	*	687		33	44	23		79
Readiness to learn from USA											
We can learn very much	334	314	354	14	322		414	314	284	4	179
We can learn much	33	31	36		476		35	38	27		162
We can learn something	31	35	34	*	681		42	25	33		122
We can't learn anything	32	29	37	2	820		36	33	30	1	82

* Less than one half of one per cent.

Which of these radio programs would you not want to miss under any circumstances, which of these do you like to hear once in a while, and which don't you particularly want to hear? (Returns on Radio Plays)

Sex	WEST GERMAN want to miss	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion No answer	No. of cases	WEST GERMAN	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion No answer	No. of cases
Men	25%	35	42%	24	1%	1050	1255	32%	46%	22%	4%	223
Women	35	40	40%	28	1%	1255	1611	34	45	21	4%	310
Education:												
Elementary school	32%	27	40%	27%	1%	1611	369	35%	46%	16%	1%	372
Secondary school	27	40	44	28	1%	1611	369	29	44	21	1%	129
Diploma & University	23	40	40	35	1%	1611	369	28	44	28	1%	32
Income (per month):												
0 - 149 IM	29%	33	37%	23	3%	57	108	31%	44%	24%	1%	136
150 - 299 IM	33	41	41	27	1%	108	616	38	43	19	1%	242
300 - 599 IM	30	42	42	34	1%	616	87	30	50	19	1%	151
600 IM and more	15	48	48	35	2%	87	872	14	54	12	1%	22
City size:												
0 - 4,999 pop.	33%	25	45%	28	2%	872	430	37%	44%	16%	4%	21
5,000 - 24,999	25	44	44	25	2%	430	238	30	43	19	1%	92
25,000 - 99,999	29	38	38	32	2%	238	239	30	43	19	1%	72
100,000 - 249,999	30	43	43	25	2%	239	465	30	43	19	1%	6
250,000 and over	32	43	43	25	2%	465	123	30	43	19	1%	21
Occupations:												
Professionals	28%	23	42%	30%	1%	123	315	33%	46%	23%	4%	68
Businessmen	23	42	42	33	2%	315	409	26	49	20	1%	92
White-collar workers	32	41	41	26	1%	409	237	31	49	16	1%	72
Skilled laborers	33	42	42	24	1%	237	74	45	39	20	1%	24
Semi-skilled laborers	32	41	41	24	1%	74	251	40	44	16	1%	6
Dom. & prot. Service	34	38	38	27	1%	251	72	33	40	16	1%	21
Farmers	27	44	44	36	1%	72	90	33	40	16	1%	21
Housewives	42	41	41	15	1%	90	355	39	48	21	2%	104
Unemployed	39	41	41	20	1%	355	355	39	48	21	2%	104
Pens., stud. retir., apprentices, etc.	29	40	40	29	2%	355	355	29	48	21	2%	104

* Less than one half of one per cent.

(cont'd on next page)

WEST
GERMANY

Would not
want
to miss
hear it
once in
a while
Don't
particularly
want to hear
it

No
opinion
No
answer

No. of
cases: WEST
BERLIN

Would not
want
to miss
hear it
once in
a while
Don't
particularly
want to hear
it

No.
opinion
No
answer

No. of
cases:

Trade Union Membership

Yes, member
No

30%

46%

23%

1%

100%

40%

45%

15%

4%

4%

Age:
19 - 24 years
25 - 34 years
35 - 44 years
45 - 54 years
55 years and over

37%

41%

22%

2%

40%

45%

45%

13%

4%

60%

Party Preferences

SPD
CDU/CSU
FDP/LDP/DVP/DPV
Other parties
No party
Don't know

36%

41%

22%

1%

57%

36%

44%

19%

1%

52%

Religion

Catholics
Protestants

31%

40%

26%

3%

104%

28%

42%

20%

4%

63%

Origin

Native (4 & 5 years)
Expellees
Refugees (from East Zone
after 1945)

30%

40%

26%

2%

1852

32%

45%

22%

1%

46%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

D M F C I N A F S M M

D M F C I N A F S M M

.. 28 ..
RESTRICTED

Basis or Deductions:

Attitude towards USA

Negative

Readiness to Learn from USA

* Less than one half of one per cent.

"Which of these radio programs would you not want to miss under any circumstances, which of these do you like to hear once in a while, and which don't you particularly want to hear?" (Returns on Sports, News and Reports)

SEX	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases	TEST BEHIN	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases
Men	45%	18%	36%	1%	1050		47%	22%	31%	1%	229
Women	14	19	66	1	1255		20	18	61	1	310
Educations											
Elementary school	30%	18%	51%	1%	1617		35%	19%	45%	1%	378
Secondary school	24	21	54	1	369		25	21	54	1	129
Diploma & University	19	12	69	1	119		9	22	69	1	32
Income (per month):											
0 - 149 Dk.	22%	14%	62	2%	531		26%	17%	55%	2%	136
150 - 295 Dk.	32	19	48	1	1036		37	20	42	1	242
300 - 599 Dk.	30	21	48	1	618		27	21	52	1	137
600 Dk. and more	15	22	62	1	87		27	23	50	1	22
City Size:											
0 - 4,999 pop.	26%	18%	54%	2%	872		4%	4%	4%	4%	4
5,000 - 24,999	30	20	50	1	430		1	1	1	1	1
25,000 - 99,999	32	17	50	1	298		1	1	1	1	1
100,000 - 249,999	21	20	57	2	239		1	1	1	1	1
250,000 and over	32	19	49	1	466		1	1	1	1	1
Occupations:											
Professionals	20%	13%	66%	1%	113		17%	13%	70%	4%	23
Businessmen	28	22	49	1	315		22	27	51	1	68
White-collar workers	28	21	50	1	341		29	18	53	1	92
Skilled laborers	37	24	38	1	409		38	25	36	1	72
Semi-skilled laborers	39	18	42	1	285		44	22	31	1	73
Dom. & prot. Service	32	19	49	1	74		32	24	44	1	24
Farmers	21	12	64	3	251		1	1	1	1	1
Housewives	24	14	62	1	72		17	17	66	1	6
Unemployed	35	17	48	1	90		33	19	48	1	76
Pens., stud., retir., apprentices, etc.	16	14	68	2	355		27	14	57	2	104

(cont'd on next page)

RESTRICTED

		WEST GERMANY	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion No answer	No. of cases	WEST GERMANY	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion No answer	No. of cases
		Trade Union Membership											
		Yes, member											
		No											
Age													
19 - 24 years		51%	24	20%	29%	1	402	42%	30	20%	37%	1%	100%
25 - 34 years		33	18	19%	48	1	1903	32	20	22	45	1	76
35 - 44 years		28	20	20	51	1	537	35	23	23	40	2	130
45 - 54 years		25	16	20	54	1	491	29	18	18	53	-	138
55 years and over		14	16	16	68	2	490	22	17	17	60	1	133
Party Preferences													
SPD		40%		21%	38%	1%	631	40%		18%	44%	1%	252
CDU/CSU		21		18	59	2	472	22		21	56	1	107
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDP		25		13	61	1	160	25		22	53	-	112
Other parties		26		16	57	1	173	9		18	73	-	11
No party		28		17	54	1	514	26		18	56	-	34
Don't know		20		20	58	2	325	20		27	53	-	14
Religions													
Catholics		27%		19%	53%	1%	1043	31%		24%	45%	1%	63
Protestants		30		18	51	1	1156	31		19	49	-	363
Origin													
Native (& Foreigners)		29%		19%	51%	1%	1892	32%		20%	47%	1%	496
Expellees		27		18	54	1	295	22		22	50	-	18
Refugees (from East Zone after 1945)		28		18	53	1	107	17		26	57	-	23

* Less than one half of one per cent.

* Less than one half of one per cent.

RESTRICTED

"Which of these radio programs would you not want to miss under any circumstances, which of these do you like to hear once in a while, and which don't you particularly want to hear?" (Returns on Sports, News and Reports)

WEST GERMANY	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion		No. of cases:	WEST GERMANY	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion		No. of cases:
				No answer	No answer						No answer	No answer	

Completely disinterested, inactive	22%	19%	57%	2%	100%	1015		26%	17%	55%	2%	100%	17%
Little interested, inactive	31	18	51	*		679		33	20	46	1		172
Somewhat interested, somewhat active	36	18	46	*		436		34	21	45	-		137
Interested a/o active	37	20	41	2		126		30	29	41	-		44
Very interested and active	31	22	45	2		45		50	7	43	-		16

Basic Orientations:

Attitude towards Democracy:													
Democrat	30%	19%	51%	*		959		30%	21%	49%	-		30%
Undecided	31	18	50	1		1033		33	19	48	-		215
Non-Democrat	31	15	53	1		68		27	18	55	-		11
Attitude towards USA													
Positive	28%	18%	52%	2%		340		33%	21%	45%	1%		213
Undecided (neutral)	30	18	52	*		803		29	23	48	-		236
Negative	31	19	49	1		687		33	11	56	-		79
Readiness to learn from USA													
We can learn very much	30%	19%	50%	1%		322		34%	23%	42%	1%		179
We can learn much	31	18	51	*		476		32	17	51	-		162
We can learn something	32	19	48	1		681		33	19	48	-		122
We can't learn anything	23	18	57	2		820		23	21	54	2		82

* Less than one half of one per cent.

Which of these radio programs would you not want to miss under any circumstances, which of these do you like to hear once in a while, and which don't you particularly want to hear? (Returns on Press Reviews)

	WEST not want to miss	Would hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion No answer	No. of cases	WEST HITLIN not want to miss	Would hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion No answer	No. of cases
Sex										
Men	26%	30%	43%	14...100%	1050	41%	31%	27%	14...100%	229
Women	11	23	64	2	1255	26	30	42	2	310
Education										
Elementary school	16%	24%	58%	2%	1817	30%	30%	38%	2%	376
Secondary school	24	35	40	1	369	38	29	31	2	129
Diploma & University	30	34	36	-	119	34	35	28	3	32
Income (per month):										
0 - 149 IM	15%	19%	63%	3%	531	29%	29%	37%	5%	136
150 - 299 IM	18	26	54	2	1036	34	31	35	1	242
300 - 599 IM	20	29	50	1	618	32	29	38	1	137
600 IM and more	21	39	39	1	87	46%	36%	14%	1%	22
City Size:										
0 - 4,999 pop.	13%	23%	61%	3%	872	4%	4%	4%	4%	-
5,000 - 24,999	19	26	53	2	430	-	-	-	-	-
25,000 - 99,999	23	29	47	1	298	-	-	-	-	-
100,000 - 249,999	18	30	51	1	239	-	-	-	-	-
250,000 and over	22	26	51	1	466	-	-	-	-	-
Occupation:										
Professionals	29%	32%	37%	2%	113	26%	39%	31%	4%	23
Businessmen	16	30	53	1	315	28	39	33	4%	68
White-collar workers	20	31	48	1	341	38	27	35	-	92
Skilled laborers	17	26	55	2	409	32	27	40	1	72
Semi-skilled laborers	17	24	57	2	285	28	33	38	1	73
Dom. & prot. Service	19	20	60	1	74	36	24	40	-	24
Farmers	9	18	70	3	251	-	-	-	-	-
Housewives	18	27	55	1	72	33	50	42	17	6
Unemployed	26	23	49	2	90	31	27	-	-	76
Pen., stud., retir., apprentices, etc.	19	24	54	3	355	34	28	33	5	104

(cont'd on next page)

RECEIVED

WEST
GERMANY

Would not
want
to miss

Like to
hear it
once in
a while

Don't
particularly
want to hear
it

No
opinion
No
answer

No. of
cases:

WEST
HEUTIN

Would not
want
to miss

Like to
hear it
once in
a while

Don't
particularly
want to hear
it

No
opinion
No
answer

No. of
cases:

Trade Union Membership

Yes, member
No

28%

29%

41%

2%...100%

402

38%

30%

32%

4%...100%

74

165

Age:

19 - 24 years
25 - 34 years
35 - 44 years
45 - 54 years
55 years and over

10%

22%

66%

2

340

20%

21%

49%

4

66

76

130

133

Party Preferences

SPD
CDU/CSU
FDP/LD /DVP/EDV
Other parties
No party
Don't know

24%

27%

48%

1%

631

30%

26%

42%

24

252

107

112

11

34

14

Religions

Catholics
Protestants

16%

24%

57%

3%

1043

39%

26%

30%

54

63

383

Origin

Natives (Aussiedler)
Expellees
Refugees (from East Zone
after 1945)

17%

26%

55%

2%

1392

32%

30%

36%

24

496

18

23

• Less than one half of one per cent.

"Which of these radio programs would you not want to miss under any circumstances, which of these do you like to hear once in a while, and which don't you particularly want to hear?" (Returns on Press Reviews)

	WEST GERMANY				No. of cases:	WEST BERLIN				No. of cases:
	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion		Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	
<u>Political activity and interest:</u>										
Completely disinterested, inactive	7%	19%	70%	4%...100%	1015	21%	25%	51%	3%...100%	178
Little interested, inactive	20	30	49	1	679	28	30	40	2	172
Somewhat interested, somewhat active	27	38	35	*	436	45	35	20	-	137
Interested a/o active	50	20	28	2	126	45	39	16	-	44
Very interested and active	56	29	15	-	45	57	29	14	-	14
<u>Basic Orientations:</u>										
<u>Attitude towards Democracy</u>										
Democrat	23%	32%	45%	*	959	39%	27%	33%	1%	306
Undecided	16	25	58	1	1033	22	36	41	1	215
Non-Democrat	19	22	58	1	68	46	9	45	-	11
<u>Attitude towards USA</u>										
Positive	24%	26%	48%	2%	340	33%	29%	37%	1%	213
Undecided (neutral)	18	29	52	1	803	35	27	36	2	236
Negative	19	26	55	*	687	25	41	34	-	79
<u>Readiness to learn from USA</u>										
We can learn very much	28%	34%	37%	1%	322	38%	30%	30%	2%	179
We can learn much	22	31	47	*	476	35	33	32	-	162
We can learn something	20	27	52	1	661	26	34	40	-	122
We can't learn anything	10	19	67	4	820	22	20	52	6	82

* Less than one half of one per cent.

D M T O I E S M M

C M S O I E S M M

"Which of these radio programs would you not want to miss under any circumstances, which of these do you like to hear once in a while, and which don't you particularly want to hear?" (Returns on Reports on Current Events)

	WEST GERMANY		No. of WEST GERMANY		Would not want to miss		Like to hear it once in a while		Don't particularly want to hear it		No opinion		No. of cases		Would not want to miss		Like to hear it once in a while		Don't particularly want to hear it		No opinion		No. of cases	
	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	Would not want to hear it	No opinion	Would not want to hear it	No opinion
Sex																								
Men	25%	39%	35%	1%	100%	1050	1255	42%	38%	18%	2%	100%	229											
Women	13	29	56	2				28	36	32	4		219											
Education																								
Elementary school	15%	31%	52%	2%		1617	369	33%	35%	28%	4%		376											
Secondary school	28	46	26	-				39	40	21	-		129											
Diploma & University	38	39	23	-		119		28	44	25	3		32											
Income (per month)																								
0 - 149 DM	14%	27%	55%	4%		531	1036	29%	31%	35%	5%		136											
150 - 299 DM	19	34	45	2		618		36	37	25	2		242											
300 - 599 DM	20	37	42	1		87		35	44	20	1		157											
600 DM and more	16	51	32	1				36	27	32	5		22											
City Size																								
0 - 4,999 pop.	14%	30%	52%	4%		872		-	-	-	-		-											
5,000 - 24,999	19	37	42	2		430		-	-	-	-		-											
25,000 - 99,999	20	36	42	2		298		-	-	-	-		-											
100,000 - 249,999	20	33	46	1		239		-	-	-	-		-											
250,000 and over	23	36	41	-		466		-	-	-	-		-											
Occupation																								
Professionals	34%	42%	22%	2%		113		22%	30%	44%	4%		23											
Businessmen	15	35	45	2		315		33	40	24	3		68											
White-collar workers	23	38	38	1		341		42	35	22	1		92											
Skilled laborers	16	37	46	1		409		36	39	25	4		72											
Semi-skilled laborers	16	33	48	3		285		30	37	29	4		73											
Dom. & prot. Service	15	28	54	-		74		24	48	24	4		24											
Farmers	9	26	61	4		291		-	-	-	-		-											
Housewives	21	32	46	1		72		33	33	34	1		6											
Unemployed	27	36	35	2		90		38	34	27	-		76											
Pens., stud., retir., apprentices, etc.	16	27	53	4		355		30	37	27	6		104											

(cont'd on next page)

RESTRICTED

Trade Union Membership Yes, member No	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion No answer	No. of cases:	WEST BERLIN	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion No answer	No. of cases:
Age											
19 - 24 years	20%	34%	45%	1%	340		39%	39%	22%	4	60
25 - 34 years	22	36	39	3	438		32	47	20	1	78
35 - 44 years	16	32	50	2	537		36	39	25	3	130
45 - 54 years	15	35	45	2	491		38	31	28	6	138
55 years and over	17	30	49	4	490		27	34	33	3	133
Party Preference											
SPD	24%	35%	40%	1%	631		34%	35%	28%	3%	252
CDU/CSU	17	36	46	1	472		35	36	26	3	107
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDP	22	43	34	1	160		35	43	20	2	107
Other parties	22	32	44	2	173		18	64	18	3	112
No party	17	30	51	2	514		35	21	41	3	34
Don't know	9	26	59	6	325		40	40	20	1	14
Religion											
Catholics	17%	32%	49%	2%	1043		31%	39%	27%	3%	63
Protestants	19	34	45	2	1156		35	37	25	3	383
Origin											
Natives (Aussiedler)	17%	34%	47%	2%	1892		33%	36%	26%	3%	496
Expellees	22	33	43	2	295		39	28	28	5	18
Refugees (from East Zone after 1945)	31	35	32	2	107		44	30	26	-	23

RESTRICTED

"Which of these radio programs would you not want to miss under any circumstances, which of these do you like to hear once in a while, and which don't you particularly want to hear?" (Returns on Reports on Current Events)

WEST GERMANY	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion		No. of cases:	WEST BERLIN	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion		No. of cases:
				Yes	No						Yes	No	
answer													

Completely disinterested, inactive	8%	25%	63%	1%	100%	1015	24%	34%	36%	6%	100%	176
Little interested, inactive	21	39	39	1		679	32	39	27	2		172
Somewhat interested, somewhat active	28	43	28	1		436	45	36	19	-		137
Interested a/o active	35	40	24	1		126	43	45	12	-		44
Very interested and active	51	40	9	-		45	43	36	21	-		14

Basic Orientations:

Attitude towards Democracy											
Democrat	24%	39%	36%	1%	959	39%	35%	24%	2%	306	
Undecided	17	32	49	2	1033	30	39	29		215	
Non-Democrat	21	26	50	3	68	27	55	18		11	

Attitude towards USA											
Positive	21%	34%	44%	1%	340	36%	39%	22%	3%	213	
Undecided (neutral)	21	37	42	1	803	34	35	28	3	236	
Negative	23	34	43	•	687	33	35	32	—	79	

Readiness to learn from USA											
We can learn very much	30%	48%	21%	1%	322	45%	35%	17%	3%	179	
We can learn much	26	37	36	1	476	31	42	25	2	162	
We can learn something	18	37	44	1	681	33	36	28	3	122	
We can't learn anything	10	22	63	5	820	18	30	47	5	82	

* Less than one half of one per cent.

Which of these radio programs would you not want to miss under any circumstances, which of these do you like to hear once in a while, and which don't you particularly want to hear? (Returns on Classical Music)

	WEST	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases	WEST BERLIN	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex												
Men	18%		24%	57%	1%	1050		19%	28%	53%	-	229
Women	18		29	52	1	1255		22	32	45	1	310
Educational												
Elementary school	12%		25%	62%	1%	1817		15%	28%	56%	1%	378
Secondary school	35		37	28		369		29	36	35		129
Diploma & University	62		27	11	-	119		53	34	13	-	32
Income (per month):												
0 - 149 DM	13%		23%	61%	3%	531		18%	27%	54%	1%	156
150 - 299 DM	14		25	60	1	1036		20	28	52		242
300 - 599 DM	26		33	40	1	618		23	37	40		157
600 DM and more	43		30	26	1	87		32	41	27		22
City Size												
0 - 4,999 pop.	11%		22%	64%	3%	872		-	-	-	-	-
5,000 - 24,999	19		31	49	1	430		-	-	-	-	-
25,000 - 99,999	24		29	46	1	298		-	-	-	-	-
100,000 - 249,999	25		31	43	1	239		-	-	-	-	-
250,000 and over	22		29	49	-	466		-	-	-	-	-
Occupation												
Professionals	5%		32%	12%	1%	113		6%	26%	9%	-	23
Businessmen	22		31	46	1	315		22	37	41	-	68
White-collar workers	23		36	41	-	341		25	34	41	-	92
Skilled laborers	11		25	64	1	409		11	28	61	-	72
Semi-skilled laborers	9		24	64	3	285		15	26	59	-	73
Dom. & prot. Service	15		27	58	-	74		8	40	52	-	24
Farmers	6		14	77	3	251		-	-	-	-	-
Housewives	24		32	44	-	72		-	50	33	-	6
Unemployed	11		25	63	1	90		17	27	57	-	76
Pens., stud., retir., apprentices, etc.	23		26	49	1	355		25	29	44	2	104

• Less than one half of one per cent.

(cont'd on next page)

D E F G H I J K L M N

		WEST GERMANY		Would not want to miss		Like to hear it once in a while		Don't particularly want to hear it		No opinion		No. of cases		WEST GERMANY		Would not want to miss		Like to hear it once in a while		Don't particularly want to hear it		No opinion		No. of cases	
										No answer												No answer			
<u>Trade Union Memberships</u>																									
Yes, member		15%	19	27%	27	57%	53	1%	1%	100%	402	1903	18%	21	27%	55%	48	4%	4%	74	405				
No																									
<u>Age</u>																									
19 - 24 years	20%	16	26%	30	54%	52	2	2			340	438	20%	14	28%	46	52%	4%	4%	60	78				
25 - 34 years	16	16	28	28	54	54	2	2			537	491	20	26	32	48	48			130	138				
35 - 44 years	21	21	25	25	53	53	1	1			490		21	21	27	47	47			138					
45 - 54 years	18	18	24	24	56		2								28	51				133					
55 years and over																									
<u>Party Preference</u>																									
CDU/CSU	12%	23	28%	24	59%	52	1%	1%			631	472	12%	30	30%	39	57%	1%	1%	252	107				
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDP	37	37	28	28	34	61	1	1			160	173	34	18	33	33	46			112	11				
Other parties	14	14	24	24	61	52	1	1			514		18	26	29	53	53			34	14				
No party	18	18	29	29	52						325				7	67									
Don't know	14	14	26	26	56		4																		
<u>Religion</u>																									
Catholics	17%	18	25%	28	56%	53	2%	2%			1043	1156	27%	20	28%	45%	48	4%	4%	63	383				
Protestants																									
<u>Origin</u>																									
Expellees (Aussiedler)	18%	19%	27%	25	54%	54	1%	1%			1892	295	20%	22	30%	49%	56	1%	1%	496	18				
Expellees																									
Refugees (from East Zone after 1945)	22	29	49		49						107		35	39	26					23					

* Less than one half of one per cent.

D E F G H I J K L M N

Which of these radio programs would you not want to miss under any circumstances, which of these do you like to hear once in a while, and which don't you particularly want to hear? (Returns on Classical Music)

WEST GERMANY	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases	WEST GERMANY	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases
				answer						answer	

Completely disinterested, inactive	12%	24%	61%	3%...100%	1015		16%	26%	56%	2%...100%	17%
Little interested, inactive	21	28	51	*	679		21	32	47	-	17%
Somewhat interested, somewhat active	25	31	44	*	435		26	32	42	-	137
Interested a/o active	28	23	48	1	126		27	30	43	-	14
Very interested and active	22	31	47	-	45		-	57	14	-	14

Basic Orientations:

Attitude towards Democracy	20%	29%	51%	*	959		24%	30%	46%	-	306
Democrat	19	27	53	1	1033		18	32	50	-	215
Undecided	12	22	65	1	68		9	45	46	-	11
Non-Democrat											
Attitude towards USA											
Positive	16%	26%	57%	1%	340		17%	30%	53%	-	213
Undecided (neutral)	18	26	55	-	803		22	34	44	-	236
Negative	20	31	49	-	687		27	25	48	-	79

Readiness to learn from USA	32%	28%	40%	*	322		24%	36%	40%	-	179
We can learn very much	24	33	43	*	476		22	33	45	-	162
We can learn much	17	29	53	1	681		15	21	64	-	122
We can learn something	11	21	65	3	820		22	25	51	2	82
We can't learn anything											

* Less than one half of one per cent.

Which of these radio programs would you not want to miss under any circumstances, which of these do you like to hear once in a while, and which don't you particularly want to hear? (Returns on Agricultural Programs)

SEX		WEST GERMANY	Would not want to miss it	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases	WEST GERMANY	Would not want to miss it	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases
Men													
Women													
Education													
Elementary school													
Secondary school													
Diploma & University													
Income (per month):													
0 - 149 DM													
150 - 299 DM													
300 - 599 DM													
600 DM and more													
City sizes													
0 - 14,999 pop.													
15,000 - 24,999													
25,000 - 99,999													
100,000 - 249,999													
250,000 and over													
Occupation													
Professionals													
Businessmen													
White-collar workers													
Skilled laborers													
Semi-skilled laborers													
Dom. & prot. Service													
Farmers													
Housewives													
Unemployed													
Pens., stud., retir., apprentices, etc.													

(cont'd on next page)

Q M C O I A E S M M

WEST GERMANY		Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases	WEST GERMANY		Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases
Trade Union Membership													
Yes, member	No												
16%	23		28%	55%	14...100%	402			8%	29%	62%	14...100%	74
			25	50	2	1903			7	19	73	1	45
Age													
19 - 24 years	24%		23%	53%	0	340			7%	15%	77%	1%	60
25 - 34 years	18		25	55	2	438			5	18	77	-	78
35 - 44 years	22		26	51	1	537			9	18	72	1	130
45 - 54 years	26		25	48	1	491			9	22	69	-	138
55 years and over	22		29	47	2	490			6	26	66	2	133
Party Preference													
SPD	22%		30%	47%	1%	631			10%	26%	63%	1%	292
CDU/CSU	31		25	42	2	472			7	19	73	1	107
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDP	20		17	60	3	160			5	12	82	1	112
Other parties	25		24	50	1	173			9	-	82	9	11
No party	16		25	58	1	514			-	15	85	-	34
Don't know	20		25	53	2	325			-	40	60	-	14
Religions													
Catholics	22%		25%	50%	3%	1043			3%	23%	72%	2%	63
Protestants	23		27	49	1	1156			8	21	70	1	363
Origins													
Expellees	23%		26%	49%	2%	1892			7%	29%	72%	1%	496
Refugees (from East Zone after 1945)	18		24	56	2	295			17	28	55	-	18
	21		16	63	-	107			17	26	57	-	23

* Less than one half of one per cent.

Q M C O I A E S M M

"Which of these radio programs would you not want to miss under any circumstances, which of these do you like to hear once in a while, and which don't you particularly want to hear?" (Returns on Agricultural Programs)

WEST GERMANY	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases	WEST GERMANY	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases
				answer						answer	

Completely disinterested, inactive	20%	29%	48%	3%	1015	8%	22%	69%	1%	178
Little interested, inactive	25	24	50	1	679	8	19	72	1	172
Somewhat interested, somewhat active	24	20	56	*	436	7	20	73	-	137
Interested a/o active	20	24	55	1	125	12	18	68	2	144
Very interested and active	18	33	49	-	45	-	21	79	-	14

Basic Orientations:

<u>Attitude towards Democracy</u>										
Democrat	23%	25%	50%	2%	959	8%	18%	73%	1%	306
Undecided	21	26	52	1	1033	7	24	69	-	215
Non-Democrat	26	26	47	1	68	18	18	64	-	11
<u>Attitude towards USA</u>										
Positive	28%	24%	47%	1%	340	9%	26%	65%	-	213
Undecided (neutral)	25	27	47	1	803	7	17	75	1	236
Negative	18	25	56	1	687	6	17	76	1	79
<u>Readiness to learn from USA</u>										
We can learn very much	19%	28%	51%	2%	322	9%	20%	70%	1%	179
We can learn much	25	22	52	1	475	8	20	71	1	162
We can learn something	23	27	49	1	681	7	19	73	1	122
We can't learn anything	21	26	50	3	820	2	25	72	1	82

* Less than one half of one per cent.

DEMOCRAT

DEMOCRAT

WEST
GERMANY

Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases	WEST BERLIN	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases
------------------------	---------------------------------	------------------------------------	------------	--------------	-------------	------------------------	---------------------------------	------------------------------------	------------	--------------

Trade Union Membership

Yes, member	12%	35%	52%	1%	18...100%	402	12%	15%	73%	74
No	21	37	41	1		1903	12	25	63	465

Age

19 - 24 years	15%	35%	50%	*		340	10%	20%	70%	60
25 - 34 years	12	37	49	2		438	10	14	76	78
35 - 44 years	19	37	42	2		537	12	26	62	130
45 - 54 years	21	36	35	1		491	12	23	65	138
55 years and over	28	36	35	1		490	14	30	55	133

Party Preference

SPD	15%	35%	49%	1%		631	8%	18%	73%	232
CDU/CSU	35	38	26	1		472	19	33	48	107
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	16	35	48	1		160	12	26	62	112
Other parties	21	35	43	1		173	9	18	73	11
No party	16	34	49	1		514	12	35	53	34
Don't know	17	41	40	2		325	20	33	47	14

Religion

Catholics	23%	40%	35%	2%		1043	17%	44%	39%	63
Protestants	18	34	47	1		1156	12	23	65	383

Origin

Native (& Evacuees)	19%	37%	43%	1%		1892	11%	24%	65%	496
Expellees	23	35	42	-		295	22	33	45	18
Refugees (from East Zone after 1945)	23	35	42	-		107	9	26	65	23

* Less than one half of one per cent.

Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No answer
------------------------	---------------------------------	------------------------------------	------------	-----------

No
opinion
No
answer

appreciation, etc.

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

"Which of these radio programs would you not want to miss under any circumstances, which of these do you like to hear once in while, and which don't you particularly want to hear?" (Returns on Lectures)

WEST	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases:	WEST	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases:
GERMANY	not want to miss	hear it once in while	particularly want to hear it	No answer	cases:	BERLIN	not want to miss	hear it once in while	particularly want to hear it	No answer	cases:

Political activity and interest:

Completely disinterested, inactive	5%	31%	61%	3%	1015	15%	38%	45%	2%	178
Little interested, inactive	13	42	44	1	679	11	50	38	1	172
Somewhat interested, some-what active	17	43	39	1	436	23	46	31	-	137
Interested a/o active	24	44	30	2	126	23	50	27	-	44
Very interested and active	33	47	18	2	45	21	43	36	-	14

Basic Orientations:

Attitude towards Democracy	15%	39%	45%	1%	959	21%	46%	33%	-	306
Democrat	10	40	49	1	1033	11	45	44	-	215
Undecided	7	40	52	1	68	9	45	46	-	11
Non-Democrat										

Attitude towards USA	12%	40%	46%	2%	340	16%	49%	35%	-	213
Positive	12	43	44	1	803	15	45	39	1	236
Undecided (neutral)	13	37	49	1	687	20	41	39	-	79
Negative										

Readiness to learn from USA	20%	47%	32%	1%	322	24%	47%	29%	-	179
We can learn very much	15	45	39	1	476	16	49	34	1	162
We can learn much	11	38	49	2	681	9	42	49	-	122
We can learn something	6	29	62	3	820	13	36	50	1	82
We can't learn anything										

RESTRICTED

Which of these radio programs would you not want to miss under any circumstances, which of these do you like to hear once in a while, and which don't you particularly want to hear? (Returns on American Jass)

	WEST GERMANY	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion No answer	No. of cases:	WEST BERLIN	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion No answer	No. of cases:
Sex												
Men	6%	11%	82%	1%	100%	1050		12%	12%	76%	1%	229
Women	3	10	84	3		1255		7	14	78		310
Educational												
Elementary school	5%	11%	81%	3%		1817		10%	14%	75%	1%	378
Secondary school	4	8	87	1		369		4	10	86		129
Biplan. & University	6	13	79	2		119		16	22	62		32
Income (per month):												
0 - 149 DM	5%	10%	81%	4%		531		10%	14%	75%	1%	136
150 - 299 DM	4	10	84	2		1036		10	14	76		242
300 - 599 DM	4	11	83	2		618		7	12	80	1	137
600 DM and more	8	12	78	2		87		5	22	73		22
City Size												
0 - 4,999 pop.	5%	9%	82%	4%		872		4%	4%	4%	4%	23
5,000 - 24,999	3	10	85	2		430						68
25,000 - 99,999	3	11	84	2		298						92
100,000 - 249,999	5	10	82	3		239						72
250,000 and over	6	13	81	-		466						24
Occupational												
Professional	4%	6%	89%	1%		113		9%	4%	87%	4%	23
Businessmen	3	9	85	3		315		7	14	79		68
White-collar workers	2	14	84	-		341		3	11	86		92
Skilled laborers	4	13	81	2		409		11	14	74	1	72
Semi-skilled laborers	8	15	74	3		285		13	11	76		73
Dom. & prot. Service	8	15	74	3		74		12	12	76		24
Farmers	5	7	82	6		251						6
Housewives	4	8	85	3		72		17	50	33		76
Unemployed	6	14	79	1		90		10	10	80		
Pens., stud., retir., apprentices, etc.	4	9	83	4		355		9	19	70	2	104

(cont'd on next page)

RESTRICTED

WEST
GERMANYWould
not
want
to missLike to
hear it
once in
a whileDon't
particularly
want to hear
itNo
opinion
No
answerNo. of
cases:WEST
BERLINWould
not
want
to missLike to
hear it
once in
a whileDon't
particularly
want to hear
itNo
opinion
No
answerNo. of
cases:

Trade Union Membership:

Yes, member
No

4%

12%

83%

1%...100%

402

8%

15%

77%

-%...100%

74

Age:

19 - 24 years
25 - 34 years
35 - 44 years
45 - 54 years
55 years and over

15%

23%

61%

1%

340

30%

26%

44%

-%

60

Party Preference:

CDU/CSU
SPD
FDP/DP/DPV/BDP
Other parties
No party
Don't know

6%

10%

82%

2%

631

11%

15%

73%

1%

252

Religion:

Catholics
Protestants

5%

11%

81%

3%

1043

9%

13%

78%

-%

63

Origin:

Natives (& Tracusees)
Expellees
Refugees (from East Zone
after 1945)

4%

10%

83%

3%

1892

8%

14%

77%

1%

496

Which of these radio programs would you not want to miss under any circumstances, which of these do you like to hear once in a while, and which don't you particularly want to hear? (Returns on American Jass)

WEST GERMANY	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases:	WEST GERMANY	Would not want to miss	Like to hear it once in a while	Don't particularly want to hear it	No opinion	No. of cases:
				answer						answer	

Political activity and interest:

Completely disinterested, inactive	5%	11%	80%	1%	1015	12%	15%	7%	80	2%	178
Little interested, inactive	4	11	84	1	679	7	13	80	-	-	172
Somewhat interested, somewhat active	3	9	87	1	436	9	15	76	-	-	137
Interested a/o active	2	6	90	2	126	9	7	84	-	-	144
Very interested and active	2	5	93	-	45	-	14	86	-	-	14

Basic Orientations:

Attitude towards Democracy	5%	9%	85%	1%	959	8%	13%	79%	-	306
Democrat	5	12	81	1	1033	11	15	74	-	215
Undecided	1	18	79	2	68	9	-	91	-	11
Non-Democrat										
Attitude towards USA	7%	14%	76%	3%	340	13%	14%	73%	-	213
Positive	7	12	82	1	803	7	14	78	1	236
Undecided (neutral)	5	8	86	2	687	9	11	80	-	79
Negative										
Readiness to learn from USA	6%	14%	79%	1%	322	12%	19%	69%	-	179
We can learn very much	5	11	83	1	476	8	11	80	1	162
We can learn something	4	9	84	3	681	8	11	81	-	122
We can't learn anything	4	10	82	4	820	6	11	82	1	82

RESTRICTED

APPENDIX

Basis For Scoring Respondents On Political Activity And Interest,
And Basic Orientations Toward Democracy And The United States

I. POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND INTEREST

An index of political activity and interest was formulated on the basis of the following questionnaire items, with the scoring weights assigned as indicated.

Item 1: Let's assume you are sitting in a train-compartment and among your fellow-travelers a lively discussion starts, during which you hear the following five opinions (presented on a card):

The first person says: "We are expected today to be active politically, but how can we find the time for it? We have enough personal worries."

The second one thinks: "We vote, that's enough. What the people in the government do then is their business. That's what they are there for."

On that the third: "We should not let it be enough with voting. What the people 'up there' do concerns all of us and we should watch it closely, our voting decision should be made accordingly."

The fourth: "Over and above that an individual has the duty to politically influence at least his environment. And if everyone does that much, it will be felt 'up there' too."

The fifth: "Yes, if all did that much - but they don't, and so what it finally amounts to is that our fate lies in the hands of a few people. Therefore, it is of no use to break one's neck."

"What is your attitude on this?" (Answers to this open question were coded into the following five categories with scores assigned as indicated):

- | | |
|---|------------|
| Take no interest in politics (no idea; no interest; no time; too many worries; bad experience; it's useless;) | (0 points) |
| Take only a formal interest (participate in elections, but take no further interest in politics;) | (1 point) |
| Go to the polls and watch political events to base decision on election upon; | (2 points) |
| Take a vivid interest in politics, talk about politics with others; | (3 points) |
| Don't know; | (0 points) |

Item 2: "When you now consider all you have said, which of the statements that were presented to you (in Item 1) comes closest to yours?"

The statements were scored as follows:

- | | |
|------------|----------|
| Position 1 | 0 points |
| Position 2 | 1 point |
| Position 3 | 2 points |
| Position 4 | 3 points |
| Position 5 | 0 points |
| Don't know | 0 points |

Item 3: "Did you within last year attend a discussion-evening? A political meeting or something of that sort?" (Once or more times?)

- | | |
|----------------------------------|----------|
| Yes, discussion, several times | 3 points |
| Yes, discussion, once | 2 points |
| Yes, meeting, several times | 3 points |
| Yes, meeting, once | 2 points |
| Yes, both discussion and meeting | 3 points |
| No, nothing | 0 points |

(If respondent participated in anything): "Did you in such a meeting participate in the discussion with questions or interjections or did you hold a speech?"

- | | |
|---------------------------------|----------|
| Yes, participated in discussion | 2 points |
| Yes, held speech | 4 points |
| No, neither-nor | 0 points |

Item 4: "Do you, occasionally, talk with people outside of your family about general political and economic questions? (Does it happen often?)"

- | | |
|-------------------|----------|
| Yes, very often | 3 points |
| Yes, often | 2 points |
| Yes, not so often | 1 point |
| No, never | 0 points |

Item 5: "Does it happen that your acquaintances come to you to learn your views on current political questions? (Does it happen often?)"

- | | |
|-------------------|----------|
| Yes, very often | 3 points |
| Yes, often | 2 points |
| Yes, not so often | 1 point |
| No | 0 points |

Item 6: Political party membership was assigned 2 points, a functionary 3 points.

Item 7: Trade Union membership was assigned 1 point, a functionary 3 points,

Total Score Categories: Total scores on the above seven items bearing upon political activity and interest were categorized into five groups designated as follows;

- | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------|
| 0 - 2 points: | Completely disinterested, inactive |
| 3 - 6 points: | Little interested, inactive |
| 7 - 11 points: | Somewhat interested, somewhat active |
| 12 - 15 points: | Interested a/o active |
| 16 or more: | Very interested and active |

II. ATTITUDE TOWARDS DEMOCRACY

The first basic political orientation - towards democracy as a mode of government was approached with the following questions with scores assigned as indicated;

Item 1: "What would be better in your opinion for Germany in her present situation?"

- (1) A government that has to justify all of its measures to an elected representation of the people, but could not always act so quickly and decisively; (3 points)
- (2) A government that would not have to justify its acts to an elected representation of the people but could always act relatively quickly and decisively; (0 points)
- (3) Don't know (0 points)

RESTRICTED

Item 2: "If a government would promise you work and bread, but ask in for restrictions in your personal freedom - which ones of the following personal rights would you in this case be willing to give up?" (Presented on a card.)

- (1) To select the political party you like;
- (2) To read all kinds of newspapers and magazines you like to read;
- (3) To educate your children in accordance with your beliefs.

If he would give up no rights, respondent gets	3 points
If he would give up one right, he gets	2 points
If he would give up two rights, he gets	1 point
If he would give up three rights, he gets	0 points

<u>Total Score Categories:</u>	6 points:	Democrat
	2 - 5 points:	Undecided
	0 - 1 point:	Non-Democrat

III. ATTITUDE TOWARDS AMERICA

Item 1: "For which other nation (people) do you have especially friendly feelings?"

If "Americans" mentioned	2 points
Otherwise	0 points

Item 2: "What, in your opinion, mainly induces the Americans to help the European economy?" (Statements on card.)

- | | |
|--|----------|
| (1) America honestly takes care to help Europe on her feet again; | 2 points |
| (2) America wants to get an economically sound partner for trade; | 1 point |
| (3) America wants to stop Communism; | 1 point |
| (4) America wants to gain supremacy in Europe, economically and politically; | 0 points |
| Don't know | 0 points |

Item 3: "Do you believe that America would leave Western Germany in the lurch, if it would gain an advantage from that - or do you think that America would under no circumstances leave Western Germany in the lurch?"

Would	0 points
Under no circumstances	2 points
Don't know	0 points

<u>Total Score Categories:</u>	5 - 6 points:	Positive
	2 - 4 points:	Undecided (neutral)
	0 - 1 point:	Negative

IV. READINESS TO LEARN FROM AMERICA

Item 1: "Can we Germans, in your opinion, learn from the Americans much, something, or nothing in respect to:

Education?
Agriculture?
Social Welfare?
Politics?
In cultural fields?

For every "much" the respondents got 2 points, for every "something" 1 point.

<u>Total Score Categories:</u>	5 or more points:	We can learn very much
	3 - 4 points:	We can learn much
	1 - 2 points:	We can learn something
	0 points:	We can't learn anything

ATTITUDES OF EAST GERMAN YOUTH

**A Series of Reports Based Upon Studies Conducted During
the Berlin Youth Festival**

**I. Evaluations of the Festival and Impressions
of West Berlin**

Report No. 101

Series No. 2

September 29, 1951

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

OBJECTIVE OF PROGRAM ...

The attached report is one in a series emanating from an intensive effort on the part of the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, to obtain the attitudes and opinions of East Zone youth at the Soviet-sponsored Berlin Youth Festival. This effort formed a part of a systematic program initiated some time back to study East Zone psychology as a contribution to the psychological warfare program.

The logic of the East Zone operation has not been that East German information can be obtained through survey method which is up to the best standards of scientific survey research. Rather the judgment has been that despite all the departures from ideal standards that survey assessment of East German thinking necessitates under present circumstances, the findings are likely to be superior in validity to the opportunistic unsystematic inquiry and guesswork that must be so often relied upon for lack of anything better.

SOME SAMPLING CONSIDERATIONS ...

Interviews for the present series of studies were gathered throughout the duration of the Berlin festival (from 5th to 19th of August, 1951) at West Berlin youth centers which dispensed free meals, free movie tickets and the like, to the thousands of East Zone youth who trooped through. Respondents were selected at random save that all other things being equal, girl respondents were to be obtained where possible, since it was evident that comparatively few female youth were crossing into West Berlin.

To what extent the obtained samples accord with the population characteristic of the DDR (German Democratic Republic) cannot be stated with precision in the present series of studies because of the difficulty of obtaining the necessary East Zone statistics. It is possible, however, to compare the geographical distribution of the obtained youth samples with some 1946 figures on the whole East Zone population. For the sample in the first report, as may be seen below, the comparison is remarkably close.

	Sample Proportions in first report	Population Proportion *
Brandenburg	10%	14.6%
Mecklenburg	12	12.4
Sachsen-Anhalt	28	24.0
Sachsen	32	32.1
Thuringen	18	16.9

In connection with the geographical distribution of the samplings, it was noted that almost no respondents came from East Berlin. It is possible that East Berliners reasoned that they could come over any time so why cope with the hordes of East German youth, or take the risk of coming over at a time when the East Zone authorities were particularly interested in preventing such crossings. Whatever their motivations, however, they did not show up in the samplings, thus leaving the generalization to apply to the East Zone exclusive of East Berlin.

About all that can be stated about the other demographic characteristics of the samples is that the distributions on the various indices, particularly the important one of education, have a reasonable look in terms of West German experiences. The one factor which is definitely not represented in most of the samples in its East Zone population proportion, is female youth. Despite the extra efforts to interview them, their relative paucity among the East Zone visitors to West Berlin result in comparatively small proportions being obtained. For this reason, unless otherwise indicated, the results of the series of studies should be looked upon as primarily indicative of the attitudes of male youth.

* Figures are based upon the 1946 census. According to information obtained through covert means the population of the East Zone in 1950 was only 0.1 per cent higher than in 1946.

It is further to be kept in mind, in getting the sampling in perspective, that almost none of the very young children who attended the festival came over into West Berlin. These "young pioneers" were much more closely guarded than the older youth, so did not have the same opportunities to explore. This means of course that when youth are talked about in the present series of studies the reference is not only primarily to male youth, but also youth over 14 years of age.

THE QUESTION OF PRO-WESTERN BIAS ...

Aside from general demographic considerations in sampling, the question remains of course as to whether the attitudes of the youths who visited West Berlin are representative of those who did not. The possibility exists that the youth who came over were more pro-West than those who remained in the Eastern sectors.

There are a number of considerations, however, that suggest that the magnitude of such a bias, if it exists, is likely to be less than might at first be imagined. The opportunity of examining West Berlin - to consider one major appeal - should be just as interesting to those who were looking for signs of capitalistic decay as to those who had more pre-Western expectations. And to the extent that free meals attracted the something less than well-fed East Zone youth, the effect should be quite unpolitical.

But perhaps more pertinent than motivational inferences are some factual considerations that bear on the matter.

1. It is difficult to estimate precisely how many of the East Zone youth came over into West Berlin, as most figures bear on the number of visits rather than the number of visitors. The figures RAS obtained in this connection were that approximately seven in ten of the youth questioned in one study reported visiting West Berlin three or more times during the course of the festival. But by all estimates a very substantial proportion of the East Zone youth visited West Berlin. East Zone youth themselves who were queried on the point gave an average estimate of six in ten. But whether the proportion was actually so great or not, it was certainly large enough so that even if it were somewhat selected, it would be accurately representative of a sizeable fraction of the East Zone youth population, and likely to be a useful approximation to average youth opinion.
2. Respondents were also asked in one of the studies to estimate how many of those in their immediate groups who did not leave the East sector of Berlin during the festival did so because they were anti-West. The prevailing opinion was that the proportion of such cases was very small - one out of twenty was the average figure obtained.
3. Another fact of importance is that 64 per cent of the sample initially tabulated stated that they were members of the FDJ - a rather firm indication that West Berlin visits did not derive at least from primarily non-FDJ youth elements.
4. Finally, one study showed that six out of ten of the East Zone visitors had either never been in Berlin or had not been there since the war - thus indicating that the sampling was reaching down to their levels of stay-at-home East Zone residents.

SPONSORSHIP AND RAPPORT ...

Any indication of American interest in the present studies was carefully avoided to preclude any possibility of sponsorship bias. Respondents were simply told in a brief explanation of public opinion polling that the "Institut fuer Meinungsforschung" was interested in obtaining their opinions on affairs of the day. The degree of apparent interest, candor, and general rapport was unprecedented in the experiences of the RAS staff. Extraordinary as it may seem, not a single refusal to be interviewed was encountered throughout the entire series of studies. In the interviewers' judgments it seemed that the East Zone visitors distinctly appreciated the opportunity to give vent to their opinions.

INTRODUCTION

The present report is the first in a series deriving from an intensive program of study of East Zone youth at the Berlin youth festival. The interviews upon which the present study were based were gathered at the close of the meeting, specifically from the 17th through the 20th of August, 1951. General methodological considerations involved in this and following studies are presented in the general introduction to the present series of reports. The composition of the sample obtained for the present study is presented in an appendix.

SUMMARY OF THE REPORT

I. EAST GERMAN YOUTH'S IMPRESSION OF WEST BERLIN

- ... Few of the East Zone youth visiting West Berlin claim to have come to the Communist youth festival in East Berlin because they believed in the festival's political aims and purposes. One half (50%) said they did not want to come at all, but came out of compulsion or made the best of it for personal purposes; the other half (47%) who did wish to attend came out of reasons not generally flattering to the East - they hoped to visit West Berlin, to see new and different people or places, to compete in sports events, etc.
- ... The attraction West Berlin held for these East German youth is seen in the fact that most of them said that from the beginning they had planned to visit West Berlin.
- ... An urge "to find out how things really are in the West" was the compelling force prompting most of the Eastern youth to visit West Berlin according to their own statements. Some expressed this urge neutrally - "to get an objective idea of the West;" some negatively - "to find out if it is really as bad as we are told;" and others positively - "to see a free and beautiful way of life." Material considerations - "to buy something," or "to get something to eat" - were seldom given as a reason for their visits.
- ... West Berlin as an outpost of the Western world more than lived up to expectations for the preponderance of its youthful guests from the East. Six in ten were more favorably impressed than they had anticipated, and a third, who presumably came with high expectations, were not disappointed. Only 1% claimed they received a worse impression of West Berlin than they had expected.
- ... Though there is reason for the West to be gratified by the favorable impression of Berlin that the young men and women received, the fact that the preponderance were agreeably surprised strongly suggests that a large proportion of these Eastern youths had previously swallowed Communist propaganda on the hardships of life in the West.
- ... Since most of the youth who enjoyed the hospitality of West Berlin during the festival were patently unsympathetic to the aims and purposes of the Communists, it was only possible to gauge indirectly the effect of West Berlin on any convinced FDJ members who stopped over the line and visited West Berlin. Accordingly those respondents (31%) who claimed to know one or more convinced FDJ members who visited West Berlin were asked to give their judgment of the effect of West Berlin on these presumably loyal Communists. Fourteen per cent estimated that a look at West Berlin had shaken the previous convictions of their acquaintances, but almost as many (9%) believed the visit had not had any effect.

- ... In order to get comparative reactions of respondents to East as well as West Berlin they were asked to comment spontaneously on what impressed them most in each of the two sectors of the city. Analysis of replies to this line of inquiry shows that almost without exception (99%), stated impressions of West Berlin were positive; while the preponderance (71%) of impressions of East Berlin were negative.
- ... When describing their impressions of West Berlin, more of the youth mentioned the air of freedom, the lack of pressure, and propaganda than the full shops or any other aspect of the economic life in West Berlin. The friendliness of the people and their willingness to help made a big impression on a large proportion of the visitors to West Berlin. Some referred specifically to the friendliness of those who acted as their hosts in the youth houses and centers, and others spoke of the friendly manner of the people in general.
- ... A further indication of the good impression West Berlin made on its youthful East German guests is that when asked if there was anything that they didn't like about West Berlin, three fourths were unable to name anything. The few who did mention something, referred mainly to economic difficulties, and what they considered to be bad literature or movies.
- ... In contradistinction to the impression of freedom mainly observed in West Berlin, the lack of freedom, the propaganda and chicanery was the prevailing impression youth gained of East Berlin. Of the minority who mentioned something in East Berlin that might be interpreted as a positive - or at least a neutral - impression, the sport activities were most frequently cited. Judging from the results to this question, the mass demonstrations most closely identified with the heart of the festival made little impression on the respondents. However, it should be noted, about three fourths of those interviewed were not in Berlin long enough to have been able to see the major demonstration, the peace march on August 12, and over nine-tenths of the interviews were completed before the final demonstration on August 19.
- ... Over half of those interviewed said that through their visit to West Berlin they learned something that they did not know before. It is indicated that boys, FDJ members, those under 20, and those who had not been in West Berlin since 1945, acquired new insights as a result of their trip to a greater extent than their counterpart groups.
- ... When the youth described what they learned in the West, they give further evidence of the extent to which they had been influenced by Eastern propaganda. It was now to them that real freedom exists in the West - that one can't believe what one is told in the East. It is significant that of those interviewed, only two persons said they found out something that reflects unfavorably on the West.
- ... Most of the youth questioned say that they acquired their new knowledge about the West through their own observations, and by conversations with West Berliners. No one mentioned that he learned anything new from a pamphlet or any other printed source, but perhaps one shouldn't expect the written word to compete with the show window of West Berlin as such, or personal contacts with the people.
- ... Asked if there was anything else they would like to learn about the West, about a fourth indicated they had no further questions. Those who did, said they would like to know more about such topics as the West's armament, unemployment, and ways and means of remaining there.

II. EVALUATION OF THE SUCCESS OF THE FESTIVAL

- ... The Communist youth festival was not too successful according to the appraisal of those respondents who felt prepared to estimate its impression on participants. (About a quarter of all respondents declined to make an estimate, explaining that they did not feel in a position to judge.) Among the youth venturing an opinion, half believed that the participants did not like it, and a quarter claimed they were indifferent. About two in ten said that the young people taking part in the festival liked it.
- ... A few of the persons queried volunteered their reasons for thinking why some in their groups liked the festival, and why some didn't. The most frequent explanation as to why some were thought to like the festival is that they are "convinced disciples of the Eastern regime." They suggested that others did not like it because of the poor organization, food and lodging, and because they are "fed up with Eastern politics, propaganda and demonstrations."
- ... When asked directly if they considered the Communist youth festival to be a success or a failure for the East, eight in ten answered "failure."
- ... A frequent argument advanced by those who thought the meeting was a failure was that the East suffered when visitors had the chance to compare it with West Berlin. Some also thought the bad organization, food and preferential treatment given to foreign guests resulted in large scale disappointment among the East German youth.
- ... Despite the tremendous propaganda efforts of the East to characterize the youth festival as a demonstration for peace, over half of those interviewed in West Berlin thought that the events had no influence on world peace. Almost half of those who thought it had a favorable influence on peace considered it desirable because it served to enlighten the East Zone population about the real motives of the East and actual conditions in the West, or because it gave the outside world an opportunity to see the situation as it exists in the East.

III. AWARENESS OF MOTIVES OF EAST AND WEST IN DECISIONS CONNECTED WITH FESTIVAL

- ... To find out how many youth were able to look beyond the slogans of the festival and see the underlying motives that prompted the Communists to call the rally, the youngsters were asked what they thought the East wanted to achieve by holding the festival. As few as 10% of those interviewed gave the Communist interpretation of the purpose of the meeting - that it was a demonstration for peace and international cooperation. Rather, they considered it a Soviet scheme to win the youth for Communism, or a means of frightening the West. Some even viewed it as a preliminary maneuver in a new war.
- ... The Communist press attacked Western nations for their attempts to prevent Western youth from attending the festival, and made champions of the youth who came to the festival despite the prohibition. This criticism was shared by the preponderance of the young people who came to West Berlin. When queried on their reactions to this ban, 50% replied that they thought it was wrong for the West to have tried to prevent the youth from coming to the festival.

- ... The most frequent argument of critics of the ban was that it was unstrategic. According to some in this group, a look at the East would have cured Western youth of any Communist leanings they might have. Others implied that a chance to become acquainted with the mood of the people in the East would have a healthy political influence on the youth, but did not state their position quite so clearly. Some critics, on the other hand, interpreted the Western action as a blow against peace.
- ... The largest proportion of those who approved the West's action looked upon the prohibition as a precautionary measure - if the youth came over they might be deceived by the extra food rations they received, or by the one-sided picture they would be shown of East Germany. Some also thought there was a danger that the young people might be incited to stir up unrest in the West.
- ... The interpretation placed on the West's motives in forbidding its youth from attending the festival is largely a sympathetic one. Most frequently, the East German visitors to West Berlin thought that the West took this step to protect the youth from the danger of becoming infected by Communist propaganda, or to prevent Communism from taking inroads into the West.
- ... Most of the youth interviewed could see through the extensive efforts made by the East to try to prevent the festival delegates from taking a look at West Berlin. They thought the East was aware that if any of the young people saw the reality of the West, they would no longer believe the "lies and propaganda" of the East.

I. EAST GERMAN YOUTH'S IMPRESSION OF WEST BERLIN

LITTLE ENTHUSIASMS FOR FESTIVAL ...

Few of the East Zone youth visiting West Berlin claim to have come to the Communist youth festival in East Berlin because they believed in the festival's political aims and purposes. One half (50%) said they did not want to come at all, but came out of compulsion or made the best of it for personal purposes; the other half (47%) who did wish to attend came out of reasons not generally flattering to the East - they hoped to visit West Berlin, to see new and different people or places, to compete in sports events, etc.

"Did you want to participate in the world youth festival or not?"

Yes	47%
No	50
No opinion	3
	<u>100%</u>

Reasons for wanting to participate:

In order to see West Berlin and learn something about it; in order to see everything personally and to make comparisons between East and West:	19%
--	-----

As a change - to get new impressions - to see something new and different; general curiosity:	10
---	----

Interest in sports:	9
---------------------	---

In order to meet youth from all over the world:	3
---	---

Other reasons:	$\frac{2}{50\%}$
----------------	------------------

Reasons for not wanting to participate:

Because idea behind festival was against my convictions - no freedom is allowed:	15%
--	-----

Everyone was forced to go - one couldn't get out of it:	13
---	----

Only used the festival as an opportunity to fulfill private wishes:	11
---	----

Because it's political and therefore I am not interested in it:	8
---	---

Because of poor lodging - preference shown to the foreigners and activists over the East Germans:	4
---	---

Other reasons:	$\frac{2}{53\%}$
----------------	------------------

*Some people gave more than one answer.

VISIT TO WEST BERLIN PREMEDITATED ...

The attraction West Berlin held for these East German youth is seen in the fact that most of them said that from the beginning they had planned to visit West Berlin.

"Did you plan from the beginning to visit West Berlin, or did you make this decision after you arrived?"

Planned from beginning	85%
Decisions made after arrival	<u>15</u>
	100%

REASONS FOR VISITING WEST BERLIN ...

An urge "to find out how things really are in the West" was the compelling force prompting most of the Eastern youth to visit West Berlin according to their own statements. Some expressed this urge neutrally - "to get an objective idea of the West"; some negatively - "to find out if it is really as bad as we are told"; and others positively - "to see a free and beautiful way of life." Material considerations - "to buy something," or "to get something to eat" - were seldom given as a reason for their visits.

"What prompted you to come to West Berlin?"

To see the difference between East and West; to get an objective idea of the West; to see and know something of the West:	23%
In order to find out whether it is really as bad as we are told:	20
In order to see a free and beautiful way of life; the people here are better off:	9
General curiosity; lure of the forbidden; in order to see something in the West; movies, store windows, shows, exhibitions, etc.:	18
To satisfy personal wishes; visit relatives and friends; etc.:	14
In order to buy something in the West:	11
In order to get to know the people in the West; to discuss with them and ask them questions; to have a free expression of opinion:	7
To get away from Eastern conditions; poor food; poor organization; the flags and propaganda; etc.:	8
Other opinions:	<u>5</u>
	116%

* Some people gave more than one answer.

In their own words these are the reasons why youth visited West Berlin.

"If one has a chance to come here once, one just looks at everything in order to see the difference between the East and the West."

"In the first place we got little to eat, secondly, we wanted to see a movie without political background, and thirdly we wanted to stroll around and compare things with what we got in the East Zone."

"My friends told me we were prohibited from going to West Berlin and therefore I wanted to see if I could succeed in getting here, and then I wanted to see what West Berlin really looked like."

"Over there we only hear abuse of the West and how badly off the people are here. I wanted to see it with my own eyes."

"Because they talk so much over there that one will be thrown in jail here, etc. I just wanted to see if that was true."

"They tell us that there is unemployment and starvation in the West. I didn't quite believe it, and wanted to see it with my own eyes."

"I wanted to see freedom and progress - the prohibition makes it even more tempting - the people here live so much better and in freedom too."

"Everything was so poorly organized. I really wanted to get a breath of fresh air."

"We wanted to have a look at the West - just curiosity - and they sent us back, so then we really came over here."

"I already planned beforehand to come here to West Berlin in order to see what is going on here."

"I wanted to have a heart-to-heart talk with my uncle."

"Personal reasons - the LDP paid for the trip and I wanted to discuss some aspects with the Free University."

"I am a member of the LDP and wanted to renew personal contact with the LDP in Berlin and to get their advice."

"I wanted to have free discussions for once and get a load off my chest."

"I wanted to talk to people who are of the same opinion as I."

"In order to eat a full meal once."

"In order to buy some string - the fare was reduced because of the world youth festival and so I took advantage of it."

"I wanted to buy leather for shoes because one can't get it where I live."

"Aversion against the Eastern turmoil."

"To get away from the pressure in the East."

"The fact that so many of the FDJ members go to the youth hostels - I wanted to see why they do it and why they tell that they have to starve in the East sector and that they can get good meals here - it is not true that they have to starve in the East."

"I had the intention to get information on how one should behave, if one works with children, without losing one's position."

"I don't find any freedom over there. I am here with a friend of mine who is being shadowed by a 5th Column man and to prevent him from following us everywhere, we came here."

"I was the county functionary of the FDJ. I couldn't do anything else at the time, yet I didn't like the work and protested against it publicly - I didn't want to expose myself to arrest over there."

WEST BERLIN MORE IMPRESSIVE THAN ANTICIPATED ...

West Berlin as an outpost of the Western world more than lived up to expectations for the preponderance of its youthful guests from the East. Six in ten were more favorably impressed than they had anticipated, and a third, who presumably came with high expectations, were not disappointed. Only 1% claimed they received a worse impression of West Berlin than they had expected.

"Is your impression of West Berlin as you had expected, or is it better or worse than you expected?"

As expected	35%
Better	62
Worse	1
Undecided	2
	<u>100%</u>

Though there is reason for the West to be gratified by the favorable impression of Berlin that the young men and women received, the fact that the preponderance were agreeably surprised strongly suggests that a large proportion of these Eastern youth had previously swallowed Communist propaganda on the hardships of life in the West.

... As might be assumed more of the youth who had no previous acquaintance with West Berlin than those who had visited it since 1945, said they found the West sectors to be "better than expected."

Of those who had not
visited West Berlin
since 1945 ...

25%

73

-

2

100%

Of those who had
visited West Berlin
since 1945 ...

51%

46

1

2

100%

... say they found what
they expected

... say West Berlin is
better than expected

... say West Berlin is
worse than expected

... are undecided

Those who found West Berlin to be about what they expected were asked what they had hoped to find there; those who were agreeably surprised, were asked in what way West Berlin impressed them more favorably than they had anticipated. The findings on both questions are comparable. Economic prosperity, the air of personal freedom, the friendly reception were observed by both groups.

"What did you expect to find in West Berlin?"

"In what way is West Berlin better than you expected?"

	Answers of respondents who found in West Berlin what they expected	Answers of respondents who found West Berlin to be better than they expected
<u>Economic well being: Living standard of the workers is much better than in the East Zone; one can buy everything here; store windows are full and prices are low; etc.</u>	15%	33%
<u>The free way of life: Personal freedom; there are all things one cannot have in the East Zone; etc.</u>	12	17
<u>The friendly reception: The Berlin population is helpful and very understanding; etc.</u>	2	12
<u>No propaganda and hubbub:</u>	1	4
<u>Cultural activities:</u>	1	1
<u>Everything is just as expected:</u>	1	-
<u>Other opinions:</u>	6	7
<u>No opinion/No answer</u>	$\frac{2}{40\%}$	$\frac{1}{75\%}$

Individual comments on what the youth expected:

"That everything the heart desires is here."

"Just as RLAS informed us - that the West is better off than the East - even the unemployed in the West live better than the workers in the East."

"One can buy unlimited quantities."

"I knew that life is free here and that they don't have dictatorship."

"That one can breath freely here - that there is political freedom."

"That one can turn to everybody here - that one can express oneself on everything."

"Free conversation - the free people - no glancing to the right nor left in a conversation."

"Individual freedom and true democracy."

*Some people gave more than one answer.

"That the individual is respected and has his duties but his rights at the same time."

"That the population received us in such a friendly manner."

"Just as it is - no hubbub - no slogans, nicely dressed people."

"I already know from my relatives and RIAS that everything is wonderful here in every respect."

"I had expected this since RIAS said it and it's proved right."

"I can't say - we knew that Capitalism and Americanism are ruling everywhere here."

Individual comments on why West Berlin made a better impression:

"It isn't as we were told - one can get everything here and of good quality, not substitutions as in the East."

"I had expected to see only ruins but that isn't the case. I also thought that the workers here had a much lower living standard."

"It's exactly like 12 years ago - I had never expected that."

"Even people who receive social relief money live better than we in the East Zone."

"The streets are all clean - the houses newly modeled and many houses newly built."

"One chocolate bar for only 4,5 Pfennigs - the bulging stores and the comparatively low prices - one couldn't imagine all that beforehand."

"Because the whole economic and social situation of the population has improved since I was in Berlin last."

"I didn't think that one could buy something for East money and that one would be received in such a friendly way."

"The whole atmosphere here is so much freer - the policemen are so nice here."

"I can move freely here and we were told we would be clubbed here."

"I have never gotten to know so much freedom - I have grown up during the Nazi regime and then it wasn't very different from now in the East."

"Because there is so much freedom here and I did not expect that. Even the FDJ exists here - this wouldn't be possible in the East if it was the other way around."

"The youth hostels support us so much."

"The Berlin population is very understanding and helpful."

"That we get food here and everything our hearts desire."

"Over there they have only propaganda - over here is the contrary."

"They said that they carry out war propaganda here - that isn't true."

"They have told us a lot about the bad movies here - that isn't true."

"Because I think everything is just wonderful here."

WEST BERLIN ALSO SAID TO IMPRESS MANY "CONVINCED" FDJ VISITORS ...

Since most of the youth who enjoyed the hospitality of West Berlin during the festival were patently unsympathetic to the aims and purposes of the Communists, it was only possible to gauge indirectly the effect of West Berlin on any convinced FDJ members who stepped over the line and visited West Berlin. Accordingly these respondents (31%) who claimed to know one or more convinced FDJ members who visited West Berlin were asked to give their judgment of the effect of West Berlin on these presumably loyal Communists. Fourteen per cent estimated that a look at West Berlin had shaken the previous convictions of their acquaintances, but almost as many (9%) believed the visit had not had any effect.

To check the observation ability of the youth interviewed, and to keep "wishful" answers to the minimum, everyone was asked to indicate how he knew that convinced FDJ members became doubtful, or retained their convictions. From the specific incidents cited in their answers, it appears that the judgments were based on evidence, not mainly on wishful thinking.

"How did this show (That they became doubtful?)"

In conversation, remarks, and discussions: He admitted to us that he was surprised about the low prices and that it wasn't true what we were told before; we discussed it and heard that they were impressed by what they had seen; about the full shop windows and the low prices in West Berlin - they talked about it; they discussed it afterwards but then they weren't quite clear about their political opinions anymore; he talked to me and said that in the West things weren't what we were told; they talked to us about it and were quite shaken about the nature of the lies they have come to realize as such; etc.

6%

In other ways - repeated visits to West Berlin - non-wearing of their uniform etc.: They went back again the next day right away and were enthusiastic about West Berlin and one of them talked badly about everything; because none of them wear a blue shirt anymore; they made a stupid expression when they saw West Berlin and they also said - well it's all right - but they didn't express themselves too clearly; they avoid the cultural activities in the East and rather attend Western activities; etc.

6

No opinion/No answer:

$$\frac{2}{14\%}$$

"How did this show? (That they stuck to their convictions?)"

In conversation, remarks and discussions - in their whole attitude: Because of the beating that took place - they said they beat our friends and don't want to have anything to do with the FDJ; they say that what the West is living on is borrowed money and that they can't do anything in the West anyway; a really crazy FDJ member won't give in; they say that over there everything is just a facade - system for exploitation - they can't look into it deeper because then they would perhaps become doubtful; etc.

5%

Their repeated participation in such activities: They were here last year also - in the first and the second wave too - they are indoctrinated too much with these politics; etc.

2

No opinion/No answer:

$$\frac{2}{9\%}$$

REACTIONS TO WEST BERLIN POSITIVE...

In order to get comparative reactions of respondents to East as well as West Berlin they were asked to comment spontaneously on what impressed them most in each of the two sectors of the city. Analysis of replies to this line of inquiry shows that almost without exception (99%), stated impressions of West Berlin were positive, while the preponderance (71%) of impressions of East Berlin were negative, as noted in the summary table below.

"What impressed you most in West Berlin?"

"What impressed you most in East Berlin?"

	<u>West Berlin</u>	<u>East Berlin</u>
Positive impressions	99%	23%
Negative impressions	*	71
Undecided	*	6
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

FREEDOM MOST IMPRESSIVE IN THE WEST ...

When describing their impressions of West Berlin, more of the youth mentioned the air of freedom, the lack of pressure and propaganda than the full shops or any other aspect of the economic life in West Berlin. The friendliness of the people and their willingness to help made a big impression on a large proportion of the visitors to West Berlin. Some referred specifically to the friendliness of those who acted as their hosts in the youth houses and centers, and others spoke of the friendly manner of the people in general.

"What impressed you most in West Berlin?"

Freedom of expression and opinion (lack of pressure and propaganda, the free manner of the people):

43%

Friendly manner of West Berliners; friendly reception by youth organizations; (free food, helpfulness, etc.):

38

Economic well being of the West (filled shops, high living standard, high living standard of the worker, the many automobiles, good clothes, food, etc.):

31

Cultural activities (movies, sports, theater, Schunacher speech, etc.):

5

Other opinions:

5
122%**

As the youth describe their impression of West Berlin:

"Youth is free here, they can do what they want."

"What the people say here is the truth and one can also speak one's own opinion freely."

"The complete freedom of opinion, everybody can do as he pleases, there is no idolizing of leading personalities - one can make up one's own opinion without being influenced."

*One half of one per cent.

** Some people gave more than one answer.

"That we could walk around here freely and discuss freely with everybody, even with Americans in youth hostels."

"That the people are really free in the real sense of the word and that they don't idolize the American rulers as we were told."

"One doesn't know the feeling of pressure and fear over here - individual freedom is observed."

"That we can come over here and are not detained or beaten."

"The cleanliness, the discipline of the population - besides, the atmosphere is so peaceful in spite of the street noise."

"The 'Sturm' police (named after the Chief of police in West Berlin) are the right kind of police and the kind of police we had formerly - they are not such young kids that aren't yet dry behind the ears like ours."

"The friendliness of the people, - their carefree behavior. In the East Zone they run around and seem so depressed."

"The whole living standard here. The workers can really live well and buy what they need with their money."

"The German products - we get everything from Poland - the wonderful material for clothing - one could cry when one sees them lying in the windows."

"Especially that there is such a sound economy - the supply of goods is great and their quality excellent."

"The high living standard of the West Berliners and their willingness to help us. I can't understand all that and why they do it for us."

"The politeness of the West Berliner - one is treated like a human being."

"The youth hostels - free food for us - the lentils we had in the East sector yesterday were not edible and the camp leader was dead-drunk."

"They take much better care of the youth in the West than in the East."

"The movies - one can see so many German movies - in the East Zone we only see Russian movies."

"The performance West Berlin offered to the participants in the festival."

FEW FIND ANYTHING TO DISLIKE ABOUT WEST BERLIN ...

A further indication of the good impression West Berlin made on its youthful East German guests is that when asked if there was anything that they didn't like about West Berlin, three fourths were unable to name anything. The few who did mention something, referred mainly to economic difficulties, and what they considered to be bad literature or movies.

"Is there anything that you didn't like in West Berlin?"

Did not name anything they didn't like:	75%
Economic pressure (high prices, unfavorable exchange rate, unemployment, etc.):	7
Damaging influence to aesthetic sense (bad literature, poor movies, etc.):	5
Other answers (difficulty in remaining overnight; that I couldn't ride on subway free, etc.):	10
No opinion:	3
	100%

LACK OF FREEDOM STANDS OUT IN THE EAST ...

In contradistinction to the impression of freedom mainly observed in West Berlin, the lack of freedom, the propaganda and chicanery was the prevailing impression youth gained of East Berlin. Of the minority who mentioned something in East Berlin that might be interpreted as a positive - or at least a neutral - impression, the sport activities were most frequently cited. Judging from the results to this question, the mass demonstrations most closely identified with the heart of the festival made little impression on the respondents. However, it should be noted, about three fourths of those interviewed were not in Berlin long enough to have been able to see the major demonstration, the peace march on August 12, and over nine tenths of the interviews were completed before the final demonstration on August 19.

"And what impressed you most in East Berlin?"

Negative answers:

Nothing made an impression - everything was bad:	20%
The overwhelming propaganda, (pretensions and fraud -, the flags, marching, slogans, Stalin Cult):	22
Lack of freedom; everything accomplished by force: "They will take away our will by force, so we will completely accept the Eastern dictator.":	12
Poor organization, food and lodging, disappointment due to the bad provisions:	13
Being spied on, and being disappointed by other comrades: East Berliners spy for the DDR; "Our own friends take away our participation cards.":	5
Disgust over the VoPo (People's police):	1
Other negative opinions: "I wanted to see some foreigners, and I haven't seen any yet;" "the fact the Russian Consulate is made of marble and everything else is destroyed.":	4

77%

Positive answers:

Sport activities:	8%
The big demonstrations; fireworks:	5
Youth from different countries:	4
Other answers with pro-East implication: That they set up organization like the HO where one can buy without ration cards; etc.:	5
Answers with anti-East implication: The resistance of the East Berliners, who fight a strong political fight - not the West Berliner, but the East Berliner:	$\frac{2}{24\%}$
Undecided:	6%
Total:	107%

WHAT DID THE YOUTH LEARN IN WEST BERLIN?...

Over half of those interviewed said that through their visit to West Berlin they learned something that they did not know before. It is indicated that boys, FDJ members, those under 20, and those who had not been in West Berlin since 1945, acquired new insights as a result of their trip to a greater extent than their counterpart groups.

"Have you learned something through your visit to West Berlin that you didn't know before?"

	Yes	No	Undecided
Total	56%	40%	4%...100%
<u>Sex:</u>			
Boys	59	37	4
Girls	47	51	2
<u>FDJ membership:</u>			
Member	61	35	4
Non-member	47	50	3
<u>Age:</u>			
Under 20	60	34	6
Over 20	51	48	1
<u>Acquaintance with West Berlin:</u>			
First visit since 1945	59	38	3
Previously visited	51	45	4

When the youth described what they learned in the West, they give further evidence of the extent to which they had been influenced by Eastern propaganda. It was now to them that real freedom exists in the West - that one can't believe what one is told in the East. It is significant that of those interviewed, only two persons said they found out something that reflects unfavorably on the West. (Replies are listed on the following page.)

*Percentage add to over 100% because some respondents gave more than one answer.

That the West is free:

21%

That there is real democracy and freedom of speech here; there are no slaves, one can say one's opinion: 10%

That people can live freely in the West (answers more general than above): 7

That the youth here are free - can make free decisions: 4

That the East lies - one can't believe what one hears in the East: 12

That economic conditions are good in the West - the workers in West Berlin live better than the workers in the East Zone; that the store windows are full and the prices low: 10

That the people are hospitable and open-minded: 6

That the West is opposed to war: 4

That my impression of the West and my conviction for it is right: 2

Anti-West answers: that West Germany is asleep and has no real understanding for the East; etc.: 1

Other opinions: the real opinion of the West Berliners; the resistance of the East Berliners; etc.: 6

62%*

Most of the youth questioned say that they acquired their new knowledge about the West through their own observations, and by conversations with West Berliners. No one mentioned that he learned anything new from a pamphlet or any other printed source, but perhaps one shouldn't expect the written word to compete with the show window of West Berlin as such, or personal contacts with the people.

Ways through which the youth learned something new about West Berlin:

From own experience and observation: I only need to look at the people here - they are contented and everybody can do as he pleases; though we are FDJ members we were fed and received in a friendly way; etc.: 27%

Through conversations with West Berliners: 17

Through discussions and talks, movies, visits to RIAS: 5

By looking at the shop windows: 4

Through the speech by Schunacher: 3

Other opinions: 1

57%*

*Some people gave more than one answer.

WHAT ELSE DO THE YOUTH WANT TO KNOW ABOUT THE WEST ...

Asked if there was anything else they would like to learn about the West, about a fourth indicated they had no further questions. Those who did, said they would like to know more about such topics as the West's arming, unemployment, and ways and means of remaining there.

"Is there anything else that you would like to learn about the West?"

Nothing more: "Now that I have visited here, everything is clear;" etc.:	27%
If there is re-armament in the West:	14
Something about economic and social problems in general:	10
About the unemployment problem:	9
Whether it is possible for us to stay and live in the West:	8
Who is a greater menace to peace: the East or the West?	4
Specific questions in connection with the world youth festival:	4
If the West considers a liberation of the East Zone and how long it will take them to start:	3
How a unification of Germany can come about:	3
Other answers: "Is the West an equal member of the UN?"; "how the Schuman Plan works in Germany, particularly East Germany?"; "if degrees from Eastern schools are recognized in the West;" etc.:	17
No opinion:	10
	109%*

How the youth formulate their inquiries on the West:

"If the 'Amis' are really establishing an army in the West."

"Whether an army is established in the West with old Nazi generals as commanders and whether they'll establish SS-divisions."

"Whether Western mercenary troops will really be established for the USA - if German soldiers shall only be cannon fodder or whether they shall serve Germany's interests?"

"Whether it is really true that they have mercenary troops - I haven't seen anybody with a gun."

"What about the establishment of a federal army - if solicitors for the French Foreign Legion are permitted to do their job freely? Why Mr. Krupp etc. who were sentenced by the International Court were released?"

"What are the chances for work here - what are the earning possibilities?"

"Are the prices in the West the same as they are in Berlin?"

*Some people gave more than one answer.

"About social conditions for the workers in the West - about the trade unions and the tariff conditions."

"About farm production in the West and about their delivery of goods."

"About social relief money for unemployed youngsters and about the chances for apprenticeships."

"I want to know the real reasons for the unemployment."

"How the youth live here - what about chances of employment when the youngsters got out of school."

"I am well informed through RIAS, I would like to go to the West and I want to know whether it is possible to live there."

"What are conditions like here for us? Is there a possibility to come here? I am a reporter and after I have seen everything here I can't go on over there. It is a crime to spread false news every day."

"I am actually quite well informed - why do they make it so difficult for political refugees to come to the West?"

"If the West is really for peace - they instigate so much, one doesn't really know."

"Who will start the war - the East or the West?"

"If the West favors a war and the East wants peace - or if it isn't the other way around?"

"I would like to know how the invasion of the FDJ into the West sectors took place."

"Who will pay for the food the FDJ members got in the West sectors?"

"How they plan the liberation of the East Zone."

"How it will be - if the West will soon start to throw the Russians out or if things will always remain as they are."

"How the West is planning the unification - if they think that the Russians might interfere or if they think that it might be possible in a peaceful way."

"How long it will be until we'll be reunited - until the East and West are together again."

"West Berlin's attitude toward the border; whether the border will be eliminated and what the West thinks about it."

"I would like to know how the Western youth who participated in the festival think now, whether they are satisfied or not."

"Why the FDJ is outlawed here."

II. EVALUATION OF THE SUCCESS OF THE FESTIVAL

YOUTH THINK ONLY A MINORITY LIKED FESTIVAL ...

The Communist youth festival was not too successful according to the appraisal of those respondents who felt prepared to estimate its impression on participants. (About a quarter of all respondents declined to make an estimate, explaining that they did not feel in a position to judge.) Among the youths venturing an opinion, half believed that the participants did not like it, and a quarter claimed they were indifferent. About two in ten said that the young people taking part in the festival liked it.

"How many of your group like the Youth Festival in East Berlin, how many do not like it, and how many are indifferent?"

Like	22%
Indifferent	24
Do not like	54
	<u>100%</u>

A few of the persons queried volunteered their reasons for thinking why some in their group liked the festival, and why some didn't. The most frequent explanation as to why some were thought to like the festival is that they are "convinced disciples of the Eastern regime." They suggested that others did not like it because of the poor organization, food and lodging, and because they are "fed up with Eastern politics, propaganda and demonstrations."

MOST CONSIDER FESTIVAL A FAILURE FOR EAST ...

When asked directly if they considered the Communist youth festival to be a success or a failure for the East, eight in ten answered "failure."

"Do you think on the whole, the world youth festival was a success or failure for the East?"

Failure	80%
Success	12
Qualified answers	4
Undecided	4
	<u>100%</u>

A frequent argument advanced by those who thought the meeting was a failure was that the East suffered when visitors had the chance to compare it with West Berlin. Some also thought the bad organization, food and preferential treatment given to foreign guests resulted in large scale disappointment among the East German youth. (Reasons given see next page.)

Reasons given for thinking the festival a failure:

Disappointment and repugnance against the East due to comparisons between East and West Berlin - (Freedom - better living conditions in the West):	25%
Disappointment in the organization and food; the preference shown to foreign delegations; nothing worked out; "We got only straw to sleep on and straw to eat.":	18
Thousands went to the Western Sectors and had a chance to see it (general answers):	17
Disappointment due to vacuous propaganda (fraud); no political interest in general; "Many have seen they are told only lies.":	9
General disappointment and discontent; "Many have said they wouldn't come again":	5
Other opinions:	6
No opinion/No answer:	6
	<u>86%</u>

The minority who judged the festival a success cited the large number of participants and the foreign delegations, and the "genuine enthusiasm of the youngsters."

Reasons given for thinking the festival a success:

Large number of participants - foreign delegations were impressive; friendship among peoples strengthened; etc.:	7%
Other opinions (Genuine enthusiasm; - unity among the youth; West Berliners visited East Berlin):	4
No opinion/No answer:	1
	<u>12%</u>

DID THE FESTIVAL SERVE THE INTERESTS OF PEACE? ...

Despite the tremendous propaganda efforts of the East to characterize the youth festival as a demonstration for peace, over half of those interviewed in West Berlin thought that the event had no influence on world peace. Almost half of those who thought it had a favorable influence on peace considered it desirable because it served to enlighten the East Zone population about the real motives of the East and actual conditions in the West, or because it gave the outside world an opportunity to see the situation as it exists in the East.

"What is your general conviction - did the youth festival have a favorable or unfavorable influence on world peace, or didn't it have any influence?"

Favorable	14%
Unfavorable	16
No influence	58
Undecided	12
	<u>100%</u>

Reasons given for thinking festival had favorable influence on peace:Anti-Eastern answers:

It helped to enlighten the East Zone population to recognize the agitation of the East against West Germany; "the youth have learned that peace doesn't come from the East;":

3%

Outside world had a chance to see through the propaganda:

3

Pro-Eastern answers:

World youth festival has served peace through the number of participants; youth came in touch with each other and contributed to understanding between nations; "if everyone gets together, they can bring about peace;":

$$\frac{8}{14\%}$$

Those who thought the festival did not advance the cause of peace blamed the East for the failure. Some commented that Moscow was more interested in creating disturbances than furthering peace. One youngster predicted that the festival would have a negative influence on the negotiations in Korea - "the Korean delegation has seen that the East is behind them, so will never agree to an armistice in Korea."

Reasons given for thinking festival had unfavorable influence on peace:

The world youth festival had other aims than peace - it was designed to stir up the people and to start trouble among youth; Moscow does not want peace; etc.:

9%

Festival was too militaristic - had a greater tendency toward war than peace:

4

Other opinions ("The East will only be more angry since so many find the West better," "the Korean delegation has seen that the East is behind them, so will never agree to an armistice in Korea."):

2

No opinion:

$$\frac{1}{16\%}$$

Most of those who judge the festival to have no effect on world peace placed the responsibility for this lack of influence at the door of the East. They accused Russia of having exerted too much influence on the event and complained about the compulsory nature of the activities.

Reasons given for thinking festival had no influence on peace:Anti-Eastern answers:

Everything was compulsory and influenced by the Russians; it is only propaganda - the East does not want peace; the youth were forced to participate without being convinced; etc.:

30%

The West won't be bluffed by the East; the West won't be influenced by the Eastern swindle; etc.:

8

Ambiguous answers: Activities such as festivals have no influence on politics; only half of the countries participated; it is difficult to get the East and West to agree; etc.:

14

No opinion:

$$\frac{6}{50\%}$$

*Some people gave more than one answer.

III. AWARENESS OF MOTIVES OF EAST AND WEST IN DECISIONS CONNECTED WITH FESTIVAL

PREPONDERANCE DOUBTS FESTIVAL WAS A PEACE RALLY ...

To find out how many youth were able to look beyond the slogans of the festival and see the underlying motives that prompted the Communists to call the rally, the youngsters were asked what they thought the East wanted to achieve by holding the festival. As few as 10% of those interviewed gave the Communist interpretation of the purpose of the meeting - that it was a demonstration for peace and international cooperation. Rather, they considered it a Soviet scheme to win the youth for Communism, or a means of frightening the West. Some even viewed it as a preliminary maneuver in a new war. Their replies categorized and with additional comments follow.

Non-Eastern interpretations:

To win the youth for Communist aims and to use them for the purpose of spreading Communist propaganda:

27%

To show off the strength of the East, solidarity of youths and nations with Communism and to frighten the West:

22

To agitate against the West, to provoke West Berlin - a preparation for war:

15

To try to convince the world of their alleged will to peace and unification, of their better way of life, and their progress in reconstruction, etc.:

19

Other non-Eastern interpretations: "They wanted to override the real opinions of the people, the voiced crying out for help;" "I don't know - peace, probably not.":

$$\frac{3}{86\%}$$

Eastern interpretations:

To demonstrate for peace - unification of Germany - against remilitarization, "wanted to show that Germany and other people's democracies are fighting for peace;" etc.:

10%

Other Eastern interpretations: "To tempt the West to come here so they can see that people in the East are better off and that there is no unemployment;" "the basic idea is not bad.":

$$\frac{2}{12\%}$$

No opinion:

8%

Total:

106%

"They want to bring the youth closer together because they believe then they can conquer the whole world."

"In order to influence this tremendous mass of people so they won't have time to think. They want to use a few enthusiasts to make it look like a solid mass stands behind one idea - yet the idea does not even exist."

"They want to misuse the youth for their own purposes - they want to erect a block against the free world together with the youth groups of the other oppressed nations."

*Some people gave more than one answer.

"They wanted to try to take in all those who do not yet believe in their "Utopia."

"They wanted to storm the West; they wanted to discuss with the West; they wanted to diminish Western influence."

"They wanted to show off and to prove that everybody is siding with the East."

"They wanted to demonstrate their power: this is us and this we can offer; they wanted to give proof of their superiority and show the world that the East is strong."

"It's an attempt to frighten the others; they want to give a proof of the strength of the youth of the Communist system to the West."

"They wanted to bring all of them to Berlin and then invade West Berlin in order to achieve unity by force."

"In order to increase the power of the East and to unite the peoples of the East for a future war."

"Preparation for a new war - the transports, the marching and all that."

"To force a world revolution with the help of the youth - as it was customary during the Nazi period too."

"In order to find out how many people they can direct in case of war and how much the people can be relied upon by the East."

"A unification of the Communist youth in order to create a bulwark against the West - that was proved true by the invasion of the West sectors by FDJ members."

"So the East German delegations should see how far advanced East Germany is - the East wants to show off with that."

"The people should be convinced how well we live here - the foreign participants got better food."

"They had to do something to deceive the masses because they never keep their promises."

"They wanted to convince the world that it brings the world nearer to peace."

"That we fight for peace together with the East-foreigners and against remilitarisation."

"To demonstrate to the world that the youth is for peace."

HALF DISAPPROVE OF WESTERN BAN ON FESTIVAL ATTENDANCE ...

The Communist press attacked Western nations for their attempts to prevent Western youth from attending the festival, and made champions of the youth who came to the festival despite the prohibition. This criticism was shared by the preponderance of the young people who came to West Berlin. When queried on their reactions to this ban, 50% replied that they thought it was wrong for the West to have tried to prevent the youth from coming to the festival.

"Do you think it was right or wrong to have tried to prevent youths from the West from attending the festival in East Berlin?"

Right	37%
Wrong	50
Qualified answers:	2
Undecided	11
	<u>100%</u>

The most frequent argument of critics of the ban was that it was unstrategic. According to some in this group, a look at the East would have cured Western youth of any Communist leanings they might have. Others implied that a chance to become acquainted with the mood of the people in the East would have a healthy political influence on the youth, but did not state their position quite so clearly. Some critics, on the other hand, interpreted the Western action as a blow against peace.

Reasons for thinking it was "wrong" to have tried to prevent Western youth from attending festival:

Politically unstrategic: That would have cured them of Communism. "It was absolutely wrong, because it prevented people from becoming convinced with their own eyes about what is wrong with East Berlin;" "it was a political mistake - they only made propaganda out of it.":

14%

Then they could have seen with their own eyes how it is with us: "They could have become acquainted with the attitude of the East people toward the FDJ as well as the West;" "they could have looked at what is going on in the East and formed their own opinion.":

15

That is against unity, peace, and understanding among nations: "Though this, friendship and international understanding cannot be achieved;" "we are all Germans, why shouldn't we talk to the West German youth;" "it was for everybody - it should be for peace, and we are all for that.":

10

The Western participants had the right to come - "everybody should be able to do what he wants to;" "they have the right to participate.":

5

Other answers:

6
50%

The largest proportion of those who approved the West's action looked upon the prohibition as a precautionary measure - if the youth came over they might be deceived by the extra food rations they received, or by the one-sided picture they would be shown of East Germany. Some also thought there was a danger that the young people might be incited to stir up unrest in the West.

Reasons for thinking it was "right" to have tried to prevent Western youth from attending festival:

Western interpretation:

So they would not come under Communist influence: "So they would not be deceived by the preferential treatment they receive here;" "they would only have become acquainted with the good sides of East Germany, and would never have a chance to experience the real facts;" "in the two or three days they would be here, they would be so influenced by the good treatment that they would believe the Communist slogans;" "because the West FDJ members would not be given the truth to see - they show only "Potemkin villages" here;"

14%

They would only be incited to organize coups in the West: "They only want to bring unrest into the West;" "it was right to prevent them because they would only stir up a rebellion in the West;" etc..

8

Other pro-Western answers: "It's a question of national security - they could be spies;"

6

Answers neither Western nor Eastern:

"Because the West won't recognize what is going on here;" "Because our policemen won't let us over either;"

8

No opinion:

$$\frac{1}{37\%}$$

The interpretation placed on the West's motives in forbidding its youth from attending the festival is largely a sympathetic one. Most frequently, the East German visitors to West Berlin thought that the West took this step to protect the youth from the danger of becoming infected by Communist propaganda, or to prevent Communism from making inroads into the West.

"In your opinion, for what reasons did the West try to prevent the youths from attending the festival in East Berlin?"

Pro-Western answers:

To prevent the youth from being influenced or infected by Communism; to keep them from being misused; "Because they could become poisoned by the idea;" "because it is easy to make the youth enthusiastic;" "because youth likes to believe as we have known from Hitler;"

33%

To prevent extension of Communism into West Germany: "They might bring propaganda material over;" "they might be used as propaganda agents in the West when they come back;" "so they won't bring the Russian dictatorship to Western Germany;"

10

Other pro-Western answers:

5

Answers neither Western nor Eastern:

On account of the political differences between East and West Germany: "Because the 'peace fighters' represent Communistic ideas;" "because those who would come probably were Communists and supported the SED;" "because in the West, a different political ideology dominates;"

8

Other neutral answers: "They could have given away production secrets;" "because the FDJ is a forbidden organization - they have no right to demonstrate;" "so the East can't say that the West German youth has participated;" etc.:

13

Answers which depreciate the West:

"Because the West will have nothing to do with the East." "so that working together with the East wouldn't be increased by the youth among themselves;"

4

No opinion/No answer:

28
101%

*Some people gave more than one answer.

EAST'S MOTIVE IN TRYING TO BAN VISITS TO WEST BERLIN SUSPECTED ...

Most of the youth interviewed could see through the extensive efforts made by the East to try to prevent the festival delegates from taking a look at West Berlin. They thought the East was aware that if any of the young people saw the reality of the West, they would no longer believe the "lies and propaganda" of the East.

"For what reason do you think the participants in the festival were forbidden to come to West Berlin?" (What do you personally think?)

Pro-Western answers:

In order not to undermine East Zone propa-

ganda: "They shouldn't see the reality of the West so they can be kept in their dumb belief;"

"we shouldn't see the prices and stores so that we don't find out our newspapers' lies;" "so we wouldn't tell at home how good it was - we should see only one side and remain blind;" "so that they shouldn't become shaken in their convictions;"

"we shouldn't see that without politics and hubbub, the people are better off - how peace is;" "we shouldn't see how it is here, and how cheaply and freely the people here live;"

78%

Other pro-Western answers: "Because the East knows that there are not many active FDJ members, and the active ones are always opposed to full store windows;" etc.:

2

Answers not clearly Western: "They could have been used as spies, and tell in the West what things are like in the East;" "the incidents with the Western police - the beatings - and we shouldn't see how good it is here;" "we shouldn't see how people live here;" "because we might have brought over too much propaganda material - that is also why there are controls;"

13

Anti-Western answers:

"So the youngsters act as agents and carry out sabotage and incite the people in the West;" "because they would be beaten;" etc.:

3

Other opinions:

2

No opinion:

3
101%

*Some people gave more than one answer.

APPENDIX

DESCRIPTION OF SAMPLE:

Size of Community:

Village up to 5,000	22%
Small town up to 50,000	38
Medium sized town between 50,000 - 100,000	18
City over 100,000	21
No answer	1
	<u>100%</u>

Sex:

Male	75%
Female	25

Age:

14 yrs.	2%
15 yrs.	5
16 yrs.	12
17 yrs.	18
18 yrs.	10
19 yrs.	8
20 yrs.	4
21 yrs.	7
22 yrs.	8
23 yrs.	4
24 yrs.	1
25 - 29 yrs.	11
30 and over	10
	<u>100%</u>

Education:

Elementary school	71%
Middle school	10
University	19
	<u>100%</u>

Present Occupation:Intended Occupation:

Professional	14%
Independent business-	
men	1
White collar worker	17
Skilled workers	41
Semi-skilled, unskilled	
worker	13
Personal service	2
Farmer	4
Housewife	2
Unemployed	-
Student	2
No answer	4
	<u>100%</u>

Occupation of
Breadwinner:

6%
7
21
26
17
2
6
1
14
-
-
<u>100%</u>

Religion:

Protestant	85%
Catholic	11
Others	-
None	<u>4</u>
	100%

Frequency of Church Attendance:

Once a week or more often	7%
Two or three times a month	12
Once a month	15
Several times a year	15
Once a year or less	2
Never	38
No answer	<u>11</u>
	100%

Membership in FDJ:

FDJ member	64%
Not a member	<u>36</u>
	100%

ATTITUDES OF EAST GERMAN YOUTH

A Series of Reports Based Upon Studies Conducted During
the Berlin Youth Festival

II. What Young Germans Would Like to Ask Mr. McCloy

Report No. 102

Series No. 2

Classification cancelled 1951
by authority of Leo P. Crespi
PUB/RAS.

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

The present report is the second in a series based on an intensive survey made by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, among East German youths who visited West Berlin during the Communist youth festival. The purpose of this particular inquiry was to determine what sort of questions the young respondents would like to ask the U.S. High Commissioner, Mr. McCloy, if they were given the opportunity. General methodological considerations involved in this and other reports in the series are presented in the general introduction to the series.*

Probably the primary value of the findings, as reported here, is the extent to which the questions proposed by these East Zone youths reflect their attitudes toward the U.S. and Western policy on current issues and problems. In order further to illuminate these attitudes, the report also includes results of a similar inquiry put to young West Germans attending the European youth meeting at the Lorelei Rock. Though the Lorelei respondents cannot be considered representative of West German youth as a whole, the attitudes toward the United States reflected in the questions proposed by this group with avowedly "European" orientations offer a comparison with those expressed by the East German group. (The sample used at the Lorelei meeting was a quota type of 266 cases divided approximately evenly between young men and women, and can be considered as representative only of the Lorelei participants, not of West German youth generally.)

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

EASTERN YOUTH SEEK INFORMATION AND AFFIRMATION OF WESTERN AID ...

The over-all impression gained from the direction of the questions the East German youths would like to ask the High Commissioner is, in the problems which appear to concern them most - the unification of Germany, liberation from the Communist yoke, the establishment of peace - these young people look to the West for assurance. This is not to say that they are immune to Communist propaganda. On the contrary, a good many of their questions reflect doubt and uncertainty with respect to the comparative veracity of the West as against the East. The tone underlying most of their queries seems to be a mixture of credulity based on East Zone propaganda and rumors, and doubt, probably deriving from Western counterinformation, regarding the teaching of their Eastern masters. The fact that one youth should ask, for example: "We are told in the papers that he (Mr. McCloy) personally wants war so that he can profit by it, otherwise he would be unemployed - is that true?" implies a certain degree of both belief and doubt in what he is told in Eastern sources. By and large, however, their questions indicate that they not only wish to be informed by the West, but seek affirmation of Western aid.

More specifically, the questions most frequently posed by the Eastern German youth center around the unification of Germany. Some of the queries reveal disillusionment with the intent or ability of the allies to bring about unification, others seem to recognize the responsibility of the German people, but to be uncertain about what they can do, and a large proportion of the questions reflect rather vague and unchanneled hopes for a united nation.

The second largest group of questions focus on the liberation of Eastern Germany. Here again, many of the inquiries suggest a projection of responsibility onto the West for the solution to German problems. Some rather desperate measures are advocated: for example, that Mr. McCloy propose to the U.S. government that they wage war with Russia in order to liberate East Germany; but others show more moderate thinking with respect to methods.

* See first report in this series "I. Evaluation of the Festival and Impressions of West Berlin," Report No. 101, Series No. 2, dated September 29, 1951.)

Standing third in the order of frequency are those questions which concern the future development of Germany in general, exclusive of the specific problems of unity and liberation of East Germany. Of these, a sizeable number center on the projected peace treaty. Concern for the future of a divided Germany appears again as an undercurrent to the more general question - the only hope seeming to lie in a united Germany with independent status in the world.

WESTERN YOUTH MORE CRITICAL OF WESTERN POLICY ...

In contrast to the tenor of the questions put by the East German youths - requiring assurance and information - the questions and tone of the Western group are more specific and basically critical. They appear to be less interested in information than in explanations which would require a defense of Western policy.*

The trend of the questions in the two studies indicates that while the Eastern youth are primarily concerned with the immediate problems of liberation from Communist oppression and alleviation of daily hardship, the Western youth, not having the same pressing concerns, are freer to question more specific aspects of Allied policy, as well as more objective and far-reaching problems in the international sphere.

In view of the way the Soviet occupation of East Germany differs from the West German situation, it is not surprising that the Eastern youths seem more disturbed by their immediate situation, while the Lorelei group is interested in what might be termed "getting the Allies out of their hair."

Analysis of the specific categories of questions also reveals certain marked differences as well as some rather close parallels between East and West groups. The most outstanding single difference is in the incidence of queries concerning unification of Germany. Only six per cent of the Lorelei campers express concern over this problem, in contrast to 23 per cent of the East Zone youth. This disparity can probably be attributed to the fact that, at least to some of the Eastern youth, a unification of Germany implies liberation from the Eastern powers.

- ... As to the specific queries, the most frequently mentioned questions of the Western group are those concerning particular phases of economic and political policies of the West and especially the U.S. toward West Germany. Such matters as occupation costs and foreign trade practices, and the Kenriffs and war crimes cases, find first place in the frequency distribution of proposed queries.

Incidence of mention of such problems as remilitarization, length of occupation, East-West unity, and the projected peace treaty for Germany, are closely parallel in the two samples, although the slant of the inquiries is somewhat different.

Two problems mentioned by the Lorelei respondents which do not appear in the East Zone results are those of (1) a united Europe and (2) the question of equal rights for Germany. The fact that the Lorelei meeting was concerned with European unity may be the reason for the emphasis given the former. A criticism of the Allies is implicit in the tone of specific questions on the latter point.

- * In order to ascertain whether these views are shared by West German youth as a whole, this question has been included in an all-West German survey which will be reported in the near future.

TOPICS WHICH INTEREST THE YOUTH ...

The following summary table list the topics which would be the subject of queries of the East German and Lorelei youths.

Summary Table of East German Youths' Queries

Questions about:

Unification of Germany	23%
Liberation of East Germans from communist yoke	21
Future of Germany: Peace treaty	16
Economic system of West and improvement of East German economy	13
Possibility of settlement of East-West conflict	10
Re-militarisation and armaments in West	10
Duration of German occupation	8
Possibility of war	8
Oder-Neisse border and East German territory	7
US policy toward Russia in 1944-1945	3
Miscellaneous topics specific to policies and practices of West in relation to Russia since 1945	16
Miscellaneous topics (general)	11
No questions	14
	<u>160%</u>

Summary Table of Lorelei Groups' Queries

Questions about:

West's (US) economic policy toward West Germany	25%
West's (US) political policy toward West Germany	15
Future of Germany: Peace treaty:	14
Possibility of settlement of East-West conflict	12
Duration of occupation of Germany	11
American policy toward a united Europe	9
Unification of Germany	6
Equality for Germany	6
Improvement of West German economy	4
Western war plans and preparations	4
Miscellaneous topics	14
No questions	12
	<u>136%</u>

* Percentages add to more than 100% because some people mentioned more than one topic.

QUESTIONS OF EAST GERMAN YOUTH IN DETAIL ...

"When and how can a unification of Germany be brought about?"

"Why the so-called free world (West) has not succeeded so far in uniting East and West Germany under one democratic system?"

"Why do they find no way to a unification of Germany?"

"Whether he cannot help to reunite East and West Germans, possibly under his control."

"What is his view on the present situation in Germany-how he sees a union of East and West, how it can be reached."

"If he knows a way to bring about a unification of Germany and what we youth can do about it- whether he can show us a way."

"On what basis is Germany really split - why the West (W.Germany) will not make a treaty of friendship with East Germany (allow zonal barriers to fall)."

"How he imagines the unification of Germany-that would include all other questions."

"When will there be a united Germany?"

"If the change will come soon when Germany will again be one."

"When the zonal borders are to fall, in order to attain a united Germany."

"When Germany will finally be one again- whether we cannot get to the West without passes."

"Whether Germany will remain split for long."

"On what and on whom does a unification of Germany depend?"

"Why are there any borders in Germany at all?" etc.

236

"When will East Germany be liberated from the yoke of Communism and the Russians: will the West help us?"

"When will the yoke of the East be removed - when will Communism finally be exterminated?"

"When will there be an end to the pressure in the East Zone government?"

"What evidence has one that the West will succeed-in the East they tell us that the progressive ideas of the East will succeed."

"How will things develop in the East, what will happen to the East-whether there is no other way for us to take."

"When will the Eastern system be abolished? when the day will come when we will be free."

"When we will finally be free-what do they intend to do to liberate us-the people are slowly becoming apathetic."

"If the Allies are willing to help us in the East Zone."

"Reuter said that the hour of liberation will come soon, but how will we bring it about?"

"When the hour of liberation will come to the East Berliners."

"When will he propose to the government in Washington that they start a war with Russia so that we will finally be liberated-as we are no longer people who work in freedom, but only robots."

"How long this condition in the East Zone will last." etc.

21

"What is the future of Germany and when will she get a peace treaty?"

"What about the peace treaty - what does he imagine the near future of all Germany to be?"

"What do they think about Germany - if it is to remain as it is?"

"When will there be a peace treaty with the whole of Germany?"

"How long the time will go on so undecided-the future looks so dim."

"What he thinks about the future of Germany - whether he wants to promote Germany or not."

"Why the Western Powers don't contract a peace treaty with West Germany?"

"How the future will be-what he has in mind for us in the East." etc.

16

"What is the economic situation in the Western World, and how can we improve ours in the East?"

"If it is true that the unemployment in the West is so great - why it is."

"Whether everything that you can buy here has to be paid by the Germans - if the Americans leave, whether these will all be debts."

"What is the situation in the single Marshall countries - how is it in the West European countries?"

"Why there are so few things to get in the East and here you can get everything?"

"The East has unemployment and so has the West. How shall the problem be solved eventually?"

"If this problem can be solved without unification with the West - in what way?"

"Whether we will ever again reach our old standard of living."

"When we shall attain the same life they have in the West - I mean, politically, and the standard of living." etc.

13

"Can the East and West get together to maintain peace or to stop hostilities, such as in Korea?"

"If a people's agreement between the East and West is at all possible."

"Who would help us to reconstruct the West or East Powers, in order to prevent a war?"

"Why East and West cannot unite."

"How the tension between East and West will be ended."

"If America were willing to spend just as much money for peace and mankind as she did for the atom bomb."

"Whether there is a danger that Germany will be completely overwhelmed by the Russians or whether Russia can be kept in check."

"Who is to be blamed for the whole thing between East and West - who instigated it?"

"Whether he is in favor of a war with Russia or against it."

"If the time will come soon when one can shake hands with all peoples."

"What steps he will take to relieve East - West tensions."

"Whether it looks as though a war will come."

"Why don't they make a truce in Korea?" etc.

10

"Are the Western Powers and West Germany remilitarizing?"

"If it is true that in the West they are rearming."

"What is the situation of remilitarization of West Germany, if it is true."

"It is necessary that the Western World rearms, but why must the training fields be in Germany? if it is true that the West prepares for war."

"Why is there so much military in West Berlin? if America is really preparing for war."

"Whether American troops are still coming to West Germany."

"Whether it is really true that arms are manufactured here for the war."

"How he intends to proceed if a Russian attack ensues - whether he would use infantry or air force which would destroy everything - how the Germans would be used in it." etc.

10

"How much longer are the four powers going to occupy Germany?"

"Whether Germany will remain occupied for long."

"When all four occupying powers will leave Germany altogether."

"How long he wants to keep up the occupation."

"How long before the Russians leave Germany."

"Why the Amis don't go back to America, because the Russians will come to West Germany anyhow." etc.

"Does the West want war, and how and where do they think it would be fought?"

"I would like to know whether it is true that it is necessary to begin a war in order to earn money?"

"Whether it is true, as the Russian claim, that McCloy wants to start a new world conflagration."

"We are told in the papers that he personally wants war so that he can profit by it, otherwise he would be unemployed - if it is true."

"What is his opinion on how a war would progress and where it would be fought."

"He should see to it that Germany will not become a battlefield for a second time." etc.

"When will the Oder-Neisse border be eliminated and Germany given back her lost territories?"

"What his attitude is toward the Oder-Neisse borderline."

"How it is in our homeland, if we can ever go back. What is the situation about the Oder-Neisse borderline - if it is an acknowledged fact?"

"Whether later on it will be possible for us to return to our homeland (Frankfurt/Oder)."

"If he believes that the refugees will again see their homes." etc.

"Why did the Americans let the Russians take so much of Germany after the war and why were they so lenient in their policy toward Russia?"

"Why you still handle the Russians with velvet gloves?"

"Why did they let the Russians advance so far into Germany?"

"Why has he ceded to the Russians the territories which had already been occupied by Americans?"

"Why he tolerates the Russians' stripping and condemning us." etc.

Other specific questions about policies and practices
of the West in relation to Russia and Germany at present
(not mentioned elsewhere in this listing)

"How the cooperation with Russia in Austria is and whether he pursues another policy there than here - how is the cooperation with the Fascists (Franco) pursued - whether after the Bolshevik danger is removed he will be dropped again - why you let such people as Remar run free - why Helgoland was bombed."

"Why Americans have participated in the world festival in the East Sector as we claimed they did."

"Why Germany is included in the Atlantic Pact while they talk so bitterly about it here."

"If it is true that Germans would be used for the French Foreign Legion," etc.

15

Others

"The problem of the prisoners of war - how can it be solved?"

"Whether Communism can ever attain world power."

"Would ask him whether I couldn't come with him abroad to learn about peoples' understanding," etc.

11

No answer/no opinion

14

 1603

What about specific economic policy of the West toward West Germany?"

a. Occupation Costs:

"Whether he doesn't think that the living standard will fall if the occupation costs are raised, thereby encouraging Communism."

"Whether the occupation costs can't be reduced to a minimum."

"Why the occupation costs are so high --why doesn't every country pay the costs for his own occupation army?"

9%

b. Ruhr Control Board:

"Why does the Ruhr control board still exist, why do we have to export coal and import it at high costs?"

"Does the control board resign in the event of a ratification of the Schuman Plan?"

"Why don't they listen to the German experts who demand that German coal export quota be reduced?"

"Why our coal has to be sold cheaper than the American coal."

"Why do we export our coal and have to import the expensive American coal?"

7

c. Marshall Plan:

"Whether we have to repay all the Marshall Plan funds."

"If he really thinks we are so stupid that we would think the Marshall Plan aid is of any material value, that we wouldn't know the real reasons of it."

3

d. Extravagance in the life of the occupation forces:

"Why Germans aren't allowed to live together with the members of the occupation forces."

"Why members of the occupation forces treat the German houses and furniture so badly."

"Whether the new troops are going to live in barracks."

"Why are the Western occupation forces living so extremely extravagantly on German costs?"

"Why don't they interfere in the black marketing the American soldiers are doing?"

"Why is the pay of the American occupation soldiers so high in comparison to that of soldiers from other countries?"

"Why do the Americans settle down in Germany and build those comfortable officers' billets until we lose our senses?"

3

e. Others:

"Why our credits abroad have been taken away from us."

"Whether Germany will also have to pay reparations after she has been exploited so much."

"Why so many foreign products are imported."

"How do you understand the German economy's being stripped through two-sided contracts while on the other side Marshall Plan funds are pumped into Germany?"

"What about specific political policy of the West towards West Germany?"

"Whether the social problem in Germany, in his opinion, has been improved by the influence of the Americans."

"Whether American policy toward Germany is approved by the entire American nation."

"Whether America's intentions in Germany are honest."

"Whether the American officers are used to turning their coats (Eisenhower's opinions in 1945 and then in 1951)."

"I would ask him about the Kemritz case and the facts about the Frankfurt chemists."

"The discrepancy between demands and concessions of the occupation forces toward Germany."

"Why he doesn't release Kesselring and other generals since it's a fact today that they haven't committed any crimes."

"Why the Americans are trying so hard to hush up certain affairs that should rather be admitted openly instead of being denied with regard to their policy in Germany."

"Why the state of war with Germany has not been brought to an end."

15%

"What is the future of Germany and when will she get a peace treaty?"

"What are his views on the political future of Germany?"

"Will the situation remain as it is at present?"

"Will the development take a turn for the better or worse?"

"When will the peace treaty with Germany be made?"

"What will the German situation be after a peace treaty?"

14

"Cannot East and West unite in order to maintain peace and to end hostilities as in Korea?"

"What will the future relation between East and West be and how could it be improved?"

"Is he able to avoid war?"

"Does he think the United Nations are strong enough to avoid another world war?"

"Does he believe in another world war?"

12

"How much longer will the four powers occupy Germany- why don't the Americans go home?"

"How much longer do they intend to stay, will they leave soon?"

"Why do the occupation forces remain here, Germany has enough to pay."

"Is it at all necessary to be controlled?"

"When do the Americans go home?"

11

"What is the situation regarding United Europe; are the Americans for it, what are they doing on its behalf?"

"How he imagines a united Europe to be, with Germany divided and the East European countries excluded?"

"Will America maintain her interest in Europe in case of a unification?"

"Would America welcome absolute economic and political independence of Europe?"

"What policy will be pursued toward Germany within a United Europe?"

"Why did no Americans attend this camp though they propagate the idea of a United Europe very strongly?"

9%

"When and how can a unification of Germany be brought about?"

"Will the German East ever be united with the West?"

"When will the Zonal borders fall?"

6

"What is the situation regarding remilitarization of Germany?"

"Remilitarization of Germany."

"Can a rearmament of Germany lead to war?"

"What are his views on the remilitarization of Germany?"

"What do you need soldiers for?"

6

"When will Germany have equal rights?"

"When will Germany finally be independent?"

"Why, as a concession to the English and French, has Germany not yet been admitted with equal rights to the Western family of nations?"

"When, finally, will Germany become economically and politically free?"

"What are the ways for us to obtain equal rights?"

"When, finally, will the time come that Germany will have equal rights?"

"Whether equality of rights is to the liking of Americans at all."

6

"Why is nothing done to better the economic and financial conditions here?"

"Why does he tolerate the fact that everything here is so expensive?"

"When will the economic situation improve?"

"Why is the Bonn government so very highly paid?"

4

"What are the plans of the West in case of war and why doesn't the West make any positive preparations?"

"Why the Americans aren't building an Eastern fortification at the zonal borders that could prevent the Russians from a sudden attack."

"Which viewpoint America would take in case of war - defense at the Elbe river."

"Whether the U.S.A. would act the same way as in Korea in case of an invasion into Berlin."

4%

Others:

"Whether it would be possible to have the same meeting as this one in America."

"Whether he couldn't intercede so that youth can travel more easily from one country to the other."

"Whether there is a possibility to stay in the U.S.A. to study."

"Whether he can still sleep well with the thought that the Russians will come one day, as they were the Americans' best friends in 1945."

"What they are doing in the U.S.A. for the people socially not so well off."

"Whether the distinction of race in the U.S.A. between Whites and Negroes is so great and crass as one is told."

14

No opinion/no answer

12

 138%

THE CURRENT STATE OF GERMAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

Report No. 103
Classification changed to
OFFICIAL USE ONLY
by authority of Leo P. Crespi
PUB/RAS F I D E N T I A L

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION ...

This report on the current state of German-American relations is based on a survey made in mid-September, 1951, by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs. The study was undertaken in order to ascertain whether the picture presented by the West German press in early September of deteriorating Allied-German relations, brought on it was said by recent Allied High Commissions decisions, was as black as the newspapers alleged.

The survey was made throughout West Germany utilizing the 800 case probability sample established by the Reactions Analysis Staff for rapid coverage of political developments. It was conducted under the auspices of DIVO (Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/M.) the newly established German interviewing company which does interviewing for DAS under German sponsorship, thus removing the possibility of American sponsorship bias.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT ...

I. ALLIED-GERMAN RELATIONS

... The salient findings of this study demonstrate anew that newspaper opinion is not necessarily public opinion. The West German press in September was in full cry over allegedly deteriorating Allied-German relations brought on, the newspaper stated, by recent decisions of the Allied High Commission.*

The German people, however, saw the situation rather differently. The prevailing mood of the public was that relations between the Allies and the Bonn government, and the West German people as well, were better than formerly, or at any rate had remained unchanged. Only small minorities shared the pessimism of the press.

... Controverting press opinion, relations between the Federal Republic and the Allied High Commission were judged in mid-September by only a ten per cent minority of the West German people as having recently worsened. The predominant view (30%) was that they had improved and 21% saw no change. As many as three out of ten apparently had given so little thought to the matter as to be unable to express an opinion.

... The coal export issue is mentioned as a source of rising ill-feeling between the Federal government and the Allies by only four per cent of the public. For the rest, none of the evidence adduced by the minority seeing worsened Allied-Bonn relations bears on the issues especially emphasized in the press during September. Occupation costs, the Saar problem, the Schuman Plan, general economic difficulties, the defense issue are cited in evidence by small proportions. On none of these matters, it should be noted, did the Allies arrive at new or different decisions during the period under review.

... Though the press comment was directly pointed at worsening relations at governmental levels, the consequent ill-effect of this state of affairs on broader public relations was also strongly emphasized in newspaper editorials and comments. To measure public attitudes in this regard, respondents in each of the three zones of occupation were asked their opinions on relations between the German people there and the nationals of the respective occupying powers.

* See especially "Weekly Press Analysis" No. 291 (September 7, 1951) ISD, Office of Public Affairs. Sources of dissatisfaction according to the press were: e.g. Allied decisions on coal exports, foreign assets, the State Security Law.

CONFIDENTIAL

Results to this line of inquiry are similar to those obtained in the query on Allied-Bonn relations in that only very small minorities consider that the relations between the German people and their respective occupiers have recently grown worse. In other respects, certain zonal differences occur. In the British Zone, more people see relations unchanged than improved, and in the French Zone, opinions divide between "no change" and "better". In the US Zone only, is it the preponderant view that relations between the German people and their occupiers have improved. Finally the fact that a third are unable to express a judgment on the issue, certainly must in part be considered as a refutation of the press view that Allied-German relations are becoming increasingly a matter of concern to the German public.

- ... Examples given by the very small minority seeing worsened relations vary somewhat between occupation zones (though the number of cases involved is entirely too few for these differences to be reliably beyond chance.)
- ... Instances of bad behavior among the troops are mentioned in the US Zone, but scarcely, if at all, in the other Zones; damage caused by maneuvers is brought up in the British Zone presumably owing to the fact that fall maneuvers were in progress there at the time of the survey. Requisitioning of houses - a continuous and scarcely new grievance - is mentioned in all zones. But here, too, there is little evidence in the examples given that the problems worrying the press had much impact on the public.
- ... Not only is the preponderance of the West German public out of accord with press opinion regarding a recent deterioration in Allied-Bonn relations, but an even larger preponderance (68%) judges present relations between the two as from fair to good, with the weight of opinion toward the more positive judgment. Only five per cent deem the present situation to be bad, and 27% have no opinion.
- ... The direction of opinion is very similar regarding intra-zonal relations between the German people and the nationals of the three occupying powers. Again few judge that bad feelings between the two groups prevail, and the predominant sentiment is that the relations are good. There is a greater tendency for US Zone residents to describe German-American relations as good than for those living in the British or French zones to apply this designation to their relations with their occupying powers.
- ... Most significantly, the opinion leading elements, habitually the more critically-minded elements in the population, are both more likely to say Allied-German relations are improving and that the present situation is good.

Thus, the newspapers were not even correctly representing the attitudes of the more critical elements in West Germany.

II. THE OCCUPATION

- ... A strain on occupation ties is apparent, however, notwithstanding the fact that the West Germans generally tend to consider Allied-German relations to be fairly good. The predominant opinion, (53%) is that the Western Allies exert too much influence over the Federal government and a not unconsiderable fraction (21%) go so far as to assert that the Bonn Republic is nothing more than a Western puppet.*

* There has been no appreciable change in attitudes toward the issue of Allied influence on the Federal government which also tends to refute the press view of worsened relations.

- ... This charge of too much Allied influence on the Federal Republic not of course controvert the previously reported opinions that Allied-German relations are fairly good. It merely points up the difficult paradox of an occupation to both parties. What the respondents are saying in effect is that as occupations go, the West German one is satisfactory enough, but - the less occupation, the better.
- ... That the charge of "too much influence" on the part of the Allies vis-a-vis the Federal government derives from discontent with an occupied status per se rather than from any current instances of alleged domination or friction is clearly apparent in the examples people give to illustrate the charge. Almost half (or 24% of the total public) make the blanket statement that the Allies have the decisive say in everything, and the next largest group (14% of the total public) generalizes in a similar fashion concerning the economy. Ranking third in order of frequency is the Ruhr coal issue as an example of undue Allied influence. The fact that this problem is cited more frequently in this connection than as an example of worsened Allied-German relations suggests that the Allied decision regarding coal has mainly aroused that part of the public already sensitive to an occupied status.
- ... The sensitiveness which is probably inherent in an occupied status is even more sharply revealed in the results of a query on American intentions regarding the future independence of West Germany. Proportionately almost as many state that the US wishes to prolong West Germany dependence as take the contrary and positive position, that the Americans desire independence for the West Germans as soon as possible.
- ... The issue of Allied-German relations is further illuminated by the West German people's appraisal of the consequences of the actions of the three Allies since 1945 on Germany's welfare.
 Their over-all verdict regarding American accomplishments in Germany since the war's end is predominantly favorable. Over half (55%) say that the American program has been to the advantage of West Germany. In contrast, only 15% assert it has been disadvantageous and 11% claim it has neither benefited nor harmed the country. The remainder (19%) have no opinion. The trend of opinion is similar in all three zones on this issue, though in the French Zone relatively more people are unable to make a judgment.
- ... In order to place the appraisal of US efforts in a broader perspective, respondents were also queried on the British and French accomplishments. The judgments are considerably less favorable than regarding the Americans.
- ... The large preponderance give as examples of the advantages West Germany has received from the United States economic aid generally (48%) and more specifically the Marshall Plan (26%). Less frequently cited are American fostering and support of democratic forms and ways, social welfare and human aid, defense against the Russians, the air-lift, currency reform, etc.
- ... Whereas economic aid leads the list of benefits to Germany from the United States, the economic angle is also stressed when West Germans are asked to name a bill of damages against the Americans. Three in ten name such matters as dismantling, patents, coal export quotas, and about one in ten bring up occupation costs. (In the US Zone, 20% mention the latter point.) Other mentions of ways in which the US is said to have hurt West Germany cover a number of topics - again requisitioning, immoral conduct, conciliation of Russia in early post-war days, denazification, interference in politics, etc.

It is noteworthy, however, that as many as thirteen per cent go out of their way to state that the Americans have done nothing which is to West Germany's disadvantage, and a third (33%) have no opinion.

III. THE US HIGH COMMISSIONER

- ... Since the US High Commissioner as the chief representative and spokesman of the United States in Germany may be said to personify the American occupation, the public's awareness of his name and the impression he has made were also measured.
- ... Over half (55%) of the West German public are able to give the name of the US High Commissioner when queried on the point. As could be expected, US Zone residents can designate the US High Commissioner somewhat more frequently than can British or French Zone people but social differences are not on the whole very appreciable.
- ... By way of comparison, only 22 per cent can give the name of the British High Commissioner and 25 per cent that of the French High Commissioner. It is to be noted that Mr. McCloy's name is familiar to more residents of both the British and French Zones than is their respective High Commissioner.
- ... The US High Commissioner, Mr. McCloy, receives what may be called a decisive vote of confidence among those West Germans who know of his position. Two-thirds of them assert that his administration of German affairs has benefited West Germany.
- ... Efforts to improve relations between the German and American people, promotion of Germany's economy, regard for justice and fair dealing, are among the main examples cited by the preponderance thinking Mr. McCloy's incumbency as High Commissioner has been advantageous to West Germany.

IV. THE DURATION OF THE OCCUPATION

- ... To explore attitudes toward Allied-German relations further, several questions bearing directly on the occupation were asked. To those queries, too, the direction of opinions tended to be favorable, particularly so in the US Zone of occupation.
- ... As to why the Western powers are still in Germany, the preponderant view is that they are staying for security reasons. In all, 51% ascribe such positive motives to the West, with the bulk of them specifically mentioning protection against threats from the Communist East. Residents of the US Zone hold this positive view more frequently than the British or French Zone population.
- ... But a large minority (34% in all) largely ignores the East-West situation and expresses critical or negative opinions on the reasons for the continued presence of the Western Allies. They say the Allies fear Germany, or wish to exploit her, or like the soft life they live here.
- ... A third group (17% in all) give reasons that may either be considered critical, non-committal or not pertinent. Among them the largest proportion falls into the latter designation, consisting mostly of reasons for the occupation (Germany lost the war) rather than reasons why the Allies are still in Germany.
- ... Nor are the preponderance of West Germans apparently in accord with suggestions emanating from the East or from various neutralist or neo-nationalist sources in West Germany that the Western powers should leave. More than half (59%) say they personally prefer the Allies to stay in West Germany in view of the current political situation. Residents of the US Zone are most inclined to this opinion (67%) and French Zone people, least (45%). About three in ten would prefer the Allies to leave - again, fewest in the US Zone make this recommendation.

V. THE ALLIED OCCUPATION TROOPS

... The troops are probably the representatives of the Allies most frequently seen and encountered by the West German public. For this reason their behavior as measured by the people can in large part be considered a measure of the occupation as a whole. Using the behavior of German troops in similar circumstances as a yardstick, the prevailing opinion is that the troops in the various zones of occupation behave just about the way German troops would do.

On the assumption that the West German people would expect their soldiers to behave in an orderly, disciplined way (and this is the common view among the German people) in an occupation such as the present one of West Germany, the Allied occupation again appears to be predominantly favorably estimated.

Here the Americans do not come off as well as the British. A quarter of the US Zone residents (and an equal proportion in the French Zone) claim that the American (French) troops behave worse than German soldiers would have done in similar circumstances.

V. THE ALLIED OCCUPATION TROOPS

... The troops are probably the representatives of the Allies most frequently seen and encountered by the West German public. For this reason their behavior as measured by the people can in large part be considered a measure of the occupation as a whole. Using the behavior of German troops in similar circumstances as a yardstick, the prevailing opinion is that the troops in the various zones of occupation behave just about the way German troops would do.

On the assumption that the West German people would expect their soldiers to behave in an orderly, disciplined way (and this is the common view among the German people) in an occupation such as the present one of West Germany, the Allied occupation again appears to be predominantly favorably estimated.

Here the Americans do not come off as well as the British. A quarter of the US Zone residents (and an equal proportion in the French Zone) claim that the American (French) troops behave worse than German soldiers would have done in similar circumstances.

- 6 -

CONFIDENTIAL

C O N F I D E N T I A L
I. ALLIED-GERMAN RELATIONS

02263

PUBLIC DIFFERS FROM WEST GERMAN PRESS ON STATE OF ALLIED-GERMAN RELATIONS ...

The salient findings of this study demonstrate anew that newspaper opinion is not necessarily public opinion. The West German press in September was in full cry over allegedly deteriorating Allied-German relations brought on, the newspapers stated, by recent decisions of the Allied High Commission.*

The German people, however, saw the situation rather differently. The prevailing mood of the public was that relations between the Allies and the Bonn government, and the West German people as well, were better than formerly, or at any rate had remained unchanged. Only small minorities shared the pessimism of the press.

ALLIED-BONN RELATIONS SEEN AS IMPROVED OR UNCHANGED ...

Controverting press opinion, relations between the Federal Republic and the Allied High Commission were judged in mid-September, by only a ten per cent minority of the West German people as having recently worsened. The predominate view (38%) was that they had improved and 21% saw no change. As many as three out of ten apparently had given so little thought to the matter as to be unable to express an opinion.

"In general, do you find that relations between the West German Federal Government and the occupation powers have improved recently or have they grown worse?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Improved	38%	38%	40%	32%
Grown worse	10	12	8	8
Stayed the same	21	22	20	18
No opinion	<u>31</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>42</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

* See especially "Weekly Press Analysis" No. 291 (September 7, 1951) ISD, Office of Public Affairs. Sources of dissatisfaction according to the press "were: e.g. Allied decisions on coal exports, foreign assets, the State Security Law."

EVIDENCE OF WORSENERD ALLIED-BONN RELATIONS ...

The coal export issue is mentioned as a source of rising ill-feeling between the Federal government and the Allies by only four per cent of the public. For the rest, none of the evidence adduced by the minority seeing worsened Allied-Bonn relations bears on the issues especially emphasized in the press during September. Occupation costs, the Saar problem, the Schuman Plan, general economic difficulties, the defense issue are cited in evidence by small proportions. On none of these matters, it should be noted, did the Allies arrive at new or different decisions during the period under review.

"In general, do you find that relations between the West German Federal government and the occupation powers have improved recently or have they grown worse?"

IF "Grown Worse:" "In what has this been apparent? (Can you name some examples?)"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>The coal problem:</u> In the coal problem, that is just outrageous - we had to export so much, to freeze and buy at high cost again; the recklessness in carrying out the coal distribution in favor of the occupation powers; how can we let it pass that so much coal is exported from Germany and we have to freeze; coal board, Bluecher (German representative) has resigned; etc.	4%	5%	2%	2%
<u>Occupation costs:</u> They don't agree in different ways on the occupation costs and the like; occupation costs; etc.	2	2	2	2
<u>Saar District - Schuman Plan, German-French relations:</u> There are disagreements of opinion regarding the Saar district; in view of the Saar district and the Schuman Plan; etc.	1	1	1	2
<u>American-German relations:</u> The diplomatic difficulties in the Kemnitz case and in all matters pertaining to Americans, which they constantly act on without regard to German laws; again and again little incidents happen which show that the Americans aren't honest; etc.	*	-	1	-
<u>Economic problems:</u> Our debts are increasing; because everything is getting more expensive and the wages stay the same; we Germans can't very well have friendly feelings, after they have taken away so much land and property; etc.	3	3	3	3
<u>Remilitarization:</u> Because they want to impose an army on us without asking the people; etc.	1	2	1	-
<u>Others:</u> Dr. Schumacher rails against the occupation powers very much; etc.	1	1	2	1
<u>No opinion</u>	$\frac{1}{15}^{**}$	$\frac{1}{15}^{**}$	$\frac{*}{12}^{**}$	$\frac{-}{10}^{**}$

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE GERMAN PUBLIC AND ALLIES ALSO SEEN AS IMPROVED OR UNCHANGED.

Though the press comment was directly pointed at worsening relations at governmental levels, the consequent ill-effect of this state of affairs on broader public relations was also strongly emphasized in newspaper editorials and comments. To measure public attitudes in this regard, respondents in each of the three zones of occupation were asked their opinions on relations between the German people there and the nationals of the respective occupying powers.

Results to this line of inquiry are similar to those obtained in the query on Allied-Bonn relations in that only very small minorities consider that the relations between the German people and their respective occupiers have recently grown worse. In other respects, certain zonal differences occur. In the British Zone, more people see relations unchanged than improved, and in the French Zone, opinions divide between "no change" and "better." In the US Zone only, is it the preponderant view that relations between the German people and their occupiers have improved. Finally, as will be noted in the table below, the fact that so large a proportion are unable to express a judgment on the issue, certainly must in part be considered as a refutation of the press view that Allied-German relations are becoming increasingly a matter of concern to the German public.

"And how about the relations between the (Americans)(British)(French) in West Germany and the West German people: have the relations improved or grown worse recently?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Improved	26%	18%	37%	32%
Grown worse	6	4	8	5
Stayed the same	33	39	25	35
No opinion	<u>35</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>28</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

CONFIDENTIAL

EVIDENCE OF WORSENERD RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PUBLIC AND THE OCCUPIERS ...

The coal problem, whatever its importance to the West German public, does not readily come to mind as evidence of deteriorating German-Allied relations. It is mentioned by less than one person out of every hundred as a reason why the German people are not getting along as well as formerly with the occupiers. As will be noted in the table of replies below the examples given by the very small minority seeing worsened relations vary somewhat between occupation zones (though the number of cases involved is entirely too few for these differences to be reliably beyond chance.) Instances of bad behavior among the troops are mentioned in the US Zone, but scarcely, if at all, in the other zones; damage caused by maneuvers is brought up in the British Zone presumably owing to the fact that fall maneuvers were in progress there at the time of the survey. Requisitioning of houses - a continuous and scarcely new grievance - is mentioned in all zones. But here, too, there is little evidence in the examples given that the problems worrying the press have had much impact on the public.

"How about the relations between the (Americans)(British)(French) in West Germany and the West German people: have the relations improved or grown worse recently?"

IF "Grown worse:" "In what has this been apparent? (Can you name examples?)"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>Incidents caused by members of the occupation forces: The bad behavior of American troops; there are too many assaults and molestations; many gangsters among the Americans, again and again they attempt assaults; etc.</u>	2%	4%	4%	4%
<u>Damages caused by maneuvers and troops: Damages done to property during the maneuvers; they use too much land for the shooting ranges; etc.</u>	1	2	*	-
<u>Interference in governmental affairs: The Americans, for instance, exercised complete power in a small village in my neighbourhood - the Germans were not allowed to say anything, and also I don't like the way they act, generally; etc.</u>	1	1	*	1
<u>Requisitioning of houses: The Tommies need not leave so many houses empty when there is such a great shortage of housing space; the French still live in private houses which they don't return to us; etc.</u>	1	1	1	1
<u>Coal shortage: I am thinking of the customers' situation in respect to coal for the winter; etc.</u>	*	1	*	-
<u>Others: In regard to everything; you can feel how sympathies existing in 1945/46 are dwindling day by day; etc.</u>	2	1	3	3
<u>No opinion</u>	$\frac{*}{7\%**}$	$\frac{1}{6\%**}$	$\frac{1}{9\%**}$	$\frac{-}{5\%**}$

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer

CONFIDENTIAL

PREPONDERANCE JUDGES PRESENT RELATIONS AS "FAIR" TO "GOOD" ...

Not only is the preponderance of the West German public out of accord with press opinion regarding a recent deterioration in Allied-Bonn relations, but an even larger preponderance (68%) judges present relations between the two as from fair to good, with the weight of opinion toward the more positive judgment. Only five per cent deem the present situation to be bad, and 27% have no opinion.

"And would you consider the present relations between the West German Federal government and the occupation powers good or bad?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Good	39%	37%	40%	40%
Fair	29	32	29	21
Bad	5	7	4	5
No opinion	27	24	27	34
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

The direction of opinion is very similar regarding intra-zonal relations between the German people and the nationals of the three occupying powers. Again few judge that bad feelings between the two groups prevail, and the predominant sentiment is that the relations are good. It is to be noted that there is a greater tendency for US Zone residents to describe German-American relations as good than for those living in the British or French zones to apply this designation to their relations with their occupying powers.

"Would you consider the relations between the (Americans) (British) (French) in West Germany and the West German people good or bad?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Good	42%	39%	48%	37%
Fair	27	25	27	33
Bad	7	7	5	14
No opinion	24	29	20	16
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

CONFIDENTIAL

OPINION LEADERS MORE INCLINED TO SAY ALLIED-BONN RELATIONS IMPROVING ...

A notable finding in connection with attitudes toward recent trends in Allied-German relations is that the tendency to judge them as improving is most frequently apparent among those groups who are generally the more observant and critically minded especially regarding political affairs — and also more likely to be newspaper readers — the men, the better educated, the upper socio-economic levels, and those in the higher income brackets.

Thus, as to Allied-Bonn relations, these groups, as will be seen in the table below, not only have an opinion on the matter much more frequently than their counterparts but are more inclined than their opposites to have noted a recent betterment in relations between their government and the occupation powers. (Differences among these groups on whether relations have worsened or are unchanged are not reliably beyond chance.)

"In general, do you find that relations between the West German Federal government and the occupation powers have improved recently or have they grown worse?"

	Improved	Grown worse	Stayed the same	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	48%	13%	23%	16%...100%	385
Women	28	7	19	46	411
Education:					
Elementary school	37	9	20	34	669
Beyond elementary school	44	13	24	19	127
Socio-Economic Status:					
Lower	31	13	21	35	375
Middle and upper	44	8	20	28	421
Income (per month):					
0 - 29 DM	35	9	21	35	510
300 - 399 DM	41	12	22	25	152
400 DM and more	46	13	17	24	119
Age:					
Under 40 years	40	9	23	28	336
40 years and over	36	11	19	34	460
Party Preference:					
SPD	51	18	18	13	272
CDU/CSU	49	4	20	27	166
FRE/FRG/DFP/BDP	34	14	32	20	50
Other parties	34	11	33	22	73
No party	32	11	16	41	117
Don't know	18	4	18	60	173
Occupation:					
Professionals	27	12	34	27	26
Businessmen	50	9	16	25	94
White-collar workers	46	8	23	23	110
Skilled laborers	43	11	23	23	138
Semi-skilled laborers	32	13	15	40	114
Farmers	21	7	25	47	100
Not employed: pens., stud., retire., etc.	35	11	21	33	134
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, member	47	13	23	17	138
No	36	10	20	34	658
Religion:					
Catholics	43	8	17	32	352
Protestants	33	11	24	32	412
Origin:					
Natives	38	10	20	32	630
Expellees, Refugees	37	10	22	31	166
Veteran Status:					
Yes	50	12	25	13	232
No	43	15	21	21	150

C O N F I D E N T I A L

OPINION LEADERS ALSO SEE RELATIONS BETWEEN GERMAN PEOPLE AND OCCUPIERS
AS GETTING BETTER ...

A pattern similar to that on group attitudes toward Allied-Bonn relations emerges regarding relations of the West German public with the nationals of their respective occupying power. Again, it is the better informed and more critically minded, as well as those most likely to be regular newspaper readers, who find relations to be improving. No appreciable differences occur between them and their counterparts in regard to a deteriorated or unchanged relation.

"And how about the relations between the (Americans)(British)(French) in West Germany and the West German people: have the relations improved or grown worse recently?"

	Improved	Grown worse	Stayed the same	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	32%	8%	34%	26%...100%	385
Women	21	4	32	43	411
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	24	5	35	36	669
Beyond elementary school	42	9	24	25	127
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Lower	24	6	30	40	375
Middle and upper	29	6	35	30	421
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 29 DM	24	6	33	37	510
30 - 39 DM	30	7	38	25	152
40 DM and more	36	5	30	29	119
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	29	7	33	31	336
40 years and over	25	5	33	37	458
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	35	7	32	26	212
CDU/CSU	34	4	36	26	166
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	24	6	42	28	50
Other parties	19	12	43	26	73
No party	21	6	32	41	117
Don't know	17	4	26	53	173
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	23	8	27	42	26
Businessmen	29	6	35	30	94
White-collar workers	33	5	40	22	110
Skilled laborers	28	6	38	28	138
Semi-skilled laborers	27	8	25	40	114
Farmers	12	4	32	52	100
Not employed: pen., stud., retir., etc.	27	7	28	38	134
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes	37	6	35	22	138
No	24	6	32	38	658
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	32	6	27	35	352
Protestants	21	5	37	37	412
<u>Origin:</u>					
West Germans	27	6	34	33	630
Expellees, Refugees	23	5	31	41	166
<u>Veteran Status:</u>					
Yes	36	7	30	27	232
No	26	9	40	25	150

PRESENT ALLIED-BONN REL TIONS SEEN AS FAIR TO GOOD BY ALL POPULATION GROUPS

When it comes to assessing the present state of Allied-Bonn relations, the alternative for all population groups is largely between good and fair, with the weight of opinion generally leaning toward the more positive designation. Again, as will be noted in the following table, most inclined to prefer the designation of "good" over "fair" are the customarily better informed, higher status groups in the population: the better educated, upper socio-economic levels, the well-to-do, and the men.

"And would you consider the present relations between the West German Federal government and the occupation powers good or bad?"

	Good	Fair	Bad	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	46%	35%	7%	12%...100%	385
Women	31	24	4	41	411
Education:					
Elementary school	37	28	5	30	669
Beyond elementary school	46	38	6	10	127
Socio-Economic Status:					
Lower	36	26	6	32	375
Middle and upper	41	33	5	21	421
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	36	28	4	32	510
300 - 399 DM	42	32	7	19	152
400 DM and more	46	35	9	10	119
Age:					
Under 40 years	39	33	4	24	336
40 years and over	38	26	6	30	458
Party Preference:					
SPD	44	35	8	13	212
CDU/CSU	49	28	2	21	166
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	42	42	4	12	50
Other parties	44	32	8	16	73
No party	33	26	6	35	117
Don't know	22	23	5	50	173
Occupation:					
Professionals	20	50	10	20	26
Businessmen	33	40	7	20	94
White-collar workers	45	39	1	15	110
Skilled laborers	42	31	7	20	138
Semi-skilled laborers	40	21	6	33	114
Farmers	30	27	5	38	100
Not employed: pen., stud., retir., etc.	39	18	8	35	134
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, member	45	38	6	11	138
No	37	28	5	30	658
Religion:					
Catholics	40	28	6	26	352
Protestants	35	32	5	28	412
Origin:					
Natives	38	29	6	27	630
Expellees, Refugees	38	30	4	28	166
Veteran Status:					
Yes	48	36	7	9	232
No	43	33	7	17	150

PRESENT RELATIONS BETWEEN GERMAN PEOPLE AND ALLIED NATIONALS ALSO GENERALLY
SEEN AS FAIRLY GOOD ...

Continuing much the same pattern as heretofore, proportionately more of the better educated, the higher income and upper social status groups than of their opposites assert that present relations are good between the German people and Allied nationals in their respective zones. (Men, it will be noted, do not differ markedly from women in their assessment.) Probably a reason why these groups are the more inclined to consider relations good is that they are the people who more often have personal acquaintances among the Allies, since persons who did know any Allied personnel are more likely than others to consider German-Allied relations good.

"Would you consider the relations between the (Americans)(British)
(French) in West Germany and the West German people good or bad?"

	Good	Fair	Bad	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	44%	30%	9%	17%...100%	385
Women	39	23	6	32	411
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	40	26	7	27	669
Beyond elementary school	51	29	7	13	127
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Lower	37	27	8	28	375
Middle and upper	46	26	7	21	421
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	39	27	6	28	510
300 - 399 DM	43	30	11	16	152
400 DM and more	55	23	8	14	119
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	43	29	9	19	336
40 years and over	41	25	6	28	458
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	45	32	8	15	212
CDU/CSU	53	25	3	19	166
FDP/LDF/DVP/BDV	46	32	8	14	50
Other parties	39	19	19	23	73
No party	32	33	7	28	117
Don't know	34	20	6	40	173
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	36	32	12	20	26
Businessmen	47	28	7	18	94
White-collar workers	49	33	4	14	110
Skilled laborers	49	25	8	18	138
Semi-skilled laborers	41	23	9	27	114
Farmers	29	21	8	42	100
Not employed: pens., stud., retir., etc.	37	28	9	26	134
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member	44	30	12	14	138
No	42	26	6	26	658
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	45	25	7	23	352
Protestants	38	29	7	26	412
<u>Origin</u>					
Natives	42	27	7	24	630
Expellees, Refugees	40	27	7	26	166
<u>Veteran Status:</u>					
Yes	48	26	10	16	232
No	39	37	7	17	150
<u>Personally acquainted with</u>					
Allied nationals	50	31	8	11	263
<u>Not personally acquainted</u>					
with any	38	25	7	30	533

II. THE OCCUPATION

DESPITE GOOD RELATIONS, ALLIES THOUGHT TO HAVE TOO MUCH INFLUENCE ON BONN ...

A strain on occupation ties is apparent, however, notwithstanding the fact that the West Germans generally tend to consider Allied-German relations to be fairly good. The predominant opinion is that the Western Allies exert too much influence over the Federal government and a not unconsiderable fraction go so far as to assert that the Bonn Republic is nothing more than a Western puppet.*

"Do you believe that the Western powers exert too much influence on the decisions of the West German government, or do you think that the West German government has enough independence?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Too much influence	53%	55%	53%	43%
Enough independence	23	23	23	21
No opinion	<u>24</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>36</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

"It has been said that the West German government is only a puppet government and can only do what the Western powers prescribe. Do you share this opinion or not?" (Asked of those who answered "Too much influence" to previous question.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Yes, is puppet government	21%	24%	17%	20%
No, is not a puppet government	30	29	32	23
No opinion	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>-</u>
	53%	55%	53%	43%

This charge of too much Allied influence on the Federal Republic does not of course controvert the previously reported opinions that Allied-German relations are fairly good. It merely points up the difficult paradox of an occupation to both parties. What the respondents are saying in effect is that as occupations go, the West German one is satisfactory enough, but - the less occupation, the better.

- * There has been no appreciable change in attitudes toward the issue of Allied influence on the Federal government which also tends to refute the press view of worsened relations.

"BILL OF PARTICULARS" EMPHASIZES GENERALIZED DISCONTENT ...

That the charge of "too much influence" on the part of the Allies vis-a-vis the Federal government derives from discontent with an occupied status per se rather than from any current instances of alleged domination or friction is clearly apparent in the examples people give to illustrate the charge. Almost half (or 24% of the total public) make the blanket statement that the Allies have the decisive say in everything, and the next largest group (14% of the total public) generalizes in a similar fashion concerning the economy. Ranking third in order of frequency is the Ruhr coal issue as an example of undue Allied influence. The fact that this problem is cited more frequently in this connection than as an example of worsened Allied-German relations suggests that the Allied decision regarding coal has mainly aroused that part of the public already sensitive to an occupied status.

"Do you believe that the Western powers exert too much influence on the decisions of the West German government, or do you think that the West German government has enough independence?"

IF "Too much influence;" "In what respect do the Western powers exert too much influence on the Federal government?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

In almost all respects: They command, the government has to obey; the government always has to ask the occupation powers for permission; inasmuch as they order what the German government has to do; they prescribe everything, it makes no difference what it costs, but they decide everything; in the entire policy, we have only to do what they want; we aren't allowed at all to do what we want, the occupying power prescribes that, we are only a colony; our government is not allowed to do anything the Americans don't want, the occupation of a country resembles a dictatorship over a foreign people; in respect to their tutoring the Germans regarding legislation; our government is not free in all really important decisions; etc.

24%	21%	29%	19%
-----	-----	-----	-----

In respect to the economy: By their directions on economic matters; with regard to their interfering in economic problems; export and import; the entire German economy is enslaved by them, our government is much too weak; our capital is dead - the government is dependent on capital and cannot otherwise maintain its position; they limit trade - by their order our money became worthless, this increased our pauper status; etc.

14	16	13	12
----	----	----	----

In respect to Ruhr control board and coal export: See - Ruhr coal board; they demand that we export a great amount of cheap coal; we are the defeated, they still have the supervision - example: coal, scrap-metal; not even with our coal can we do what we want to; compulsory export of German coal at bargain rates; with the Ruhr statute, if the government were independent we would have more coal and wouldn't need to buy it from the Americans; they demand more than the Federal government is able to fulfill, e.g. the measure taken about the coal; etc.

10	11	10	9
----	----	----	---

(Cont'd on next page)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>Remilitarisation (re-armament, participation in the Atlantic Pact):</u> We are supposed to do our share for the defense of Europe - we don't want that; they demand that our government should supply German men as cannon-fodder; in remilitarisation matters; the Western Powers want us to participate in the Atlantic Pact; etc.	6%	6%	5%	6%
<u>The Kemnitz case:</u> For instance, Kemnitz, a case in which the Allies prohibited the prosecution of their own agent; etc.	1	1	1	2
<u>Others:</u> Now you see how stupid you are - it's like in school; in the democratizing of Germany; because Berlin is still divided into so many sectors; by the large occupation and its costs; with the Federal Chancellor they have the best handyman - he approves of every demand from the Allies without asking the people; they incite against the Russians and we have to take part; etc.	5	6	3	4
<u>No opinion</u>	$\frac{4}{64\%}$	$\frac{5}{66\%}$	$\frac{4}{65\%}$	$\frac{2}{52\%}$

... The sensitiveness which is probably inherent in an occupied status is even more sharply revealed in the results of a query on American intentions regarding the future independence of West Germany. Proportionately almost as many state that the US wishes to prolong West Germany dependence as take the contrary and positive position, that the Americans desire independence for the West Germans as soon as possible.

"Do you believe that the Americans really want West Germany to become an independent nation as soon as possible, or do you think that the Americans want to keep West Germany in a dependent position as long as possible?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Want West Germany to become independent	41%	43%	39%	35%
Want to keep West Germany in a dependent position	36	36	39	28
No opinion	$\frac{23}{100\%}$	$\frac{21}{100\%}$	$\frac{22}{100\%}$	$\frac{37}{100\%}$

OPINION LEADING GROUPS MORE CRITICAL OF ALLIED INFLUENCE ...

Bearing out the foregoing interpretation that Allied-German relations are one thing, and the condition of being occupied is another are the attitudes of the higher status groups in the matter of the degree of independence of the Federal government. It will be recalled that members of these groups (that is, the better educated, upper socio-economic and income levels, and the men) invariably take a more favorable position than others regarding the state of Allied-German relations. But as will be seen in the table below, they also much more frequently than their counterparts believe that the occupying powers exert too much influence over the Federal Republic.

Also to be noted is that sympathizers with the Social Democrat party, trade union members, and war veterans tend also to be largely in the critical group on this issue, though they take a relatively more sanguine view than their opposites of present Allied-German relations.

"Do you believe that the Western powers exert too much influence on the decisions of the West German government, or do you think that the West German government has enough independence?"

	Too much influence	Enough independence	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	66%	23%	11%...100%	385
Women	40	22	38	411
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	48	24	28	669
Beyond elementary school	76	18	6	127
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Lower	43	24	33	375
Middle and upper	61	22	17	421
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	46	25	29	510
300 - 399 DM	63	19	18	152
400 DM and more	70	20	10	119
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	55	25	20	336
40 years and over	51	21	28	460
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	63	24	13	212
CDU/CSU	47	33	20	166
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	68	18	14	50
Other parties	66	20	14	73
No party	59	16	25	117
Don't know	34	18	48	173
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	81	19	-	26
Businessman	62	21	17	94
White-collar workers	59	23	18	110
Skilled laborers	64	20	16	138
Semi-skilled laborers	44	26	30	114
Farmers	39	24	37	100
Not employed: pens., stud., retir., etc.	45	26	29	134
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	70	20	10	138
No	49	23	28	658
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	48	27	25	352
Protestants	55	20	25	412
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	55	22	23	630
Expellees, Refugees	45	24	31	166
<u>Veteran Status:</u>				
Yes	72	20	8	232
No	58	27	15	150

The customarily better informed and critically minded segments of the population are, however, less ready than others to say that the West's influence over the Bonn government is so extensive as to make Bonn an Allied puppet. Whereas those among the women, the lesser educated, and the lower social status groups who have opinions on the subject, have a tendency to say the Federal government is an Allied puppet as frequently as to say it is not, the men, the better educated, and the higher social groups deny the charge of complete subservience by an average two to one preponderance. Social Democrat followers, it will be seen, are more inclined than CDU affiliates to accuse Bonn of puppetry.

"It has been said that the West Germany government is only a puppet government and can only do what the Western powers prescribe. Do you share this opinion or not?" (Asked of those who mentioned "Too much influence" to previous question.)

	Yes, is puppet government	No, is not a puppet government	Not asked	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	25%	39%	2%	34%...100%	385
Women	17	20	3	60	411
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	21	26	2	51	669
Beyond elementary school	21	51	3	25	127
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Lower	22	19	2	57	375
Middle and upper	20	38	3	39	421
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	20	24	2	54	510
300 - 399 DM	23	38	2	37	152
400 DM and more	24	42	4	30	119
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	25	29	1	45	336
40 years and over	18	30	3	49	458
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	26	35	1	38	212
CDU/CSU	9	37	1	53	166
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	20	46	2	32	50
Other parties	44	20	2	34	73
No party	25	30	4	41	117
Don't know	14	15	5	66	173
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	8	73	-	19	26
Businessmen	20	37	4	39	94
White-collar workers	19	37	3	41	110
Skilled laborers	33	29	2	36	138
Semi-skilled laborers	21	22	1	56	114
Farmer	16	19	4	61	100
Not employed; pens., stud., retir., etc.	18	26	2	54	134
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member	28	40	2	30	138
No	20	27	2	51	658
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	18	28	2	52	352
Protestants	21	31	3	45	412
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	22	30	3	45	630
Expellees, Refugees	17	27	1	55	166
<u>Veteran Status:</u>					
Yes	29	42	-	29	232
No	20	33	5	42	150

C O N F I D E N T I A L

PREPONDERANCE OF BETTER INFORMED SAY THE US WISHES GERMANY TO BE INDEPENDENT ...

On the matter of US intentions regarding West German independence, among the better educated segments of the population as many say the US wishes to delay as to speed up German independence. Among other higher status groups, - men, the upper socio-economic levels and the more affluent - the preponderant opinion is that the Americans wish to see West Germany independent as soon as possible.

"Do you believe that the Americans really want West Germany to become an independent nation as soon as possible, or do you think that the Americans want to keep West Germany in a dependent position as long as possible?"

	Want West Germany to become independent	Want to keep West Germany in a dependent position	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	50%	39%	11%...100%	385
Women	32	33	35	411
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	40	34	26	669
Beyond elementary school	43	47	10	127
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Lower	36	34	30	375
Middle and upper	45	37	18	421
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	38	35	27	510
300 - 399 DM	43	38	17	152
400 DM and more	4	42	9	119
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	37	42	21	336
40 years and over	43	32	25	460
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	52	38	10	212
CDU/CSU	54	30	16	166
FDP, LDP, NPD, BSW	44	42	14	50
Other parties	34	45	17	73
No party	32	41	27	117
Don't know	24	31	45	173
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	54	42	4	26
Businessmen	42	43	16	94
White-collar workers	40	38	13	110
Skilled laborers	45	37	17	138
Semi-skilled laborers	40	34	26	114
Farmers	38	28	34	100
Not employed: pens., stud., retir., etc.	31	35	34	134
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	48	44	8	138
No	39	35	26	658
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	39	36	25	352
Protestants	41	36	23	412
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	40	37	23	630
Expellees, Refugees	42	34	24	166
<u>Veteran Status:</u>				
Yes	52	41	7	232
No	48	35	17	150

IN RETROSPECT, THE AMERICAN ACTIONS SEEN AS BENEFICIAL TO WEST GERMANY ...

The issue of Allied-German relations is further illuminated by the West German people's appraisal of the consequences of the actions of the three Allies since 1945 on Germany's welfare.

Their over-all verdict regarding American accomplishments in Germany since the war's end is predominantly favorable. Over half (55%) say that the American program has been to the advantage of West Germany. In contrast, only 15% assert it has been disadvantageous and 11% claim it has neither benefited nor harmed the country. The remainder (19%) have no opinion. The trend of opinion is similar in all three zones on this issue, though in the French Zone relatively more people are unable to make a judgment.

"And taking everything into consideration has what America has done in West Germany since the end of the war been to the advantage or disadvantage of West Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
To the advantage	55%	61%	55%	36%
To the disadvantage	15	13	16	19
Neither, nor	11	8	14	11
No opinion	19	18	15	34
	100%	100%	100%	100%

In order to place the appraisal of US efforts in a broader perspective, respondents were also queried on the British and French accomplishments. The judgments are considerably less favorable than regarding the Americans, as the following tables reveal.

"Taking everything into consideration, would you say that what England has done in West Germany since the end of the war, has been to the advantage or disadvantage of West Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
To the advantage	13%	17%	10%	4%
To the disadvantage	44	47	42	43
Neither, nor	13	17	8	7
No opinion	30	19	40	46
	100%	100%	100%	100%

"And how about France - taking everything into consideration has what France has done in West Germany since the end of the war been to the advantage or disadvantage of West Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
To the advantage	4%	4%	3%	4%
To the disadvantage	60	58	60	65
Neither, nor	7	8	5	9
No opinion	29	30	32	22
	100%	100%	100%	100%

The large preponderance give as examples of the advantages West Germany has received from the United States' economic aid generally (48%) and more specifically the Marshall Plan (26%). Less frequently cited are American fostering and support of democratic forms and ways, social welfare and human aid, defense against the Russians, the air-lift, currency reform, etc.

"In what respect have the Americans been of advantage to West Germany? (Can you name some examples?)"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>Economic aid generally:</u> They helped me to get on my feet by economic aid; they supplied us with corn and cotton; by supporting us in the building trades and in the free market economy; building barracks now brings work; through many things the Americans have sent over; they helped us with food, they donated money, helped the farmers; they revived the economy and raised the living standard considerably compared to the East Zone; through the CARE parcels the USA also helped the little man; by sending gifts; they had factories built; delivery of raw materials to industry by export commissions; by investments; they helped the living standard - we would have starved if the Americans had not helped; they sent food in the first years of want - that was all; etc.	48%	48%	50%	39%
<u>The Marshall Plan:</u> By economic support - Marshall Plan; they kept us afloat by the ERP, if they had not supplied so much we would be on very short rations; indirectly by the Marshall Plan, we were helped so that we would agree with them; etc.	26	30	22	24
<u>In political matters:</u> They demonstrated what democracy means; they advocate a reasonable European cooperation and further this goal; they abolished state and zonal boundaries, gave us a free hand in legislation - advocated end of dismantling; wore of good influence on the German administration, and abolished obsolete conceptions in jurisdiction; also that there is peace and order in our country; etc.	6	6	6	2
<u>Kindness and social aid:</u> During the hard post-war years many German orphans were adopted by Americans; they treated the soldiers well when they were PWs; humanity towards refugees and natives; they helped the children by feeding them; they took us refugees in to the West Zone; by permission to emigrate; etc.	5	6	6	1
<u>Protection against the Russians, the East, and Communism:</u> They protect us against the Russians and against our own people; so far they have kept Communism away and thereby strengthened us to a certain degree; kept away the Russians; etc.	3	2	5	2
<u>The air-lift:</u> The air-lift in Berlin; by the air-lift in Berlin which we had to pay ourselves, however; it rescued Berlin by its air-lift - that was a great achievement; aid for Berlin; etc.	2	2	1	1
<u>Currency reform:</u> Stable currency reform; they gave us a good currency again; etc.	1	-	2	2
<u>Others:</u> That they among all the Western powers seized the initiative and that they succeeded with their moderate demands, etc.	2	1	2	1
<u>Not any advantages:</u>	3	4	3	4
<u>No opinion:</u>	22 116%	19 116%	23 120%	35 111%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer

CONFIDENTIAL

CERTAIN US ECONOMIC POLICIES SEEM AS DISADVANTAGEOUS TO GERMANY ...

Whereas economic aid leads the list of benefits to Germany from the United States, the economic angle is also stressed when West Germans are asked to name a bill of damages against the Americans. Three in ten name such matters as dismantling, patents, coal export quotas, and about one in ten bring up occupation costs. (In the US Zone, 20% mention the latter point.) Other mentions of ways in which the US is said to have hurt West Germany cover a number of topics — again, requisitioning, immoral conduct; conciliation of Russia in early post-war days, denazification, interference in politics, etc.

It is noteworthy, however, that as many as thirteen per cent go out of their way to state that the Americans have done nothing which is to West Germany's disadvantage, and a third (33%) have no opinion.

"In what respect have the Americans been of disadvantage to West Germany? (Can you name some examples?)"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

Economic policies: They impose too many taxes on us; the American is too much of a businessman, he will present you a bill for everything and you get into debt; they sent us so many goods in order to get us into debt and in their power, because we are unable to pay it back; they take our goods and coal away, because of the dismantling; in some cases they tried to cut out competition; they fixed too high export quotas for coal for us; they demanded too high reparation costs, they took all our patents away; etc.

30%	29%	31%	27%
-----	-----	-----	-----

Occupation costs — they live at our expense: Occupation costs are rising; too many "Amis" are over here who cost us too much; we have to pay for everything; the Americans live at too great expense here; etc.

12	8	20	7
----	---	----	---

Requisitioning houses: Because of requisitioning apartments; by requisitioning houses, — some houses are left empty for months and the Germans are not allowed to move in; etc.

4	3	8	-
---	---	---	---

Denazification, demilitarization: At first everybody underwent denazification and thus the capable men were removed; denazification — the measures they took were too hard; they considered all of us Nazis and sentenced men who were capable; they disbanded the Wehrmacht completely in 1945; because of the idiotic sentences they passed in Nuremberg, therefore many of us just cannot consider the Americans acting "democratic;" etc.

3	2	3	4
---	---	---	---

Political policies: Their attempt to introduce the American system here, tutelage; again and again they put the brakes on our government; etc.

3	2	3	4
---	---	---	---

Immoral conduct and thefts: I would not know, they have so many affairs with German girls whom they desert later on leaving them behind with their babies; that they left illegitimate children behind (negro babies); they spoiled our girls, they are often drunk and molest people; they have stolen so much; they stole much when they first arrived; etc.

3	1	5	4
---	---	---	---

Their attitude toward the East before and after the war: They were not aware enough of the Eastern danger when there was still time, that is to our disadvantage now; the pact with Russia that led to German defeat; because of having made too many concessions to the Russians in respect to the border lines; they ceded Saxony to the Russians in 1945; they supported the Poles and such rabble too strongly; merely the pact with the Russians regarding

(Cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

Their attitude toward the East ..(cont'd)
 the expulsion of Germans from Hungary and Poland; they bear part of the responsibility for the expulsion which burden has to be carried mainly by West Germany now; Roosevelt signing the Yalta Pact; etc.

WEST British US French
 GERMANY Zone Zone Zone

2% 3% 2% 3%

Re-armament policy: They urge on armament which is bound to annoy the Russians; they want universal conscription in Germany; because of their high demands, they, not Russia, are the driving force behind re-armament; they try to involve Germany in the Atlantic Pact - neutrality would have been better for us; etc.

1 * 2 1

Others: By their mere presence; because of the great damages caused by the maneuvers, the inhabitants of whole villages were moved to other places; their "victor" mentality was too marked, Morgenthau Plan, etc.; not more than any other conqueror; because of the Korean war which raised the prices here; they sent their Negroes here - that was a shame; etc.

6 5 7 5

They have not been to our disadvantage:
 Done no harm; no reason; none; the Americans have not been to the disadvantage of West Germany; etc.

13 17 10 9

No opinion

33 35 26 44
 110%** 105%** 117%** 108%**

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer

CONFIDENTIAL

UPPER STATUS GROUPS MORE INCLINED TO NOTE ADVANTAGES FROM US OCCUPATION ...

Bearing out the previous findings on opinions of various population groups on Allied-German relations it is among members of those groups customarily better informed and more critically minded - the better educated, higher income, upper socio-economic groups, and the men - that greatest support for the beneficial results of American efforts on West Germany's behalf occur.

	To the advantage	To the disadvantage	Neither/ Nor	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	62%	16%	13%	9%...100%	385
Women	49	14	9	28	411
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	53	15	11	21	669
Beyond elementary school	70	11	10	9	127
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Lower	49	17	10	24	375
Middle and upper	62	13	11	14	421
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	52	14	11	23	510
300 - 399 DM	64	19	7	10	152
400 DM and more	66	15	10	9	119
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	54	15	12	19	336
40 years and over	57	14	10	19	458
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	66	16	10	8	212
CDU/CSU	70	7	9	14	166
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	66	10	12	12	50
Other parties	49	31	10	10	73
No party	45	20	14	21	117
Don't know	39	11	11	39	173
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	58	8	23	11	26
Businessmen	58	18	12	12	94
White-collar workers	68	5	12	15	110
Skilled laborers	65	12	11	12	138
Semi-skilled lab.	48	17	11	24	114
Farmers	40	19	9	32	100
Not employed: pens., stud., retir., etc.	57	16	9	18	134
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member	65	17	10	8	138
No	54	14	11	21	658
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	57	14	10	19	352
Protestants	55	14	11	20	412
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	56	15	10	19	630
Expellees, Refugees	53	14	13	20	166
<u>Veteran Status:</u>					
Yes	64	15	14	7	232
No	59	17	11	13	150

CONFIDENTIAL

In contradistinction to their opinions on the American case, the higher status groups more frequently than their counterparts consider that in the case of Great Britain and France the harm they have done to West Germany since 1945 outweighs the good. The two tables giving group break-downs follow on this and the next page.

"Taking everything into consideration, would you say that what England has done in West Germany since the end of the war, has been to the advantage or disadvantage of West Germany?"

	To the advan- tage	To the dis- advantage	Neither/ nor	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	14%	58%	13%	15%...100%	385
Women	12	32	12	44	411
Education:					
Elementary school	13	41	13	33	669
Beyond elementary school	13	61	12	14	127
Socio-Economic Status:					
Lower	14	40	12	34	375
Middle and upper	12	49	13	26	421
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	11	40	13	36	510
300 - 399 DM	16	54	11	19	152
400 DM and more	17	53	13	17	119
Age:					
Under 40 years	15	44	13	28	336
40 years and over	11	45	12	32	458
Party Preference:					
SPD	15	53	17	15	212
CDU/CSU	21	39	11	29	166
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	10	66	6	18	50
Other parties	8	60	14	18	73
No party	8	43	13	36	117
Don't know	9	29	10	52	173
Occupation:					
Professionals	19	50	8	23	26
, Businessmen	12	54	13	21	94
White-collar workers	12	46	12	30	110
Skilled laborers	15	45	16	24	138
Semi-skilled laborers	16	44	9	31	114
Farmers	10	31	11	48	100
Not employed: pens., stud., retir., etc.	12	45	17	26	134
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, member	17	55	14	14	138
No	12	42	13	33	658
Religion:					
Catholics	14	41	12	33	352
Protestants	12	47	13	28	412
Origin:					
Natives	13	44	13	30	630
Expellees, Refugees	14	47	11	28	166
Veteran Status:					
Yes	12	64	10	14	232
No	15	48	18	19	150

CONFIDENTIAL

"And how about France - taking everything into consideration has what France has done in West Germany since the end of the war been to the advantage or disadvantage of West Germany?"

	To the ad- vantage	To the dis- advantage	Neither/ nor	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	5%	73%	7%	15%...100%	385
Women	3	47	7	43	411
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	3	57	7	33	669
Beyond elementary school	5	76	5	14	127
<u>Socio-economic Status:</u>					
Lower	4	53	6	37	375
Middle and upper	4	66	7	23	421
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	3	54	7	36	510
300 - 399 DM	6	67	8	19	152
400 DM and more	5	77	5	13	119
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	3	63	6	28	336
40 years and over	5	57	7	31	458
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	6	72	6	16	212
CDU/CSU	4	59	8	29	166
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	4	68	14	14	50
Other parties	4	70	10	16	73
No party	4	61	6	29	117
Don't know	2	39	3	56	173
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	-	77	12	11	26
Businessmen	3	67	11	19	94
White-collar workers	4	62	4	30	110
Skilled laborers	4	65	8	23	138
Semi-skilled laborers	6	59	5	30	114
Farmers	3	53	4	40	100
Not employed: pens., stud., retir., etc.	4	52	7	37	134
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member	3	77	6	14	138
No	4	56	7	33	658
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	5	58	6	31	352
Protestants	3	60	7	30	412
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	4	60	6	30	630
Expellees, Refugees	3	58	8	31	166
<u>Veteran Status:</u>					
Yes	3	81	4	12	232
No	6	62	11	21	150

III. THE US HIGH COMMISSIONER

Since the US High Commissioner as the chief representative and spokesman of the United States in Germany may be said to personify the American occupation, the public's awareness of his name and the impression he has made were also measured.

MR McCLOY WELL KNOWN TO WEST GERMAN PUBLIC ...

Over half (55%) of the West German public are able to give the name of the US High Commissioner when queried on the point. As could be expected, US Zone residents can designate their High Commissioner somewhat more frequently than can British or French Zone people but zonal differences are not on the whole very appreciable.

"And what is the name of the American High Commissioner for West Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Correct	55%	53%	60%	47%
Others (Who?)	3	4	3	2
Don't know	42	43	37	51
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

By way of comparison, only 22 per cent can give the name of the British High Commissioner and 25 per cent that of the French High Commissioner. It is to be noted that Mr. McCloy's name is familiar to more residents of both the British and French zones than is their respective High Commissioner.

"Can you tell me the name of the British High Commissioner for West Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Correct	22%	26%	16%	18%
Others (Who?)	11	16	6	2
Don't know	67	58	78	80
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"And the French High Commissioner?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Correct	25%	26%	20%	37%
Others (Who?)	2	2	2	2
Don't know	73	72	78	61
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

... The US High Commissioner, Mr. McCloy, receives what may be called a decisive vote of confidence among those West Germans who know of his position. Two-thirds of them assert that his administration of German affairs has benefited West Germany.

"Considering everything you have heard, what impression do you have of the American High Commissioner, John McCloy: has what he has done up to now in West Germany, been more to the advantage or disadvantage of West Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
More to the advantage	36%	35%	42%	20%
More to the disadvantage	7	8	7	6
Neither/nor	10	11	9	5
No opinion	47	46	42	62
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

CONFIDENTIAL

FAVORABLE COMMENTS ...

Efforts to improve relations between the German and American people, promotion of Germany's economy, regard for justice and fair dealing, are among the main examples cited by the preponderance thinking Mr. McCloy's incumbency as High Commissioner has been advantageous to West Germany.

"Considering everything you have heard, what impression do you have of the American High Commissioner, John McCloy; has what he has done up to now in West Germany, been more to the advantage or disadvantage of West Germany?"

IF "More to the advantage;" "In what respect was it more to the advantage of West Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>Friendly and aware of problems:</u> He was personally concerned in establishing good relations with West Germany; he is our advocate - when any order concerning West Germany was given, he went to America and pleaded the German cause; his attitude toward the Germans was friendlier than that of others; if he could decide many things would look better; he knew how to normalize relations between the occupation and the Germans; that we no longer are considered enemies; he listens to reason and doesn't say no to German suggestions right from the start - he is a moderate man and not stubborn; he represents the power that among all occupation powers has the best intentions towards Germany; he co-operates with German authorities that could not be said of the previous commissioners; his natural and human ways are appealing and have created good relations in West Germany; in my opinion he has in no instance shown himself anti-German; etc.	12%	11%	13%	9%
<u>He is just, and always has good intentions:</u> Things have improved and since he is the one who had the say we owe this to him; we all know his aims are good, he has done much good; he is very correct and straightforward; several times he has spoken for us, he has taken trouble to get minor advantages for us; the actions of this man are just; he has done much for us; in my opinion he tries to find ways and means to improve our situation; because he wanted to help us; etc.	7	7	10	3
<u>Construction and the economy:</u> He promoted our foreign trade; he helped to boost our economy; supported the Marshall Plan; he was concerned with reconstruction rather than permitting much dismantling; our situation has not grown worse, instead he helped to improve it; since he has been here you can see the improvements; he took care that West Germany got on her feet; labor and trade are again in full swing; mainly in view of economies; etc.	7	8	8	4

(Cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

Specific instances of Mr. McCloy's aid: You have often heard of the so-called "McCloy-donations," these must be to the advantage of West Germany; he has often proved his readiness to help, particularly by donations to hospitals and schools; he de-requisitioned some more houses; he has fixed many things - that the people in Hammelburg were not chased away; as a banking specialist he certainly took care that the DM remained stable; etc.

4%	3%	7%	1%
----	----	----	----

He defends equal rights: He wants to establish sovereignty and the independence of Germany slowly but surely; because he restored some of our rights; he'd like to make Germany independent; the legal position (because of him) of the German Federal government is now better than it was before; he has a very friendly attitude towards Germany; he defends the equal rights for Germany; etc.

3	3	5	1
---	---	---	---

He protects us against the East (Communism, etc) - endeavours to prevent a war: He tries at least to do the right things for us Germans, to aid us against the East; he wants to protect us against Communism; if he were not here with his troops we would have the Russians in our country; he delays the war, keeps protracting it; etc.

1	1	*	1
---	---	---	---

Other reasons: I think he is a jovial gangster, he stops both the other gentlemen, he is a political counterpoint; I think that America tries to win Germany, because Germany and the German people will be needed in the case of Russia; he tries to treat us as mildly as possible when it does not effect the American interests; he keeps a tight hand over his two colleagues and thus helps us; etc.

2	2	3	1
---	---	---	---

No opinion

$\frac{3}{39\%}$ **	$\frac{4}{39\%}$ **	$\frac{3}{449\%}$ **	$\frac{1}{21\%}$ **
---------------------	---------------------	----------------------	---------------------

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

UNFAVORABLE COMMENTS ...

Various criticisms are made against the US High Commissioner by the very small minority which thinks he has done more harm than good to West Germany.

"Considering everything you have heard, what impression do you have of the American High Commissioner, John McCloy; has what he has done up to now in West Germany, been more to the advantage or disadvantage of West Germany?"

IF "More to the disadvantage:" "In what respect was it more to the disadvantage of West Germany?"

Complaints about special matters:

It's his fault that we don't get coal; he shouldn't have conceded to the complete loss of German property abroad; because Mr. McCloy too has deterred a peace treaty successfully up to now; there are several matters in which he hasn't acted in his allegedly German-friendly way; the coal problem; for all their help they made up by taking patents and coal from Germany; etc.

WEST
GERMANY British
Zone US
Zone French
Zone

3% 3% 3% 2%

He must further American interests: As an American he can only keep in view the interests of the USA; I can't say it precisely - as an American, it seems, he will certainly have more regard for his country than for Germany; because first of all they care for themselves, and only for themselves - he has a political mission and only carries that through; he can't act to our advantage, otherwise he would lose his job; etc.

2 2 4 2

He furthers remilitarization (militarism, etc.): Because he furthers and supports militarism; he urges the establishment of an army, we would then only be an outpost for the Western powers, since we are not a free country, this way they want to save their people; etc.

1 1 * -

Others: I don't know, but everyone is exploiting Germany as much as he can; this man is supposed to be related to Adenauer and these two men make the entire policy here; through his presence alone; McCloy brought Adenauer into power; a foreign power must always be to our disadvantage; McCloy built up a dictatorship; anyhow; one should think that he gives all directions concerning the soldiers - but how do they make havoc in some towns; etc.

$\frac{1}{7\%}$ $\frac{2}{8\%}$ $\frac{*}{7\%}$ $\frac{2}{6\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON MR. McCLOY'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN GERMANY ...

As throughout this study, it is the higher status groups who more frequently than their counterparts take a positive position regarding the Allies vis-a-vis West Germany. In this case, more of them than of their opposites assert that Mr. McCloy has worked to West Germany's advantage.

"Considering everything you have heard, what impression do you have of the American High Commissioner, John McCloy, has what he has done up to now in West Germany, been more to the advantage or disadvantage of West Germany?"

	More to the advantage	More to the disadvantage	Neither/ nor	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	49%	11%	12%	28%...100%	385
Women	24	3	7	66	411
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	34	7	9	50	669
Beyond elementary school	46	10	11	33	127
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Lower	30	7	10	53	375
Middle and upper	42	8	9	41	421
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	31	6	10	53	510
300 - 399 DM	46	6	12	36	152
400 DM and more	47	17	4	32	119
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	37	7	9	47	336
40 years and over	35	7	10	48	458
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	45	8	10	37	212
CDU/CSU	41	4	9	46	166
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	56	10	8	26	50
Other parties	36	20	15	29	73
No party	30	8	10	52	117
Don't know	21	2	6	71	173
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	42	11	11	36	26
Businessmen	43	15	7	35	94
White-collar workers	33	8	15	39	110
Skilled laborers	46	4	10	40	138
Semi-skilled lab	39	4	8	49	114
Farmers	20	6	13	61	100
Not employed: pens., stud., retir., etc.	31	8	7	54	134
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, member	47	10	13	30	138
No	33	7	9	51	658
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	37	7	7	49	352
Protestants	35	7	10	48	412
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	36	8	10	46	630
Expellees, Refugees	38	5	9	48	166
<u>Voteran Status:</u>					
Yes	52	11	12	25	232
No	44	11	12	33	150

IV. THE DURATION OF THE OCCUPATION

To explore attitudes toward Allied-German relations further, several questions bearing directly on the occupation were asked. To these queries, too, the direction of opinions tended to be favorable, particularly so in the US Zone of occupation.

WESTERN ALLIES REMAIN IN WEST GERMANY FOR SECURITY REASONS ...

As to why the Western powers are still in Germany, the preponderant view is that they are staying for security reasons. In all, 51% ascribe such positive motives to the West, with the bulk of them specifically mentioning protection against threats from the Communist East. Residents of the US Zone hold this positive view more frequently than the British or French Zone population.

But a large minority (34% in all) largely ignores the East-West situation and expresses critical or negative opinions on the reasons for the continued presence of the Western Allies. They say the Allies fear Germany, or wish to exploit her, or like the soft life they live here.

A third group (17% in all) give reasons that may either be considered critical, non-committal or not pertinent. Among them the largest proportion falls into the latter designation, consisting mostly of reasons for the occupation (Germany lost the war) rather than reasons why the Allies are still in Germany.

"Why, do you think, the Western powers are still in West Germany today?"

WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
-----------------	-----------------	------------	----------------

Positive Reasons:

Because of the danger from the East: They want to prevent a war, otherwise the Russians would invade us; to counter the menace from the East, but for that purpose they don't need family members; to have a stronghold against Russia in case of an attack from the East; to prevent another Korea; because the conflict between East and West will come some day; to protect us from Russia; so Communism doesn't come here and that there won't be a war between brothers; the political situation is just not clear here, the Russians would occupy us; to secure domination against the East - they want to occupy possibly a large territory (area) as not to let the Russians proceed farther; they watch that Communism doesn't come up; to prevent us from going Communist; etc.

44%	39%	52%	39%
-----	-----	-----	-----

For protection or for security (general): Otherwise we wouldn't have any protection; for security of Germany; it's necessary for protection; as to protect us; etc.

5	6	4	7
---	---	---	---

To maintain peace and order within Germany: To prevent political riots; for public order; that there is peace in the country; because of the danger within Germany; there has to be somebody who takes care for order - it's impossible without any authorities, since our government hasn't much power yet; etc.

3	4	3	3
---	---	---	---

They want to help us economically: They want to help us to get on our feet again; as to save Germany from a complete collapse, otherwise the Russians and French would exploit us; etc.

*	*	*	*
---	---	---	---

(Cont'd on next page)

Negative Reasons:

To control West Germany because they fear it:
 Fear of the German efficiency keeps the occupying powers here; they don't want us on our feet again so quickly - if there were no tension with the Russians we would be much worse off; to prevent Germany from becoming a military power again; to make a revival of German militarism impossible; to control our economy and not to let Germany get on her feet too quickly; they don't quite trust us Germans; etc.

16%	17%	15%	11%
-----	-----	-----	-----

To exploit West Germany economically: Because the Americans would not have a market outlet anymore; to make cash money, see to it that the Germans aren't living too well; they want to exploit the industries and the Ruhr district; only to exploit us further; so they can collect their reparations; they put in their gunpowder (money) and now they demand something for it; etc.

11	12	9	14
----	----	---	----

Because they like it here and they are well off:
 They feel comfortable here - in England they aren't so well off; they all like it here very much, many are considerably better off than at home; because they are here better off than at home; etc.

7	5	7	10
---	---	---	----

Because we can't drive them out: Because we won't have the power to drive them out; etc.

*	-	*	-
---	---	---	---

Neutral (or Indeterminate) Reasons:

Because Germany lost the war, because we don't yet have a peace treaty: Because Germany lost the war, as a punishment for us; it is the right of the victors to stay as long as they consider it necessary; they won the war, they can do whatever they want to and they certainly exploit it; it has been a fact after any war that it has been occupied by the conquerors; they defeated us and they want to keep us defeated; because we have no peace treaty yet; we are supposed to atone for our guilt; etc.

10	7	13	10
----	---	----	----

For political and military advantages: To have an international spring-board either to prevent or to start war, thus purely military aspects; for strategic reasons; as a safeguard for their political power; in order to be here in case anything starts; etc.

6	7	5	8
---	---	---	---

Because they need West Germany if there is a war:
 Perhaps they need us in another war; foremost they want to make a reliable ally of us, I mean the main reason is that the Americans want to make us their friends and allies; etc.

1	1	1	-
---	---	---	---

Others: I believe they want to leave, but they don't know the way they could do it best; for reasons of home and foreign policy; they probably know why; the CDU can only maintain its position because of the occupation powers, they intend to make a colonial state of our country, slowly but surely; etc.

3	3	2	1
---	---	---	---

No opinion

14	16	11	15
120%	117%	122%	118%

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Some respondents gave more than one answer

PREPONDERANCE SAYS ALLIES SHOULD STAY ...

Nor are the preponderance of West Germans apparently in accord with suggestions emanating from the East or from various neutralist or neo-nationalist sources in West Germany that the Western powers should leave. More than half (59%) say they personally prefer the Allies to stay in West Germany in view of the current political situation. Residents of the US Zone are most inclined to this opinion (67%) and French Zone people, least (45%). About three in ten would prefer the Allies to leave - again, fewest in the US Zone make this recommendation.

"Considering the present political situation, what would you prefer - that the Western powers leave West Germany, or that they stay here?" *

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Leave	27%	31%	19%	35%
Stay here	59	55	67	45
No opinion	<u>14</u> 100%	<u>14</u> 100%	<u>14</u> 100%	<u>20</u> 100%

- * A query somewhat similar in content has been asked previously - but it was posed in the framework of a Russian proposal for four power withdrawal and the decision respondents were asked to make was whether or not it would be "wise" of the Allies to accept the Russian offer. When last asked of the urban West German quota sample, 73% maintained it would be unwise to accept the proposal. It cannot be said that the present findings indicate a downward trend, since both the reference to Russia and the "wisdom" of acceptance tend to make for more cautious replies than is to be expected on the present form of inquiry.

OPINION LEADERS WANT WEST TO STAY IN GERMANY ...

02293

Strongest preference for the continued presence of the Western Allies in West Germany is found among the better informed, higher status groups. For example, three quarters of the better educated, two thirds of the non, as many of the upper and middle class and almost three quarters of the higher income groups personally would like the Allies to stay on in view of current political conditions. Among the affiliates of the dominant political parties, SPD followers tend more frequently than CDU or FDP sympathizers to recommend the departure of the Allies, though with them as with all other groups the preponderance says the Allies should stay on.

"Considering the present political situation, what would you like better - that the Western powers leave West Germany, or that they stay here?"

	Leave	Stay here	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	27%	65%	8%...100%	385
Women	27	52	21	411
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	28	55	17	669
Beyond elementary school	18	75	7	127
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Lower	32	50	18	375
Middle and upper	23	66	11	421
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
0 - 299 DM	27	55	18	510
300 - 399 DM	28	62	10	152
400 DM and more	25	72	3	119
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 40 years	29	60	11	336
40 years and over	25	57	18	458
<u>Party Preferences:</u>				
SPD	30	63	7	212
CDU/CSU	16	74	10	166
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	18	74	8	50
Other parties	43	53	4	73
No party	33	53	14	117
Don't know	23	41	36	173
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	15	81	4	26
Businessmen	30	60	10	94
White-collar workers	21	69	10	110
Skilled laborers	33	58	9	138
Semi-skilled laborers	33	51	16	114
Farmers	25	48	27	100
Not employed: pens., stud., retir., etc.	25	58	17	134
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, member	33	58	9	138
No	25	58	17	658
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	26	59	15	352
Protestants	27	58	15	412
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	28	57	15	630
Expellees, Refugees	22	63	15	166
<u>Veteran Status:</u>				
Yes	28	66	6	232
No	26	63	11	150

V. THE ALLIED OCCUPATION TROOPS

PREPONDERANCE THINKS TROOPS WELL BEHAVED ...

The troops are probably the representatives of the Allies most frequently seen and encountered by the West German public. For this reason their behavior as measured by the people can in large part be considered a measure of the occupation as a whole. Using the behavior of German troops in similar circumstances as a yardstick, the prevailing opinion is that the troops in the various zones of occupation behave just about the way German troops would do.

On the assumption that the West German people would expect their soldiers to behave in an orderly, disciplined way (and this is the common view among the German people) in an occupation such as the present one of West Germany, the Allied occupation again appears to be predominantly favorably estimated. *

It will be noted, however, that here the Americans do not come off as well as the British. A quarter of the US Zone residents (and an equal proportion in the French Zone) claim that the American (French) troops behave worse than German soldiers would have done in similar circumstances.

"Do you think that the (American) (British) (French) soldiers in West Germany generally behave the same way, better or worse as German soldiers would behave under similar circumstances?" *

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
The same way	59%	61%	57%	52%
Better	4	4	3	2
Worse	19	12	26	26
No opinion	18	23	14	20
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

* In each zone of occupation, respondents were asked this question regarding the troops of the respective occupying power.

OPINIONS OF POPULATION GROUPS ON TROOP BEHAVIOR ...

Group differences on the behavior of the Allied troops are not particularly marked, though the better educated, the higher socio-economic levels and those with larger incomes rather more frequently than their counterparts say the Allied soldiers conduct themselves about the way German soldiers would do. Though this is also the preponderant opinion among army veterans, they more frequently than non-veterans claim Allied troops behave worse than the Germans would in the same circumstances. In this regard, the difference in opinions among natives and expellees is noteworthy ... the latter group is least inclined of all to say the Allied soldiers conduct themselves badly. The interpretation could be ventured that because of their experience with the Russian occupation, they have a different understanding of what constitutes bad troop behavior.

"Do you think that the (American) (British) (French) soldiers in West Germany generally behave the same way, better or worse as German soldiers would behave under similar circumstances?"

	The same way	Better	Worse	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	56%	5%	23%	16%...100%	385
Women	61	2	15	22	411
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	57	3	19	21	669
Beyond elementary school	67	4	16	13	127
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Lower	56	2	19	23	375
Middle and upper	62	4	18	16	421
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
0 - 299 DM	56	3	18	23	510
300 - 399 DM	64	7	19	10	152
400 DM and more	65	4	20	11	119
<u>Age:</u>					
Under 40 years	59	3	21	17	336
40 years and over	59	4	17	20	460
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	64	4	21	11	212
CDU/CSU	66	6	15	13	166
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	54	8	24	14	50
Other parties	62	3	19	16	73
No party	46	3	27	24	117
Don't know	56	-	12	32	173
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	54	-	35	11	26
Businessmen	58	4	30	8	94
White-collar workers	65	2	16	17	110
Skilled laborers	65	6	15	14	138
Semi-skilled laborers	55	2	25	18	114
Farmers	55	3	13	29	100
Not employed: pens., stud., retir., etc.	58	4	14	24	134
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes	61	7	24	8	130
No	58	3	17	22	650
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	58	5	19	18	352
Protestants	59	2	18	21	412
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	58	3	21	18	630
Expellees, Refugees	62	5	9	24	166
<u>Veteran Status:</u>					
Yes	55	5	26	14	232
No	58	4	19	19	130

THE HICOG SURVEYS

Volume IV

Reports 104 - 128

Volume IV

104. Germans View the "Voice of America": III. Program Preferences and Evaluations of VOA Listeners (17 October 1951)	2296
105. Germans View the "Voice of America": IV. The Question of Effectiveness (17 October 1951)	2379
106. Some Evaluations of the Bonn Government: With Current Thinking on the Issue of New Federal Elections (22 October 1951)	2409
107. A Balance Sheet on Western Information Efforts: Extent of Some Major East-West Issues (30 October 1951)	2429
108. Attitudes of East German Youth: III. Reactions to Eastern versus Western Propaganda (31 October 1951)	2490
108S. A Note on the Representativeness of German Listener Letters to VOA (7 November 1951)	2531
109. Attitudes of East German Youth: IV. Radio Evaluations and Recommendations of East Zone Youth (19 November 1951)	2535
110. Are East Zone Youth Spreading the Message of West Berlin? A Study of the Effects of the Berlin Youth Festival on the East Zone Population (26 November 1951)	2568
111. West German Thinking on a Federation of Europe (28 November 1951)	2581
112. West German Views on Veterans' Organizations and Their Role in Political Life (30 November 1951)	2635
113. German Opinions on Jewish Restitution and Some Associated Issues (5 December 1951)	2648
114. The July 20 Plot on Hitler's Life: Does It Afford a Rallying Point for Rightist Groups? (5 December 1951)	2676
115. Some Further Soundings of West and East German Opinions on Unity Issues (19 December 1951)	2685
116. Are East Zone Youth Resisting Totalitarian Education? (19 December 1951)	2707
117. Current German Views on a National versus a European Army (21 December 1951)	2725
118. The Present Status of "Neo-Nazism" in West Germany (10 January 1952)	2743
119. The German Appraisal of the Allied Forces in West Germany: With Recommendations for Improved Citizen-Soldier Relations (28 January 1952)	2782
120. German Evaluations of NATO: With Other Opinions on European Defense Issues (29 January 1952)	2859
121. Anxieties and Aspirations of East Zone Youth: A Study in Certain Morale Factors as Reported during the Communist Youth Rally (29 January 1952)	2894
122. Progress toward Political Equality and Economic Well-Being (31 January 1952)	2912
123. West German Reactions to the West's Disarmament Proposals at the Paris Meeting of the United Nations (11 February 1952)	2924

124.	Repercussions in West Germany of the French Ambassadorial Appointment to the Saar (26 February 1952)	2933
125.	The Current State of West Berlin Morale (29 February 1952)	2951
126.	East Zone Youth's Appraisal of Western Political Pamphlets: With Sidelights on Penetration of Printed Matter into East Germany (29 February 1952)	3016
127.	An Appraisal of the Impact of the Berlin Cultural Festival (10 March 1952)	3032
128.	Current Trends in West Berlin Opinions on Issues Related to the East-West Struggle (29 March 1952)	3044

GERMANS VIEW THE VOICE OF AMERICA

III, Program Preferences And Evaluations Of VOA Listeners

Classification cancelled
by authority of Leo J. Crespi
PUB/RAS. October 17, 1951

DEC 18 1951

CONFIDENTIAL

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

C O N F I D E N T I A L

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

SUMMARY

I. GENERAL EVALUATION OF THE VOA PROGRAM

Overall Results and Types Of Evaluation Chosen ...
Evaluations As Related To Frequency Of Listening To VOA ...

II. GROUP COMPARISONS IN GENERAL VOA EVALUATIONS

Demographic Comparisons ...
Some Psychological Comparisons ...

III. COMPARATIVE PREFERENCES FOR VOA VERSUS SOME OTHER POLITICAL PROGRAMS

VCA Versus The "Echo Of The Day" ...
VOA Versus Germany In RIAS ...
VCA Versus BBC ...
VOA Versus "The Truth About America" ...

IV. VOA FEATURE EVALUATIONS

General Tastes In Radio Fare ...
General Program Interests And Frequency Of Listening To VOA ...
Overall Findings For VOA Feature Evaluations ...
Reasons For Interest And Disinterest In VOA Features ...
Feature Evaluations And Frequency Of Listening To VOA ...
Group Comparisons In VOA Feature Evaluations ...

V. DOES VOA HAVE A REAL UNDERSTANDING OF GERMANY?

Overall Returns ...
Reasons Advanced For Negative Judgments ...
Judgments As Related To Frequency Of VOA Listening ...
Group Differences In Judgments ...

VI. WHAT IS AMERICA'S OBJECTIVE WITH VOA

Overall Results ...
Kinds Of Purposes Cited ...

VII. WHY SOME VOA AUDITORS CEASE TO LISTEN

- 2 -

C O N F I D E N T I A L

INTRODUCTION

The present report by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, is the third of a series emanating from a detailed inquiry into the status of the Voice of America program in West Germany and West Berlin. The preceding papers presented findings on the extent and characteristics of the VOA audience, and some technical factors in VOA listenership. The fourth and concluding paper is concerned with indices of VOA effectiveness in West Germany and West Berlin.

The VOA survey marked the initial use of a full-scale probability sample of 3,000 cases in West Germany and 600 cases in West Berlin, obtained between March 27th and May 16th, 1951. To eliminate the possibility of any pro-American sponsorship bias in the reactions to the Voice of America, the interviewing was conducted under the auspices of the Institute of Social Research, Darmstadt, Germany. This is a HICOG-financed institute but among the great bulk of respondents, if known at all, it would be assumed to be a German research agency. This use of the Darmstadt auspices was a transitional expedient until RAS could conclude the negotiations then in process to set up the now established contractual relationship with a newly formed German survey agency "Deutsches Institut fuer Volksumfragen (DIVO).

It should be kept in mind that the present study presents German reactions to VOA as it was prior to the change in broadcast time and program length on July 1st, 1951. Most of the information obtained, however, is applicable to the VOA program in its present form. But whether particular items of information remain currently pertinent or not, they are all important in coming to a reasoned judgment on what has thus far been the general impact of VOA in Germany.

SUMMARY

I. GENERAL EVALUATION OF THE VOA PROGRAM

Prior to obtaining specific evaluations of the various VOA features, some indication of general evaluations of VOA was sought. It was thought desirable in this connection to employ the technique of a list of adjectives among which the respondents could choose favorable or unfavorable designations. Such a procedure has the advantage of providing the opportunity for some flexibility in response without running into the problem of articulateness that would arise with a completely open question.

OVERALL RESULTS AND TYPES OF EVALUATIONS CHOSEN ...

The largest proportion of VOA listeners in West Germany -- approximately half (52%) -- selected favorable adjectives only in describing their overall impression of the VOA program. About one fifth (18%) cited unfavorable designations only, one tenth (9%) both favorable and unfavorable adjectives, and the remainder -- approximately a fifth (21%) -- felt that none of the adjectives offered for choice applied, or gave no opinion.

In Berlin, over four out of five of the VOA listeners (84%) chose only among favorable adjectives in characterizing their general evaluation of the program; only one out of twenty (4%) characterized it in solely unfavorable terms.

When specific adjectives are examined, among the group choosing only favorable ones, it is seen that both in West Germany and West Berlin the VOA program is more often considered "useful" or "appealing" than "impartial" or "convincing." The implication is, of course, that even among those with a favorable general orientation there is some resistance to the points of view expressed.

- b -

C O N F I D E N T I A L

Among the VOA listeners who evaluate the program solely in unfavorable terms, few characterize it as "poor." The tendency is rather to speak of it as "dull," "overbearing," or "prejudiced."

EVALUATIONS AS RELATED TO FREQUENCY OF LISTENING TO VOA ...

In line with expectation it is found that favorable evaluations attain their maximum among respondents who report most frequent listening to VOA. Possibly more notable in the comparisons is that even among the less frequent VOA listeners unfavorable or partly unfavorable evaluations do not exceed three in ten in West Germany, and two in ten in West Berlin.

II. GROUP COMPARISONS IN GENERAL VOA EVALUATIONS

To illuminate further the general evaluations of VOA prevalent in West Germany and West Berlin the overall figures were broken down, first, for the usual demographic comparison among sex, education, income and similar groupings and, second, for a series of more psychological comparisons. These latter embraced a scale of political interest and activity and a series of three measures of basic attitudinal orientations -- attitude towards democracy, attitude towards America, and readiness to learn from America. The questions upon which these psychological comparisons are based and their mode of scoring is presented in Appendix I to the paper.

DEMOGRAPHIC COMPARISONS ...

In comparing various demographic groupings in the population, possibly the most interesting difference in general VOA evaluations that came to light arose in connection with level of education. It is evident that both in West Germany and West Berlin, favorable general evaluations of VOA are least frequent among college-educated listeners, with their maximum among listeners with secondary education. It is further to be noted that in West Berlin, particularly, the dropping off in favorable characterizations of the VOA program among college-educated respondents is centered more among the adjectives -- "impartial," "convincing," and "useful" -- than on the less politically relevant adjective -- "appealing."

These findings may go far toward explaining something which has long been somewhat of a puzzle in VOA evaluation. The judgments about the Voice of America program which have been informally obtained from various individual Germans who have expressed their opinions to VOA officials and State Department representatives generally, have tended in the main to be less favorable than those emanating from survey studies. The Reactions Analysis Staff has suspected that the attitudes of these selected contacts were individually valid but unrepresentative, and hence an improper basis for generalization. The informants have generally been Germans of the highest educational level who are rather clearly revealed in the present study to possess opinions about VOA which differ appreciably from those characterizing the bulk of the population.

SOME PSYCHOLOGICAL COMPARISONS ...

The most significant revelation from the psychological comparisons derives from a consideration of VOA evaluations as related to degree of political interest and activity. The finding on a measure of opinion leadership in the political area is that both in West Germany and West Berlin, approval of the VOA program rises sharply to a maximum, not among the rank and file, but among those most interested and active in the political arena. This disclosure is of real importance since it carries the suggestion that VOA is having its most favorable reception among the population elements most important to its mission.

- 3 -

C O N F I D E N T I A L

The present finding -- when contrasted with the prior educational group comparison -- underscores the danger of identifying extent of education with extent of opinion leadership in the political area, and of accepting the judgments of college-level respondents as a basis for inferring the status of VOA reception among the more politically significant elements in the population.

Among the basic orientation questions that were utilized as a basis of psychological comparisons in the present study, the measure of attitude towards America proved to be the most illuminating. The largest proportion of unfavorable evaluations obtained anywhere in the West German group breakdowns arose among the VOA listeners who this index revealed to have a basically negative attitude towards the USA. This finding is important for it suggests that unfavorable evaluations of the VOA program possibly spring in considerable part from a basic anti-American orientation rather than from any particular program considerations. To the extent that this is the case, unfavorable evaluations must be expected of VOA regardless of how attractive or appealing the program might be made -- except of course insofar as the negative elements may be won over to a more favorable basic orientation.

III. COMPARATIVE PREFERENCES FOR VOA VERSUS SOME OTHER POLITICAL PROGRAMS

The prior studies in the present series have established that insofar as not limited by technical considerations, VOA has a fairly wide audience in West Germany; and to the extent that respondents' own estimates can be relied upon, considerable frequency of listening. The preceding material in the present study has indicated further that general evaluations of VOA by its audience are preponderantly favorable. What has thus far not been established is the extent to which VOA may or may not be preferred to other programs. It is one thing to be listened to and liked, it is quite another to be preferred over other programs.

Unfortunately it is always difficult to settle questions of preference because not everybody has heard all the programs one would like to compare. The result in the present connection is that people who have heard VOA and some other program are not completely representative of the full listenership of either. However, despite such limitations, it is instructive to make certain comparisons of VOA preference versus preference for a somewhat comparable German program, a similar American program, BBC's German output, and the East Zone anti-American propaganda program -- "The Truth about America."

VOA VERSUS THE "ECHO OF THE DAY" ...

Readers of the first report will remember that size of audience figures for VOA and the major comparable all-German program -- Echo of the Day -- were almost identical. Among those who listen to both, however, the preference figures distinctly are not. Almost six times as many in West Germany prefer Echo of the Day to Voice of America as express a contrary preference. Only in Berlin do they compete on somewhat even terms with VOA, if anything, getting the nod.

These West German returns are adverse but should certainly occasion no surprise. One can hope to make VOA widely listened to in Germany, perhaps even widely appreciated. But one can hardly by whatever program prestidigitation hope to make an overt American political production preferred above the outstanding domestic current event program.

VOA VERSUS GERMANY IN RIAS ...

Among respondents who have heard both VOA and Germany in RIAS -- a somewhat comparable HIICG constructed show -- preference of one over the other comes out approximately evenly. The slight lead of VOA in West Germany is not beyond chance with the limited number of cases involved.

-- d --

CONFIDENTIAL

C O N F I D E N T I A L

VOA VERSUS BBC ...

Since comparatively few German radio-listeners report listening to the German output of BBC, only a handful of cases of respondents who listen to both programs are available for consideration of comparative preference. The direction and magnitude of the differences, however, are such that a conclusion of some reliability despite the paucity of cases, is that BBC's German program is not preferred to the Voice of America.

VOA VERSUS "THE TRUTH ABOUT AMERICA" ...

Finally, another handful of cases of respondents who have listened to both VOA and its East Zone counterpart suggest that in relative preference at least, VOA has little difficulty in winning out over competition from the East.

IV. VOA FEATURE EVALUATIONS

GENERAL TASTES IN RADIO FARE ...

The general program content preferences obtaining in West Germany and West Berlin have already been presented in a separate report. For two reasons the presentation has been based upon radio listeners generally rather than upon VOA listeners alone. First, all West German and West Berlin radio listeners are the target of VOA program planners, so information about the radio program tastes of this group is the important data for programming guidance, rather than information on radio listeners already in the fold. Second, the program content interests of VOA listeners are probably better obtained in terms of their evaluations of specific VOA program features.

However, some information which has not yet been disposed of and which comes best at this juncture, is the relationship between frequency of listening to VOA and (a) interest in radio fare in general, (b) interest in various kinds of radio fare in particular.

GENERAL PROGRAM INTERESTS AND FREQUENCY OF LISTENING TO VOA ...

The average returns on the various types of program content presented for judgment clearly indicate that one of the reasons why some West Germans and West Berliners are less frequent VOA listeners is simply because they are less attracted by radio fare generally. In West Germany, 41 per cent of the "very frequent" VOA listeners indicate that they would not want to miss any kind of radio fare on an average. Thirty per cent average little interest on the 15 types of programs listed. Among "seldom" VOA listeners, in contrast, these figures are reversed to 23 and 41 per cent respectively.

When the individual returns on the various kinds of program content are broken against frequency of listening to the Voice of America, it can be discerned that both in West Germany and West Berlin there is a very similar ranking of preferences among the various VOA listener frequency groups. Such a finding has a significant practical implication for the VOA program planner. It indicates that as far as maximizing frequency of listening to VOA is concerned, one apparently does not have the problem of juggling differential appeals in choosing types of program content. Generally speaking, what is relatively appealing to frequent VOA listeners is also relatively appealing to less frequent listeners; and what is relatively unappealing to frequent listeners is also relatively unappealing to less frequent members of the VOA audience. The absolute levels of appeal are higher for the various program types among more frequent VOA listeners than among less frequent, but relative appeals appear to be substantially the same.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

CONFIDENTIAL

OVERALL FINDINGS FOR VOA FEATURE EVALUATIONS ...

Both in West Germany and West Berlin, "We answer letters from Listeners" and "News" stand out as the most interesting VOA program features among auditors who listen once a week or more. Also standing relatively high in the interest rankings are the Americana elements in the VOA program, i.e. "This is America" and "In the Radio Car through America."

Among the more outrightly political features, news ranked high, commentaries medium, and press reviews low in the expressions of audience interest.

Lowest interest among the VOA programs were recorded for "Broadway Melodies" and "Eva and Michael," a young couple conversational feature. The latter seems to be a case of limited impact with 77 per cent of the West German once a week or more VOA listeners indicating no familiarity with the feature.

Broadway Melodies, on the other hand, seems to represent quite a different problem. The difficulty here is not absence of impression, but too much impact in a negative direction. If the intentions of this feature is to develop appreciation for American musical culture, then perhaps Broadway Melodies should be pushed despite the resistance it encounters. But if it is meant to be part of the coating on the propaganda pill, the present findings clearly raise a serious question of effectiveness.

REASONS FOR INTEREST AND DISINTEREST IN VOA FEATURES ...

For each of the VOA features respondents who stated they were interested in the program and those who indicated that it did not interest them at all, were asked the reasons for their reactions. The detailed returns for West Germany and West Berlin are presented in Appendix II to the paper. Among the more significant indications are the following:

1. It is evident from the supporting reasons given that the feature which along with news came out on top of the interest rankings -- "We answer Letters from Listeners" -- embodies quite a diversity of effective appeals for the German audience. Some say they like it because of its instructiveness, others because of its variety. Another group values the insight into the kinds of questions which occupy German citizens. Another is impressed by the thoroughness of the information received, and finally another appreciable proportion sees the program as making a valuable contribution to the interchange of opinions between peoples.

Other than simple expressions of dislike, the major objection of the small group who expressed disinterest in the program centered on the alleged nonsensicalness and eccentricity of most of the queries.

2. As might be anticipated, the largest proportion of reasons advanced for interest in the VOA news features revolved around general expressions of interest in politics and world affairs. But another theme that appeared with considerable frequency is that one obtains the latest news over VOA. This finding is of some importance in view of the doubts that have occasionally been expressed that VOA -- operating from such a distance -- would be in a position to present news which would impress German auditors as being as fresh as their German sources.

Among the handful who expressed disinterest in the VOA news programs, the arguments were that one could get the news as well or better from German sources, and that the presentation was biased.

- i -

CONFIDENTIAL

C O N F I D E N T I A L

3. Central to the various reasons brought forward for interest in the VOA features, "This is America" and "In the Radio Car through America", seems to be a widespread interest in American life - the country, the people, and the customs. Such a finding is of considerable significance since many have wondered whether Americana over VOA would simply strike hard-pressed Germans as irrelevant to their problems or excite negative reactions in the contrasts with their less enviable situations. The suggestion from the present findings is rather to the contrary, that the bulk of the more frequent VOA listeners at least, derive stimulation and enjoyment from sidelights on the American scene.
4. Finally, to highlight a negative finding, it appears that the major reason for the considerable disinterest in "Broadway Melodies" seems to be simply that many German auditors do not like American popular music - particularly, it would seem, jazz. Their musical conditionings have been such that they find it noisy, disturbing, or just plain unpleasant.

FEATURE EVALUATIONS AND FREQUENCY OF LISTENING TO VOA ...

When extent of interest in various VOA features is broken down against frequency of listening, the expected result emerges that, on the average, a larger proportion of more frequent listeners to VOA (four to seven times a week) express interest in the features than do the less frequent listeners (one to three times a week).

The average extent of unfamiliarity with the specific VOA program features appears to be high, embracing about a third among very frequent listeners in West Germany and West Berlin, and about half among frequent listeners. The results for occasional and seldom listeners, who were not included in the present line of inquiry, can only darken the picture. Though recognition of feature titles which are not per se of much importance is not entirely a good test, the results do tend to raise some question as to how attentively VOA auditors listen to the program.

Definite statements of no interest at all constitute a comparatively limited reaction to the various VOA features - with the exception of "Broadway Melodies." In this case there is a considerable expression of no interest both among the more frequent and the less frequent listeners. This feature is the only instance, too, where disinterest was distinctly greater among more frequent VOA auditors than among less frequent.

GROUP COMPARISONS IN VOA FEATURE EVALUATIONS ...

Tabulations of breakdown comparisons among various population segments, and for a number of attitudinal indices, are incorporated as Appendix III to the paper. Interested readers are referred to that source. Without going into a complete discussion, a few general comments are worth making at this juncture on each of the VOA features examined.

1. "We answer Letters from Listeners" appears to be particularly effective in eliciting listener interest among the more difficult-to-reach population elements - women, less educated, and less well off. This low level appeal seems to be offset somewhat, however, - particularly in Berlin (though the number of cases is only enough to be crudely suggestive) - by negative reactions among higher educated and higher income respondents, as well as those who score highest in political interest and activity. It is probably these respondents who held in the preceding section that the questions utilized on the program were often non-sensical or eccentric. It is possible that somewhat more care in selecting the queries might eliminate the objections of the critics without impairing the present extent of mass appeal.

- 5 -

C O N F I D E N T I A L

CONFIDENTIAL

Among the more marked trends in other group comparisons on the question and answer feature, is an appreciable falling-off in interest among auditors over 55 years of age. There seems to be no particular reason to assume that this age group is any less intrinsically interested in the question and answer format, so the suspicion arises that content is at fault. If older German citizens are judged to be an important target element, the suggestion emerges to reconsider the selection of question items toward the end of injecting more material of interest to elderly listeners.

2. Interest in news is greatest -- as is to be expected -- among the more alert levels of the German population -- men, the better educated, the better situated, and persons who score highest in political interest and activity. But, all in all, interest in news is substantial among all population groupings, and apparently is not very appreciably less among respondents who appear to be negative to America in general background attitude as compared to those who are neutral or positive. This latter finding carries the suggestion that the VOA news features are interpreted more as information than as American propaganda.
3. Interest in the Americana features over VOA -- "This is America" and "In the Radio Car through America" appears to greatly outweigh expression of disinterest among all population groupings. This trend is particularly evident in West Berlin. Thus it would seem that among no particular population elements is there any appreciable tendency to react to American vignettes as odious comparisons or irrelevant. The favorable trend in the data is particularly significant in relationship to the breakdown of general attitudes toward the USA. Those who measured out as negative on this scale, evinced some but not any considerably lesser degree of interest in the Americana features than did respondents with neutral or more positive attitudes. The suggestion emanates that the material is selected and presented so that it has some interest even to Germans who are not in general favorably disposed toward America.

However, people who took the position on a background question that there is little or nothing to be learned from America showed a considerably smaller proportion of interested reactions to "This is America" and "In the Radio Car through America" than did respondents with contrary views.

4. In line with expectation, maximum interest in VOA commentaries occurred among the highest educated listeners and those who scored high in political interest and activity. The locus of minimum interest, however, is a matter of some concern as it falls among youth (19 to 24 years), and in West Germany is not reliably higher for the next youngest age group (24 to 34 years). These facts suggest rather strongly that whatever can be done to slant the commentaries toward the problems of younger elements in the German population would not be amiss.
5. The agricultural programs over VOA elicit widespread interest among the most direct target group -- the farmers. The offsetting losses appear to be considerable, however, as in many groups interest drops to rather low levels. Next to "Broadway Melodies", the agricultural program garners the most expression of outright disinterest -- especially in West Berlin. The pattern of reactions carry the suggestion that agricultural programs are somewhat too specialized in their appeal to warrant separate featuring, and would be more advantageously treated by finding spots in more generalized frameworks.
6. One of the clearer indications from the present study of VOA feature evaluations is that press reviews have very limited impact. In no population group do they come near achieving the amount of interest recorded for commentaries, which raises a definite question whether the time devoted to direct political material isn't better spent on commentaries when interpretations have to be underscored, and on news whenever American themes can be cast in such a framework.

- h -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

7. "Broadway Melodies" - the feature highest in overall disinterest - is most unappealing to better educated respondents and to the oldest age group. It excites maximum interest among youth. But even in this group where greatest interest would be expected, the proportion in West Germany who state that they are familiar with the feature and have a real interest in it are but three in ten (42 per cent in West Berlin). Such comparatively meager results, even among the most auspicious target element seriously call into question, of course, the advisability of such program material.
8. Ignorance was the predominant response among all population elements to the "Eva and Michael" program. And among those who indicated familiarity, positive expressions of interest are rather uniformly limited. Even when a recent partial change in title is allowed for, the extent of non-recognition is large enough to suggest that an informal give-and-take feature of this type may be a little too thin and insubstantial for German tastes.

V. DOES VOA HAVE A REAL UNDERSTANDING OF GERMANY?

OVERALL RETURNS ...

An additional slant on VOA evaluation that was deemed to be of value to the present study was whether or not VOA listeners felt that the program showed a "real understanding" for German conditions. It is possible that since the Voice of America emanates from such a far distant source, many would feel that it would not be in a good position to comment on German problems. The overall returns indicate that almost two-thirds of the more regular auditors of VOA to whom the question was put (hear VOA once a week or more), felt that the Voice of America has a real understanding of Germany. In West Berlin, 84 per cent expressed such a view.

REASONS ADVANCED FOR NEGATIVE JUDGMENTS ...

The instances and reasons brought forward by the minority who felt that VOA has no real understanding of Germany, revolved principally around allegations to the effect that VOA cannot imagine conditions in Germany and lacks intuition and understanding of the German mentality. Small proportions took the opportunity to bring up less relevant charges that VOA is too overbearing, or that it is superficial and incorrect.

JUDGMENTS AS RELATED TO FREQUENCY OF VOA LISTENING ...

In accord with expectation, judgments to the effect that VOA exhibits real understanding of Germany are more widespread among more frequent than less frequent auditors of VOA.

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN JUDGMENTS ...

Opinions as to whether VOA does or does not show real understanding of Germany show some variations among population groups. But among all elements the preponderant judgment is favorable. As would be expected, unfavorable opinions are appreciable among respondents that background questions reveal to be generally negative toward America. But even in this group favorable judgments of VOA understanding prevail.

VI. WHAT IS AMERICA'S OBJECTIVE WITH VOA

OVERALL RESULTS ...

To further block in the picture of German reactions to VOA, all respondents who had either heard it or heard of it were questioned as to America's objectives in broadcasting the program. The intent of the inquiry was not only to bring to light the kinds of objectives the respondents would advance, but also to observe the extent and kind of spontaneous evaluations - particularly adverse - that might be evident in the remarks. It was judged that an open inquiry about aim and purposes of the VOA program might provide a more indirect and hence possibly more revealing way of measuring antagonism to VOA than is provided by more direct questions on evaluations.

Clearly revealed in the results is that spontaneous reactions to VOA as an effort to exploit or hoodwink the German people are rare. Adverse statements of VOA objectives emanated from only approximately one in twenty in West Germany (6%) and one in a hundred (1%) in West Berlin. The great bulk in both areas spoke about the purposes of VOA in terms that were neutral to favorable - much more often the latter.

KINDS OF PURPOSES CITED ...

The small minority who spoke in adverse terms of America's objectives in broadcasting VOA focused on the following allegations; that it is propaganda to camouflage America's real aims; propaganda to create a buffer against the Russians; propaganda to democratize or Americanize (in disparaging sense).

Respondents who envisaged America's motivation for VOA in a neutral or favorable light advance a variety of views which are listed in considerable detail because of the very valuable concrete insights they provide into German thinking about VOA. Some of the more frequent recurring themes about VOA's purposes were: to inform people about America and correct misimpressions; to create mutual understanding and friendship; to democratize and reeducate (in approving sense); to integrate the Germans into an anti-Communist block. Possible more significant than the kinds of motivations advanced are the definite overtones of approval that run through a large proportion of the specific comments.

VII. WHY SOME VOA AUDITORS CEASE TO LISTEN

A final evaluational sidelight that is valuable to include in the present paper is a consideration of the reasons advanced for not listening by respondents who indicated having heard VOA, but not in the preceding month (24 per cent of radio listeners in West Germany and 8 per cent in West Berlin). The reasons most frequently cited revolve around factors largely unrelated to program content, as poor reception and occupation demands at broadcast time. Only approximately a third of the loss in listening in West Germany and West Berlin appears to emanate from adverse reactions to the program itself.

I. GENERAL EVALUATION OF THE VOA PROGRAM

Prior to obtaining specific evaluations of the various VOA features, some indication of general evaluations of VOA was sought. It was thought desirable in this connection to employ the technique of a list of adjectives among which the respondents could choose favorable or unfavorable designations. Such a procedure has the advantage of providing the opportunity for some flexibility in response without running into the problem of articulateness that would arise with a completely open question.

OVERALL RESULTS AND TYPES OF EVALUATIONS CHOSEN ...

The largest proportion of VOA listeners in West Germany - approximately half (52%) - selected favorable adjectives only in describing their overall impression of the VOA program. About one fifth (18%) cited unfavorable designations only, one tenth (9%) both favorable and unfavorable adjectives, and the remainder - approximately a fifth (21%) - felt that none of the adjectives offered for choice applied, or gave no opinion.

In Berlin, over four out of five of the VOA listeners (84%) chose only among favorable adjectives in characterizing their general evaluation of the program; only one out of twenty (5%) characterized it in solely unfavorable terms.

"On this list you will find some adjectives. (CARD) Which of these reflect your opinion on the Voice of America best? (Asked of all radio listeners who have heard VOA or heard of it.)"

Impartial	Poor
Dual	Appealing
Useful	Overbearing
Prejudiced	None of them
Convincing	

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	WEST BERLIN
Selected favorable adjectives only	52%	52%	53%	49%	84%
Selected unfavorable adjectives only	18	15	21	21	4
Mixed selections	9	7	11	5	7
None of them or No opinion	$\frac{21}{100\%}$	$\frac{26}{100\%}$	$\frac{15}{100\%}$	$\frac{25}{100\%}$	$\frac{5}{100\%}$
(No. of cases:)	(1494)	(600)	(729)	(165)	(532)

* Those radio listeners who had only heard of VOA but have not heard it were not included in the following tables except where otherwise indicated as the major objective is to describe the facts for VOA listeners.

When specific adjectives are examined, among the group choosing only favorable ones, it is seen that both in West Germany and West Berlin the VOA program is more often considered "useful" or "appealing" than "impartial" or "convincing." The implication is, of course, that even among those with a favorable general orientation there is some resistance to the points of view expressed.

Among the VOA listeners who evaluate the program solely in unfavorable terms, few characterize it as "poor," the tendency is rather to speak of it as "dull," "overbearing," or "prejudiced."

"On this list you will find some adjectives. (CARD) Which of these reflect your opinion on the Voice of America best?"

	Use- ful	Ap- peal- ing	Im- part- ial	Con- vinc- ing	Dull	Over- bear- ing	Preju- diced	Poor	None	Don't know and No ans.
WEST GERMANY										
Adjectives select- ed by those choosing favor- ably only	29%	24%	17%	14%						..84%
Adjectives select- ed by those choosing unfavor- ably only					9%	7%	6%	2%		..24%
Adjectives select- ed by mixed group	5	3	2	2	3	2	3	1		..21%
None or No opinion	34%	27%	19%	16%	12%	9%	9%	3%	10% 10%	11% 11% 11% 150%
WEST BERLIN										
Adjectives select- ed by those choosing favor- ably only	50%	49%	31%	34%						-164%
Adjectives select- ed by those choosing unfavor- ably only					2%	1%	1%	1%		- 5%
Adjectives select- ed by mixed group	3	2	1	2	2	3	2	1		- 16%
None or No opinion	53%	51%	32%	36%	4%	4%	3%	2%	1% 1%	4% 4% 5% 190%

* Partial totals add up to more than original percentage figures and overall totals more than 100 per cent since many respondents cited more than one adjective.

CONFIDENTIAL

EVALUATIONS AS RELATED TO FREQUENCY OF LISTENING TO VOA ...

In line with expectation it is found that favorable evaluations attain their maximum among respondents who report most frequent listening to VOA. Possibly more notable in the comparisons is that even among the less frequent VOA listeners unfavorable or partly unfavorable evaluations do not exceed three in ten in West Germany and two in ten in West Berlin.*

"On this list you will find some adjectives. (CARD) Which of these reflect your opinion on the Voice of America best?" (Asked of all radio listeners who have heard VOA or heard of it.)

Listen to VOA:

	<u>Very frequently</u>	<u>Frequently</u>	<u>Occasionally</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	<u>Never, but have heard of VOA</u>
WEST GERMANY					
Selected favorable adjectives only	77%	54%	51%	36%	15%
Selected unfavorable adjectives only	7	15	20	24	12
Mixed selections	12	14	9	3	1
None or No opinion	4	7	20	37	72
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
(No. of cases:)	(232)	(437)	(186)	(639)	(234)
WEST BERLIN					
Selected favorable adjectives only	94%	84%	75%	45%	**
Selected unfavorable adjectives only	1	6	9	11	
Mixed selections	5	8	-	6	
None or No opinion	-	2	16	33	
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	
(No. of cases:)	(249)	(205)	(32)	(47)	

* Four VOA frequency of listening groups were demarcated in the initial report of this series, defined as follows: four to seven times a week - "very frequent" listeners; one to three times a week - "frequent" listeners; one to three times a month - "occasional" listeners; less than once a month - "seldom" listeners.

**Omitted because of negligibly few cases in West Berlin.

CONFIDENTIAL

When the specific adjectives selected are examined among the various VOA listener frequency groups, it is to be noted that even among the most favorable respondents - the very frequent listeners - designations of the VOA program as "useful" or "appealing" clearly outweighs characterizations as "impartial" or "convincing." This situation holds both in West Germany and West Berlin.

Dullness and overbearingness rather than prejudice or poorness are the qualities most frequently cited in reference to the VOA program by those of the less frequent listeners who were inclined to choose only unfavorable appellations.

"On this list you will find some adjectives. (CARD) Which of these reflect your opinion on the Voice of America best?"

Listen to VOA:

	Very fre- quently	Fre- quently	Occasion- ally	Seldom	Never, but have heard of VOA
WEST GERMANY					
<u>Adjectives selected by those choosing favorably only:</u>					
Useful	47%	37%	30%	16%	6%
Appealing	40	29	23	15	7
Impartial	29	23	10	11	3
Convincing	27	21	8	7	3
	143%**	110%**	71%**	49%**	19%**
<u>Adjectives selected by those choosing unfavorably only:</u>					
Dull	2%	5%	11%	13%	7%
Overbearing	2	7	8	10	3
Prejudiced	3	6	4	7	5
Poor	1	3	5	2	1
	8%**	21%**	28%**	32%**	16%**
<u>Adjectives selected by mixed groups:</u>					
Useful	9%	8%	5%	2%	-%
Appealing	5	6	3	1	1
Impartial	2	3	1	1	-
Convincing	3	3	4	*	-
Dull	4	5	3	1	1
Overbearing	6	7	3	1	-
Prejudiced	3	5	3	1	*
Poor	1	2	1	1	-
	33%**	39%**	22%**	8%**	2%**
(No. of cases:)	(232)	(437)	(186)	(639)	(234)
WEST BERLIN					
<u>Adjectives selected by those choosing favorably only:</u>					
Useful	60%	48%	44%	19%	•
Appealing	57	47	44	21	
Impartial	37	31	16	11	
Convincing	43	32	6	6	
	197%**	158%**	110%**	57%**	
<u>Adjectives selected by those choosing unfavorably only:</u>					
Dull	-%	2%	9%	-%	•
Overbearing	*	1	-	-	
Prejudiced	-	2	-	-	
Poor	1	2	3	-	
	1%	7%**	12%**	-%	
<u>Adjectives selected by mixed groups:</u>					
Useful	2%	5%	-%	2%	•
Appealing	2	3	-	2	
Impartial	1	1	-	2	
Convincing	2	3	-	3	
Dull	1	3	-	3	
Overbearing	2	5	-	-	
Prejudiced	2	3	-	2	
Poor	1	1	-	2	
	13%**	24%**	-%	15%**	
(No. of cases:)	(249)	(204)	(32)	(47)	

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Adds up to more than the original percentage figures since many respondents cited more than one adjective.

• Omitted because of negligibly few cases in West Berlin.

CONFIDENTIAL

II. GROUP COMPARISONS IN GENERAL VOA EVALUATIONS

To illuminate further the general evaluations of VOA prevalent in West Germany and West Berlin the overall figures were broken down, first, for the usual demographic comparisons among sex, education, income and similar groupings and, second, for a series of more psychological comparisons. These latter embraced a scale of political interest and activity and a series of three measures of basic attitudinal orientations - attitude towards democracy, attitude towards America, and readiness to learn from America. The questions upon which these psychological comparisons are based and their mode of scoring is presented in Appendix I to this paper.

DEMOGRAPHIC COMPARISONS ...

In comparing various demographic groupings in the population, possibly the most interesting difference in general VOA evaluations that came to light arose in connection with level of education. It is evident in the attached tables (see following pages) that both in West Germany and West Berlin, favorable general evaluations of VOA are least frequent among college-educated listeners, with their maximum among listeners with secondary education. It is further to be noted that in West Berlin particularly, the dropping off in favorable characterizations of the VOA program among college-educated respondents is centered more among the adjectives - "impartial," "convincing," and "useful" - than on the less politically relevant adjective - "appealing."

These findings may go far toward explaining something which has long been somewhat of a puzzle in VOA evaluation. The judgments about the Voice of America program which have been informally obtained from various individual Germans who have expressed their opinions to VOA officials and State Department representatives generally, have tended in the main to be less favorable than those emanating from survey studies. The Reactions Analysis Staff has suspected that the attitudes of these selected contacts were individually valid but unrepresentative, and hence an improper basis for generalization. The informants have generally been Germans of the highest educational level who are rather clearly revealed in the present study to possess opinions about VOA which differ appreciably from those characterizing the bulk of the population.

It is impractical to attempt a complete discussion of all the population group differences that appear in the tabular returns, but two additional ones deserve particular attention. These are differences in general VOA evaluations associated with age and with origin. Youth (19 to 24) are if anything slightly above the general average in their proportion of favorable evaluations of VOA, but the next older age group - 25 to 34 years of age - drop distinctly out of line with the other age levels in their proportion of favorable responses. Why this should be so is a point worthy of further study.

In reference to origin of the VOA listeners, it is of some interest to find that in West Germany, refugees who have come from the East Zone after 1945 manifest a somewhat greater proportion of favorable evaluations of VOA than do natives. Whether this relationship does or does not bear up in West Berlin cannot be answered on the present data as the vanishingly few cases in the West Berlin comparison on this point do not permit of any reliable deductions.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

SOME PSYCHOLOGICAL COMPARISONS ...

The most significant revelation from the psychological comparisons derives from a consideration of VOA evaluations as related to degree of political interest and activity. The finding on a measure of opinion leadership in the political area is that both in West Germany and West Berlin, approval of the VOA program rises sharply to a maximum not among the rank and file, but among those most interested and active in the political arena. This disclosure is of real importance since it carries the suggestion that VOA is having its most favorable reception among the population elements most important to its mission.

The present finding - when contrasted with the prior educational group comparison - underscores the danger of identifying extent of education with extent of opinion leadership in the political area, and of accepting the judgments of college-level respondents as a basis for inferring the status of VOA reception among the more politically significant elements in the population.

Among the basic orientation questions that were utilized as a basis of psychological comparisons in the present study, the measure of attitude towards America proved to be the most illuminating. The largest proportion of unfavorable evaluations obtained anywhere in the West German group breakdowns arose among the VOA listeners who this index revealed to have a basically negative attitude towards the U.S.A. This finding is important for it suggests that unfavorable evaluations of the VOA program possibly spring in considerable part from a basic anti-American orientation rather than from any particular program considerations. To the extent that this is the case, unfavorable evaluations must be expected of VOA regardless of how attractive or appealing the program might be made - except of course insofar as the negative elements may be won over to a more favorable basic orientation.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

In this list you will find some adjectives. (CAFD) Which of these reflect your opinion on the Voice of America best? (Results presented for VOA listeners.) *

SEX	SELECTED FAVORABLE ADJECTIVES ONLY				SELECTED UNFAVORABLE ADJECTIVES ONLY				MIXED SELECTIONS				NOTE NO OPINION			
	Useful	Appealing	Impartial	Convincing	Dull	Overbearing	Prejudiced	Poor	Useful	Appealing	Impartial	Convincing	Dull	Overbearing	Prejudiced	Poor
Men	56%	31%	24%	20%	16%	19%	7%	9%	7%	3%	10%	6%	4%	2%	1%	15%
Women	49%	26%	24%	15%	12%	17%	10%	7%	5%	1%	7%	4%	2%	1%	1%	27%
Education																
Elementary school	51	28	21	17	15	19	10	7	5	2	8	5	2	2	2	22
Secondary school	59	31	37	20	13	14	4	7	6	1	11	6	6	3	4	16
Diploma & University	44	23	28	10	9	26	9	14	11	10	13	8	8	2	7	17
Income (per month)																
0 - 149 DM	55	35	22	19	15	13	9	4	3	2	7	5	2	1	3	25
150 - 299 DM	50	26	22	18	15	20	10	8	6	2	10	5	4	3	2	20
300 - 599 DM	53	28	27	14	12	19	8	8	8	2	8	5	5	1	4	20
600 DM and more	62	35	33	20	14	17	2	9	9	3	7	3	2	3	1	14
City Size																
0 - 4,999 pop.	52	29	20	19	14	19	10	7	4	2	7	5	2	1	2	22
5,000 - 24,999	50	25	24	14	11	21	8	10	7	2	12	6	5	7	4	17
25,000 - 99,999	52	33	27	19	16	19	8	7	7	2	9	6	4	4	3	20
100,000 - 249,999	54	27	29	17	16	17	5	3	6	5	8	5	3	3	3	21
250,000 and over	56	27	30	17	15	16	7	7	7	1	8	5	4	2	3	20
Occupation																
Professionals	48	28	31	1	7	17	2	9	9	4	16	11	6	4	4	19
Businessmen	54	25	28	18	13	20	6	10	7	3	7	4	3	7	2	19
White-collar workers	55	26	31	20	13	15	7	5	6	3	12	7	6	6	4	18
Skilled laborers	49	25	19	16	16	27	11	10	9	3	6	4	2	3	3	18
Semi-skilled laborers	51	28	24	17	17	20	12	11	3	2	7	3	2	3	4	22
Dom. & prot. Service	49	39	16	12	16	12	10	4	2	2	10	4	4	2	4	29
Farmers	47	27	11	21	11	19	14	7	5	1	5	3	1	1	1	29
Housewives	52	28	22	16	14	16	10	6	2	2	4	6	2	2	4	28
Unemployed	55	31	34	21	17	14	11	4	6	1	20	12	5	1	3	11
Pens., stud., retired, apprentices, etc.	60	39	25	16	15	11	4	2	5	3	8	5	2	2	1	21
Partial totals for separate adjectives add up to more than corresponding group percentages because many respondents cited more than one adjective.																188

WEST GERMANY		SELECTED FAVORABLE ADJECTIVES ONLY					SELECTED UNFAVORABLE ADJECTIVES ONLY					MIXED SECTIONS					NONE NO OPINION		
		Useful	Appealing	Impartial	Convincing	Dull	Overbearing	Prejudiced	Poor	Useful	Appealing	Impartial	Convincing	Dull	Overbearing	Prejudiced	Poor		
Trade Union Membership:																			
Yes, member		52%	28%	24%	16%	20%	23%	9%	3%	8%	12%	2%	11%	8%	6%	6%	2%	14%	286
No		53	28	24	18	13	17	9	7	5	2	-	8	5	5	3	1	22	1208
Age:																			
19 - 24 years		57	25	25	22	15	21	12	7	7	3	3	8	5	5	3	2	14	230
25 - 34 years		44	23	22	13	11	24	13	11	6	3	3	11	2	4	4	2	21	307
35 - 44 years		53	30	26	17	16	15	6	6	8	2	2	7	3	3	3	1	25	359
45 - 54 years		55	30	26	20	15	17	7	5	4	2	2	9	2	5	3	1	19	320
55 years and over		55	34	21	17	14	16	8	1	5	1	1	7	3	3	2	1	22	278
Party Preference:																			
SPD		62	32	27	22	22	16	8	2	5	2	2	7	4	4	3	1	15	445
CDU/CSU		57	30	23	19	15	14	8	2	6	2	2	9	2	4	3	1	20	304
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV		53	30	31	16	11	24	6	5	12	5	5	7	1	2	2	1	16	122
Other parties		46	29	21	13	15	19	8	3	11	3	3	15	8	4	4	4	20	112
No party		43	24	19	15	7	25	11	2	11	2	2	10	5	3	3	-	22	327
Don't know		42	23	23	15	7	15	10	-	3	-	-	8	4	4	1	1	35	163
Religion:																			
Catholics		51	30	22	18	15	21	11	3	6	3	3	8	5	3	2	1	20	688
Protestants		55	27	26	18	13	16	7	1	5	1	8	6	3	3	3	1	21	736
Origin:																			
Natives (& Descendants)		51	27	23	17	14	19	9	6	6	2	8	4	4	4	3	1	22	1214
Expellees		55	34	27	17	15	19	9	5	5	3	13	9	4	4	2	2	13	201
Refugees (from East-Zone after 1945)		62	31	41	22	13	10	8	1	3	1	7	7	4	4	4	1	21	77

(cont'd on next page)

WEST GERMANY Political activity and interest:	SELECTED FAVORABLE ADJECTIVES ONLY				SELECTED UNFAVORABLE ADJECTIVES ONLY				MIXED SELECTIONS				NONE NO OPINION				No. of cases	
	Useful	Appealing	Impartial	Convincing	Dull	Overbearing	Prejudiced	Poor	Useful	Appealing	Impartial	Convincing	Dull	Overbearing	Prejudiced	Poor		
Completely disinter- ested, inactive	45%	24%	18%	16%	10%	18%	12%	6%	4%	1%	5%	3%	2%	1%	1%	1%	32%	546
Little interested, inactive	54	29	25	18	12	18	7	6	6	3	8	5	3	2	2	4	20	471
Somewhat interested, somewhat active	59	31	29	19	18	19	6	10	8	3	12	7	5	3	2	5	10	342
Interested a/o active	57	30	31	16	25	22	8	11	9	3	16	9	9	2	4	5	5	98
Very interested and active	69	53	36	28	24	17	11	14	3	5	11	6	8	3	5	3	6	36
BASIC ORIENTATIONS:																		
Attitude towards Democracy																		
Democrat	58	31	28	19	15	18	8	8	6	2	8	5	4	1	1	3	16	694
Undecided	50	26	22	17	14	20	10	7	6	3	9	6	3	2	3	3	21	675
Non-Democrat	54	39	18	10	23	26	13	13	10	-	5	3	-	2	2	3	15	39
Attitude towards USA																		
Positive	75	45	33	29	27	6	3	1	1	1	5	2	1	2	2	2	14	252
Undecided (neutral)	61	33	27	21	17	12	7	4	4	2	9	5	3	3	4	1	18	545
Negative	37	19	18	11	6	33	14	17	10	4	10	6	4	2	5	1	20	485
Readiness to learn from USA																		
We can learn very much	72	43	37	23	26	7	3	2	3	1	11	6	6	2	5	6	10	257
We can learn much	60	34	30	18	16	17	7	8	6	3	11	8	5	3	4	2	12	375
We can learn something	52	27	21	17	12	21	8	9	7	3	8	4	3	3	3	1	19	458
We can't learn anything	34	16	14	11	7	24	14	9	6	2	6	3	1	1	1	1	36	402

"In this list you will find some adjectives. (CARD) Which of these reflect your opinion on the Voice of America best?" (Results presented for VOA listeners.)

		SELECTED FAVORABLE ADJECTIVES ONLY					SELECTED UNFAVORABLE ADJECTIVES ONLY					MIXED SELECTIONS					NONE NO OPINION				
		Useful	Appealing	Impartial	Convincing		Dull	Overbearing	Prejudiced	Poor		Useful	Appealing	Impartial	Convincing	Dull	Overbearing	Prejudiced	Poor		
Sex	Men	85%	52%	46%	40%	38%	4%	1%	2%	2%	1%	1%	1%	8%	4%	2%	1%	2%	2%	3%	
Women		82	49	52	25	30	5	2	1	1	1	6	3	2	2	2	3	2	1	7	
Education:																					
Elementary school		83	50	46	31	35	5	1	2	1	1	7	3	3	2	1	3	2	1	5	
Secondary school		88	53	58	35	32	2	1	1	2	1	4	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	6	
Diploma & University		72	44	53	22	19	6	1	1	1	3	13	6	3	1	6	7	3	3	9	
Income (per month):																					
0 - 149 DM		80	40	47	26	30	4	2	1	1	1	8	6	2	2	1	4	2	3	8	
150 - 299 DM		84	57	45	33	35	5	1	3	1	1	7	2	3	1	3	3	2	1	4	
300 - 599 DM		88	50	58	34	38	4	1	1	2	1	4	1	1	1	4	3	2	1	4	
600 DM and more		86	41	59	27	27	1	1	1	1	5	5	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	9	
Occupation:																					
Professionals		82	36	63	18	5	9	5	5	4	1	6	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	9	
Businessmen		86	58	50	40	36	3	3	1	3	3	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	5	
White-collar workers		86	53	54	29	37	3	2	1	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	8	
Skilled laborers		86	58	42	37	41	6	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	4	
Semi-skilled laborers		85	52	43	31	38	3	1	2	1	1	11	3	3	1	5	4	6	1	1	
Dom. & prot. Service		71	54	46	21	21	8	1	1	1	1	8	8	1	5	1	4	1	4	13	
Farmers		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Housewives		83	33	83	17	50	1	1	3	1	1	17	17	1	1	1	16	4	1	6	
Unemployed		85	52	41	35	24	4	1	1	1	1	8	4	4	3	4	4	4	1	3	
Pens., stud., retired, apprentices, etc.		82	39	56	27	36	4	2	1	2	2	7	4	2	1	2	2	2	2	7	

* The number of cases in many of the West Berlin breakdowns are exceedingly limited. In such instances the results should be taken as at most only suggestive.

(cont'd on next page)

WEST BERLIN

SELECTED
FAVORABLE
ADJECTIVES
ONLY

Useful
Appealing
Impartial
Convincing

SELECTED
UNFAVORABLE
ADJECTIVES
ONLY

Dull
Overbearing
Prejudiced
Poor

MIXED
SELECTIONS

Useful
Appealing
Impartial
Convincing
Dull
Overbearing
Prejudiced
Poor

NONE
NO OPINION

No. of cases

Trade Union Membership:

Yes, member
No

95%
83
55%
50
60%
48
35%
30
45%
32

3%
4
1%
2
-
1
1%
1
2%
1

1%
7
1%
4
-
3
-
2
-
2
-
2
-
3
-
2%
2
-
1
1%
6

73
459

Age:

19 - 24 years
25 - 34 years
35 - 44 years
45 - 54 years
55 years and more

87
78
87
86
82
58
47
49
54
47
52
46
55
47
44
27
26
34
35
39

5
6
2
2
2
1
-
4
1
1
1
2
1
-
3
-
2
1

3
9
7
5
8
2
5
3
3
4
-
4
2
1
4
-
3
2
-
2
-
1
2
-
1
1
1
1
1
5
3
3
8

60
77
129
133
133

Party Preference:

SPD
CDU/CSU
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDP
Other parties
No party
Don't know

87
84
86
73
73
67
53
52
51
27
47
47
30
35
34
45
21
15
13

4
4
3
3
18
3
7
1
4
1
1
1
1
1
3
-
1
1

5
5
7
9
15
3
4
3
2
2
-
6
-
1
2
1
2
-
1
2
4
3
2
-
2
-
2
1
1
1
1
1
20
9
34
15

249
103
112
11
34
15

Religion:

Catholics
Protestants

85
86
54
53
62
48
34
31
36
34

8
3
3
2
2
-
3
1
3
1

2
5
2
3
-
1
-
1
1
-
1
1
-
3
-
2
1
1
5
61
378

Origin:

Natives (Aussiedler)
Expellees
Refugees (from East
Zone after 1945)

85
84
51
56
50
45
32
33
34
33

4
6
2
5
1
1
1
1
-
-

6
5
3
-
2
1
5
-
4
-
13
-
-
-
2
6
1
-
18
489
18
23

(cont'd on next page)

WEST BERLIN		SELECTED FAVORABLE ADJECTIVES ONLY				SELECTED UNFAVORABLE ADJECTIVES ONLY				MIXED SELECTIONS				NONE NO OPINION				No. of cases
Political activity and interest:		Useful				Dull				Useful				No. of cases				
Completely disinterested, inactive		76%	44%	37%	21%	26%	5%	2%	2%	1%	2%	9%	4%	4%	4%	2%	10%	167
Little interested, inactive		86	50	53	32	33	5	2	1	2	-	5	2	1	1	1	4	170
Somewhat interested, somewhat active		87	55	56	40	39	3	1	-	1	2	7	4	3	4	1	3	137
Interested a/o active		95	61	52	41	48	-	-	-	-	-	5	5	3	2	-	1	44
Very interested and active		100	57	64	29	43	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14
Basic Orientations:																		
Attitude towards Democracy																		
Democrat		85	51	51	32	33	4	1	1	1	2	6	4	2	1	1	4	303
Undecided		85	50	46	31	34	4	2	1	1	1	6	2	3	2	1	5	208
Non-Democrat		90	60	90	50	40	-	-	-	-	-	10	10	-	-	10	10	10
Attitude towards USA																		
Positive		93	59	51	34	41	1	1	-	1	-	3	2	1	1	1	3	209
Undecided (neutral)		84	46	51	33	34	4	2	-	1	4	6	4	1	2	4	6	229
Negative		69	42	46	19	17	13	4	3	4	4	10	7	-	3	-	8	78
Readiness to learn from USA																		
We can learn very much		90	60	58	39	43	1	1	-	1	-	6	3	3	2	2	3	177
We can learn much		91	57	55	31	33	3	2	-	-	1	3	1	1	1	1	3	160
We can learn something		77	42	34	27	31	7	3	1	4	1	11	4	2	4	1	5	120
We can't learn anything		69	28	40	18	20	9	6	-	1	2	4	1	-	-	-	18	71

III. COMPARATIVE PREFERENCES FOR VOA VERSUS SOME OTHER POLITICAL PROGRAMS

The prior studies in the present series have established that, insofar as not limited by technical considerations, VOA has a fairly wide audience in West Germany; and to the extent that respondents own estimates can be relied upon, considerable frequency of listening. The preceding material in the present study has indicated further that general evaluations of VOA by its audience are preponderantly favorable. What has thus far not been established is the extent to which VOA may or may not be preferred to other programs. It is one thing to be listened to and liked; it is quite another to be preferred over other programs.

Unfortunately it is always difficult to settle questions of preference because not everybody has heard all the programs one would like to compare. The result in the present connection is that people who have heard VOA and some other program are not completely representative of the full listenership of either. However, despite such limitations, it is instructive to make certain comparisons of VOA preference versus preference for a somewhat comparable German program, a similar American program, BBC's German output, and the East Zone anti-American propaganda program - "The Truth about America."

VOA VERSUS THE "ECHO OF THE DAY" ...

Readers of the first report will remember that size of audience figures for VOA and the major comparable all-German program - Echo of the Day - were almost identical. Among those who listen to both, however, the preference figures distinctly are not. Almost six times as many in West Germany prefer Echo of the Day to Voice of America as express a contrary preference. Only in Berlin do they compete on somewhat even terms with VOA if anything getting the nod.

	*WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
Voice of America	16%	57%
Echo of the Day	84	43
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
(No. of cases;)	(204)	(81)

These West German returns are adverse but should certainly occasion no surprise. One can hope to make VOA widely listened to in Germany, perhaps even widely appreciated. But one can hardly by whatever program prestidigitation hope to make an overt American political production preferred above the outstanding domestic current event program.

VOA VERSUS "GERMANY IN RIAS"...

Among respondents who have heard both VOA and Germany in RIAS - a somewhat comparable HICOG constructed show - preference of one over the other comes out approximately evenly. The slight lead of VOA in West Germany is not beyond chance with the limited number of cases involved.

	*WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
Voice of America	55%	51%
Germany in RIAS	45	49
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
(No. of cases;)	(71)	(193)

- * The sequence of questioning upon which this data is based went as follows: "Did you ever hear any of these programs during the past month", following which the respondents were presented with a card listing VOA and a series of other radio programs. If respondent named VOA and one or more other programs from the list, he was asked, "which of these programs do you like best?" The preference comparisons shown are based upon those respondents who had heard the two programs in question - plus a variable number of others - who indicated that one or the other program under consideration was liked best of all.

CONFIDENTIAL

VOA VERSUS BBC ...

Since comparatively few German radio-listeners report listening to the German output of BBC, only a handful of cases of respondents who listen to both programs are available for consideration of comparative preference. The direction and magnitude of the differences, however, are such that a conclusion of some reliability despite the paucity of cases, is that BBC's German program is not preferred to the Voice of America.

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
Voice of America	65%	100%
German service of BBC	$\frac{35}{100\%}$	$\frac{-}{100\%}$
(No. of cases:)	(26)	(6)

VOA VERSUS "THE TRUTH ABOUT AMERICA" ...

Finally, another handful of cases of respondents who have listened to both VOA and its East Zone counterpart, suggest that in relative preference at least, VOA has little difficulty in winning out over competition from the East.

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
Voice of America	88%	100%
The Truth about America	$\frac{12}{100\%}$	$\frac{-}{100\%}$
(No. of cases:)	(32)	(17)

CONFIDENTIAL

GENERAL TASTES IN RADIO FARE ...

The general program content preferences obtaining in West Germany and West Berlin have already been presented in a separate report.^① For two reasons the presentation has been based upon radio listeners generally rather than upon VOA listeners alone. First, all West German and West Berlin radio listeners are the target of VOA program planners, so information about the radio program tastes of this group is the important data for programming guidance, rather than information on radio listeners already in the fold. Second, the program content interests of VOA listeners are probably better obtained in terms of their evaluations of specific VOA program features.

However, some information which has not yet been disposed of and which comes best at this juncture, is the relationship between frequency of listening to VOA and (a) interest in radio fare in general, (b) interest in various kinds of radio fare in particular.

GENERAL PROGRAM INTERESTS AND FREQUENCY OF LISTENING TO VOA ...

The average returns on the various types of program content presented for judgment** clearly indicate that one of the reasons why some West Germans and West Berliners are less frequent VOA listeners is simply because they are less attracted by radio fare generally. In West Germany, 41 per cent of the "very frequent" VOA listeners indicate that they would not want to miss any kind of radio fare on an average. Thirty per cent average little interest on the 15 types of programs listed. Among "seldom" VOA listeners, in contrast, these figures are reversed to 29 and 41 per cent respectively.

Average Reactions Of West German And West Berlin Radio Listeners
to 15 Kinds Of Radio Program Content

	Listen to VOA:				
	Very frequently	Frequently	Occasionally	Seldom	Never
WEST GERMANY					
Would not want to miss	41%	35%	34%	29%	26%
Like to hear it once in a while	29	31	29	29	27
Don't particularly want to hear	30	34	35	41	45
No opinion / No answer	*	*	2	1	2
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
(No. of cases:)	(232)	(437)	(186)	(639)	(787)
WEST BERLIN					
Would not want to miss	39%	35%	33%	31%	26%
Like to hear it once in a while	29	30	27	25	27
Don't particularly want to hear	31	35	37	45	45
No opinion / No answer	1	*	3	1	2
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
(No. of cases:)	(249)	(206)	(32)	(47)	

When the individual returns on the various kinds of program content are broken against frequency of listening to the Voice of America, (see following pages) it can be discerned that both in West Germany and West Berlin there is a very similar ranking of preferences among the various VOA listener frequency groups. Such a finding has a significant practical implication for the VOA program planner. It indicates that as far as maximizing frequency of listening to VOA is concerned, one apparently does not have the problem of juggling differential appeals in choosing types of program content. Generally speaking, what is relatively appealing to frequent VOA listeners is also relatively appealing to less frequent listeners; and what is relatively unappealing to frequent listeners is also relatively unappealing to less frequent members of the VOA audience. The absolute levels of appeal are higher for the various program types among more frequent VOA listeners than among less frequent, but relative appeals appear to be substantially the same.

① See Report No. 100, Series No. 2, dated Sept. 27, 1951 - PROGRAM TASTES OF WEST GERMAN AND WEST BERLIN RADIO LISTENERS - A Tabular Summary.

② Omitted because of negligibly few cases in West Berlin.

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** The question upon which the present material is based went as follows: "Which of these radio programs would you not want to miss under any circumstances, which of these do you like to hear once in a while, and which don't you particularly want to hear?" (Asked of all radio listeners.) (CARD)

News
Commentaries
Press Reviews
Reports on Current Events
Lectures

Sports, News and Reports
Dance Music
American Jazz
Folk Music
Operettas

Variety Programs
Classical Music
Religious Programs
Radio Plays
Agricultural Programs

West German Reactions To Various Kinds Of Radio Program Content
As Related To Frequency Of Listening To The VOA Program

Listen to VOA:

WEST GERMANY	ALL VOA LISTENERS	Very frequently	Fre- quently	Occasion- ally	Seldom	Never
<u>News:</u>						
Would not want to miss	71%	89%	84%	77%	69%	60%
Like to hear it once in a while	17	9	12	18	20	20
Don't particularly want to hear	11	2	4	5	11	20
No opinion / No answer	1	-	-	-	*	*
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
<u>Variety Programs:</u>						
Would not want to miss	60%	73%	64%	60%	58%	55%
Like to hear it once in a while	29	21	29	31	30	30
Don't particularly want to hear	10	6	7	9	11	13
No opinion / No answer	1	-	-	-	1	2
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
<u>Folk Music:</u>						
Would not want to miss	55%	65%	62%	59%	54%	49%
Like to hear it once in a while	37	29	32	36	38	41
Don't particularly like to hear	7	5	6	5	8	9
No opinion / No answer	1	-	-	-	*	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
<u>Operettas:</u>						
Would not want to miss	42%	48%	46%	51%	40%	36%
Like to hear it once in a while	33	36	32	30	35	32
Don't particularly want to hear	24	16	21	19	25	30
No opinion / No answer	1	-	1	*	*	2
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
<u>Dance Music:</u>						
Would not want to miss	32%	36%	34%	39%	31%	29%
Like to hear it once in a while	32	27	34	28	34	30
Don't particularly want to hear	36	37	32	33	35	40
No opinion / No answer	-	-	-	-	*	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
<u>Radio Plays:</u>						
Would not want to miss	31%	44%	37%	35%	27%	25%
Like to hear it once in a while	41	39	41	41	45	38
Don't particularly want to hear	27	17	22	23	27	34
No opinion / No answer	1	-	*	1	1	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
<u>Commentaries:</u>						
Would not want to miss	30%	54%	38%	34%	28%	20%
Like to hear it once in a while	27	30	31	34	27	24
Don't particularly want to hear	41	15	31	31	44	52
No opinion / No answer	2	1	*	1	1	4
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
<u>Sports, News and Reports:</u>						
Would not want to miss	29%	39%	36%	32%	29%	20%
Like to hear it once in a while	18	17	21	18	18	18
Don't particularly want to hear	52	43	43	49	53	60
No opinion / No answer	1	1	*	1	*	2
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
(No. of cases:)	(244)	(232)	(437)	(186)	(639)	(787)

* Less than one half of one per cent.

(cont'd on next page)

C O N F I D E N T I A L

Listen to VOA:

	ALL VOA LISTENERS	Very frequently	Pre- quently	Occasion- ally	Seldom	Never
WEST GERMANY						
<u>Agricultural Programs:</u>						
Would not want to miss	22%	32%	27%	23%	19%	19%
Like to hear it once in a while	26	30	26	29	25	25
Don't particularly want to hear	51	37	47	47	54	54
No opinion / No answer	1	1	*	1	2	2
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
<u>Religious Programs:</u>						
Would not want to miss	20%	28%	15%	22%	18%	21%
Like to hear it once in a while	36	36	44	35	32	35
Don't particularly want to hear	43	36	41	43	49	42
No opinion / No answer	1	-	*	*	1	2
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
<u>Reports on Current Events:</u>						
Would not want to miss	13%	28%	24%	26%	17%	11%
Like to hear it once in a while	34	44	36	37	35	28
Don't particularly want to hear	46	27	39	37	47	58
No opinion / No answer	2	1	1	*	1	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
<u>Classical Music:</u>						
Would not want to miss	18%	23%	18%	23%	19%	15%
Like to hear it once in a while	27	29	28	27	26	26
Don't particularly want to hear	54	48	53	50	54	57
No opinion / No answer	1	-	1	-	1	2
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
<u>Press Reviews:</u>						
Would not want to miss	18%	29%	24%	22%	15%	13%
Like to hear it once in a while	26	32	31	30	25	21
Don't particularly want to hear	54	39	44	48	59	63
No opinion / No answer	2	-	1	-	1	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
<u>Lectures:</u>						
Would not want to miss	11%	19%	14%	13%	9%	8%
Like to hear it once in a while	33	42	45	40	37	33
Don't particularly want to hear	49	38	39	45	52	57
No opinion / No answer	2	1	2	2	2	2
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
<u>American Jazz:</u>						
Would not want to miss	4%	7%	6%	5%	4%	3%
Like to hear it once in a while	11	11	14	11	9	9
Don't particularly want to hear	83	81	80	82	85	84
No opinion / No answer	2	1	*	2	2	4
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
(No. of cases:)	(1494)	(232)	(437)	(186)	(639)	(787)

* Less than one half of one per cent.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

West Berlin Reactions To Various Kinds Of Radio Program Content
As Related To Frequency Of Listening To The VOA Program

Listen to VOAs

	ALL VOA LISTENERS	Very frequently	Fre- quently	Occasion- ally	Seldom	Never
WEST BERLIN						
<u>News:</u>						
Would not want to miss	87%	93%	85%	82	76%	•
Like to hear it once in a while	9	5	11	6	14	
Don't particularly want to hear	4	2	4	9	10	
No opinion / No answer	..	..	..	3	..	
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	
<u>Variety Programs:</u>						
Would not want to miss	73%	73%	77%	76%	60%	•
Like to hear it once in a while	21	21	19	15	28	
Don't particularly want to hear	6	6	4	6	12	
No opinion / No answer	..	..	..	3	..	
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	
<u>Operettas:</u>						
Would not want to miss	51%	51%	54%	46%	52%	•
Like to hear it once in a while	35	37	35	33	30	
Don't particularly want to hear	13	11	11	18	18	
No opinion / No answer	1	1	*	3	..	
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	
<u>Commentaries:</u>						
Would not want to miss	49%	60%	41%	37%	34%	•
Like to hear it once in a while	27	24	33	30	26	
Don't particularly want to hear	23	16	25	30	35	
No opinion / No answer	1	*	1	3	2	
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	
<u>Folk Music:</u>						
Would not want to miss	45%	48%	47%	40%	52%	•
Like to hear it once in a while	40	44	39	30	34	
Don't particularly want to hear	14	12	14	27	14	
No opinion / No answer	1	..	*	3	..	
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	
<u>Dance Music:</u>						
Would not want to miss	39%	36%	43%	46%	34%	•
Like to hear it once in a while	32	31	32	33	32	
Don't particularly want to hear	29	33	25	18	34	
No opinion / No answer	..	..	..	3	..	
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	
<u>Reports on Current Events:</u>						
Would not want to miss	34%	41%	31%	27%	24%	•
Like to hear it once in a while	37	37	41	43	20	
Don't particularly want to hear	27	21	26	27	52	
No opinion / No answer	2	1	2	3	4	
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	
<u>Radio Plays:</u>						
Would not want to miss	33%	39%	29%	27%	24%	•
Like to hear it once in a while	46	43	52	49	42	
Don't particularly want to hear	21	18	19	21	34	
No opinion / No answer	..	..	..	3	..	
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	
(No. of cases:)	(534)	(249)	(206)	(32)	(47)	

• Omitted because of negligibly few cases in Berlin.

* Less than one half of one per cent.

(cont'd on next page)

.. 18 -

C O N F I D E N T I A L

CONFIDENTIAL

Listen to VOA:

	<u>ALL VOA</u> <u>LISTENERS</u>	<u>Very</u> <u>frequently</u>	<u>Fre-</u> <u>quently</u>	<u>Occasion-</u> <u>ally</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	<u>Never</u>
WEST BERLIN						
<u>Press Reviews:</u>						
Would not want to miss	33%	42%	27%	15%	20%	•
Like to hear it once in a while	30	29	35	30	20	
Don't particularly want to hear	36	27	38	52	58	
No opinion / No answer	1	2	-	3	2	
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	
<u>Sports, News and Reports:</u>						
Would not want to miss	31%	36%	29%	27%	22%	•
Like to hear it once in a while	20	19	23	18	16	
Don't particularly want to hear	48	44	48	52	62	
No opinion / No answer	1	1	*	3	-	
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	
<u>Classical Music:</u>						
Would not want to miss	21%	22%	16%	24%	23%	•
Like to hear it once in a while	30	35	29	24	22	
Don't particularly want to hear	49	43	55	49	50	
No opinion / No answer	-	-	-	3	-	
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	
<u>Lectures:</u>						
Would not want to miss	17%	19%	17%	6%	10%	•
Like to hear it once in a while	45	46	47	52	38	
Don't particularly want to hear	38	34	36	39	52	
No opinion / No answer	-	1	-	3	-	
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	
<u>Religious Programs:</u>						
Would not want to miss	12%	13%	10%	9%	10%	•
Like to hear it once in a while	24	26	23	18%	26%	
Don't particularly want to hear	64	61	67	70	64	
No opinion / No answer	-	-	-	3	-	
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	
<u>American Jazz:</u>						
Would not want to miss	9%	8%	9%	21%	8%	•
Like to hear it once in a while	13	15	13	9	16	
Don't particularly want to hear	77	77	78	67	74	
No opinion / No answer	1	-	-	3	2	
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	
<u>Agricultural Programs:</u>						
Would not want to miss	8%	9%	6%	9%	6%	•
Like to hear it once in a while	21	25	18	12	16	
Don't particularly want to hear	71	65	76	76	78	
No opinion / No answer	*	1	-	3	-	
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	
(No. of cases:)	(534)	(249)	(206)	(32)	(47)	

• Omitted because of negligibly few cases in Berlin.

* Less than one half of one per cent.

CONFIDENTIAL

OVERALL FINDINGS FOR VOA FEATURE EVALUATIONS ...

Both in West Germany and West Berlin "We answer Letters from Listeners" and "News" stand out as the most interesting VOA program features among auditors who listen once a week or more.* Also standing relatively high in the interest rankings are the Americana elements in the VOA program, i.e. "This is America" and "In the Radio Car through America." (See page following for tabulations.)

Among the more outrightly political features, news ranked high, commentaries medium, and press reviews low in the expressions of audience interest.

Lowest interest among the VOA programs were recorded for "Broadway Melodies" and "Eva and Michael," a young couple conversational feature. The latter seems to be a case of limited impact with 77 per cent of the West German once a week or more VOA listeners indicating no familiarity with the feature.**

Broadway Melodies, on the other hand, seems to represent quite a different problem. The difficulty here is not absence of impression, but too much impact in a negative direction. If the intentions of this feature is to develop appreciation for American musical culture, then perhaps Broadway Melodies should be pushed despite the resistance it encounters. But if it is meant to be part of the coating on the propaganda pill, the present findings clearly raise a serious question of effectiveness.

Though the average interest in the various VOA features is appreciably higher in West Berlin than in West Germany, the patterns of individual feature interest are not too dissimilar in broad outlines.

Among zonal differences that can be noted in the tabulations is that interest in the Americana features is appreciably higher in the US Zone than in the British or French spheres of occupation. Interest in agricultural programs is notably low in the highly industrialized British Zones. And for whatever reasons, press reviews seem to have reliably less impact in the US Zone than in the British.

* Since familiarity with specific VOA program features was anticipated to be uneconomically low among individuals who reported listening to VOA less than once a week, the feature evaluation analysis which follows was confined only to the more frequent VOA auditors. The question upon which these data were based went as follows:

"Here I am showing you a list of regularly appearing features of the Voice of America. Would you please name those features you are familiar with?" (CARD) (Asked of all "frequent" to "very frequent" listeners of the VOA, i.e. those who reported listening once a week or more.)

"Which of these interest you, which interest you somewhat, and which don't interest you at all?" (Asked for those of the VOA features with which the respondents indicated familiarity.)

CARD:	News	In the Radio Car through America
	Commentaries	Broadway Melodies
	Press Reviews	Eva and Michael
	This is America	Agricultural Programs
	We answer Letters from Listeners	

** Some of the widespread non-recognition of this feature may be ascribed to the fact that the title was partially changed - from "Marin and Michael" to "Eva and Michael" - several weeks before the study.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

REASONS FOR INTEREST AND DISINTEREST IN VOA FEATURES ...

For each of the VOA features respondents, who stated they were interested in the program and those who indicated that it did not interest them at all, were asked the reasons for their reactions. The detailed returns for West Germany and West Berlin are presented in Appendix II. Among the more significant indications are the followings:

1. It is evident from the supporting reasons given that the feature which along with news came out on top of the interest rankings.. "We answer Letters from Listeners" .. embodies quite a diversity of effective appeals for the German audience. Some say they like it because of its instructiveness, others because of its variety. Another group values the insight into the kinds of questions which occupy German citizens. Another is impressed by the thoroughness of the information received, and finally another appreciable proportion sees the program as making a valuable contribution to the interchange of opinions between peoples.

Other than simple expressions of dislike, the major objection of the small group who expressed disinterest in the program centered on the alleged nonsensicalness and eccentricity of most of the queries.

2. As might be anticipated, the largest proportion of reasons advanced for interest in the VOA news features revolved around general expressions of interest in politics and world affairs. But another theme that appeared with considerable frequency is that one obtains the latest news over VOA. This finding is of some importance in view of the doubts that have occasionally been expressed that VOA .. operating from such a distance .. would be in a position to present news which would impress German auditors as being as fresh as their German sources.

Among the handful who expressed disinterest in the VOA news program, the arguments were that one could get the news as well or better from German sources, and that the presentation was biased.

3. Central to the various reasons brought forward for interest in the VOA features, "This is America" and "In the Radio Car through America" seems to be a widespread interest in American life .. the country, the people, and the customs. Such a finding is of considerable significance since many have wondered whether Americans over VOA would simply strike hard-pressed Germans as irrelevant to their problems or excite negative reactions in the contacts with their less enviable situations. The suggestion from the present findings is rather to the contrary, that the bulk of the more frequent VOA listeners at least, derive stimulation and enjoyment from sidelights on the American scene.
4. Finally, to highlight a negative finding, it appears that the major reason for the considerable disinterest in "Broadway Melodies" seems to be simply that many German auditors do not like American popular music .. particularly, it would seem, jazz. Their musical conditionings have been such that they find it noisy, disturbing, or just plain unpleasant.

CONFIDENTIAL

FEATURE EVALUATIONS AND FREQUENCY OF LISTENING TO VOA ...

When extent of interest in various VOA features is broken down against frequency of listening, the expected result emerges that, on the average, a larger proportion of more frequent listeners to VOA (four to seven times a week) express interest in the features than do the less frequent listeners (one to three times a week).

The average extent of unfamiliarity with the specific VOA program features appears to be high, embracing about a third among very frequent listeners in West Germany and West Berlin, and about half among frequent listeners. The results for occasional and seldom listeners, who were not included in the present line of inquiry, can only darken the picture. Though recognition of feature titles which are not per se of much importance is not entirely a good test, the results do tend to raise some question as to how attentively VOA auditors listen to the program.

Definite statements of no interest at all constitute a comparatively limited reaction to the various VOA features - with the exception of "Broadway Melodies." In this case there is a considerable expression of no interest both among the more frequent and the less frequent listeners. This feature is the only instance, too, where disinterest was distinctly greater among more frequent VOA auditors than among less frequent (see following page).

"Here I am showing you a list of regularly appearing features of the Voice of America. Would you please name those features you are familiar with?" (CARD) (Asked of all "frequent" to "very frequent" listeners of VOA, i.e. those who reported listening once a week or more.)

"Which of these interest you, which of these interest you somewhat, and which don't interest you at all?" (Asked for those of the VOA features with which the respondent indicated familiarity.)

Average Results For All Features

	WEST GERMANY		WEST BERLIN	
	<u>Listen to VOA:</u>			
	<u>Very frequently</u>	<u>Frequently</u>	<u>Very frequently</u>	<u>Frequently</u>
Interested	43%	26%	48%	32%
Some interest	13	12	13	12
No interest	8	8	9	8
Feature unfamiliar	34	52	29	46
No opinion / No answer	2	2	1	2
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Results For Specific Features

02330

	WEST GERMANY		WEST BERLIN	
	Listen to VOA:			
	Very frequently	Frequently	Very frequently	Frequently
<u>We answer Letters from Listeners:</u>				
Interested	64%	46%	73%	62%
Some interest	17	18	14	19
No interest	4	7	7	5
Feature unfamiliar	13	28	6	11
No opinion / No answer	2	1	-	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%
<u>News:</u>				
Interested	68%	43%	70%	49%
Some interest	8	11	7	11
No interest	3	3	1	2
Feature unfamiliar	21	41	20	37
No opinion / No answer	-	2	2	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%
<u>This is America:</u>				
Interested	57%	31%	58%	41%
Some interest	13	18	12	10
No interest	4	5	1	3
Feature unfamiliar	25	44	25	43
No opinion / No answer	1	2	4	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%
<u>In the Radio Car through America:</u>				
Interested	56%	30%	71%	44%
Some interest	9	10	7	10
No interest	3	5	2	1
Feature unfamiliar	31	52	18	41
No opinion / No answer	1	3	2	4
	100%	100%	100%	100%
<u>Commentaries:</u>				
Interested	45%	28%	48%	28%
Some interest	18	12	11	13
No interest	3	7	4	5
Feature unfamiliar	33	51	36	53
No opinion / No answer	1	2	1	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%
<u>Agricultural Programs:</u>				
Interested	42%	23%	32%	17%
Some interest	17	14	16	12
No interest	11	14	28	47
Feature unfamiliar	27	47	2	1
No opinion / No answer	3	2	22	23
	100%	100%	100%	100%
<u>Press Reviews:</u>				
Interested	27%	16%	29%	14%
Some interest	11	11	13	11
No interest	6	6	7	9
Feature unfamiliar	53	65	50	66
No opinion / No answer	3	2	1	-
	100%	100%	100%	100%
<u>Broadway Melodies:</u>				
Interested	17%	12%	25%	20%
Some interest	13	12	22	21
No interest	32	21	31	22
Feature unfamiliar	36	52	21	36
No opinion / No answer	2	3	1	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%
<u>Eva and Michael:</u>				
Interested	14%	6%	30%	15%
Some interest	9	5	11	5
No interest	6	4	4	1
Feature unfamiliar	67	82	54	78
No opinion / No answer	4	3	1	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%
(No. of cases:)	(232)	(437)	(249)	(26)

GROUP COMPARISONS IN VOA FEATURE EVALUATIONS ...

Tabulations of breakdown comparisons among various population segments, and for a number of attitudinal indices, are incorporated as Appendix III to the present report. Interested readers are referred to that source. Without going into a complete discussion, a few general comments are worth making at this juncture on each of the VOA features examined.

1. "We answer Letters from Listeners" appears to be particularly effective in eliciting listener interest among the more difficult-to-reach population elements - women, less educated, and less well off. This low level appeal seems to be offset somewhat, however, - particularly in Berlin (though the number of cases is only enough to be crudely suggestive) - by negative reactions among higher educated and higher income respondents, as well as those who score highest in political interest and activity. It is probably these respondents who held in the preceding section that the questions utilized on the program were often nonsensical or eccentric. It is possible that somewhat more care in selecting the queries might eliminate the objections of the critics without impairing the present extent of mass appeal.

Among the more marked trends in other group comparisons on the question and answer feature, is an appreciable falling-off in interest among auditors over 55 years of age. There seems to be no particular reason to assume that this age group is any less intrinsically interested in the question and answer format, so the suspicion arises that content is at fault. If older German citizens are judged to be an important target element, the suggestion emerges to reconsider the selection of question items toward the end of injecting more material of interest to elderly listeners.

2. Interest in news is greatest - as is to be expected - among the more alert levels of the German population - men, the better educated, the better situated, and persons who score highest in political interest and activity. But, all in all, interest in news is substantial among all population groupings, and apparently is not very appreciably less among respondents who appear to be negative to America in general background attitudes as compared to those who are neutral or positive. This latter finding carries the suggestion that the VOA news features are interpreted more as information than as American propaganda.
3. Interest in the Americana features over VOA - "This is America" and "In the Radio Car through America" appears to greatly outweigh expression of disinterest among all population groupings. This trend is particularly evident in West Berlin. Thus it would seem that among no particular population elements is there any appreciable tendency to react to American vignettes as odious comparisons or irrelevant. The favorable trend in the data is particularly significant in relationship to the breakdown of general attitudes toward the USA. Those who measured out as negative on this scale evinced some but not any considerably lesser degree of interest in the Americana features than did respondents with neutral or more positive attitudes. The suggestion emanates that the material is selected and presented so that it has some interest even to Germans who are not in general favorably disposed toward America.

However, people who took the position on a background question that there is little or nothing to be learned from America showed a considerably smaller proportion of interested reactions to "This is America" and "In the Radio Car through America" than did respondents with contrary views.

4. In line with expectation, maximum interest in VOA commentaries occurred among the highest educated listeners and those who scored high in political interest and activity. The locus of minimum interest, however, is a matter of some concern as it falls among youth (19 to 24 years), and in West Germany is not reliably higher for the next youngest age group (24 to 34 years). These facts suggest rather strongly that whatever can be done to slant the commentaries toward the problems of younger elements in the German population would not be amiss.
5. The agricultural programs over VOA elicit widespread interest among the most direct target group - the farmers. The offsetting losses appear to be considerable, however, as, in many groups, interest drops to rather low levels. Next to "Broadway Melodies" the agricultural program garners the most expression of outright disinterest - especially in West Berlin. The pattern of reactions carry the suggestion that agricultural programs are somewhat too specialized in their appeal to warrant separate featuring, and would be more advantageously treated by finding spots in more generalized frameworks.
6. One of the clearer indications from the present study of VOA feature evaluations is that press reviews have very limited impact. In no population group do they come near achieving the amount of interest recorded for commentaries, which raises a definite question whether the time devoted to direct political material isn't better spent on commentaries when interpretations have to be underscored, and on news whenever American themes can be cast in such a framework.
7. "Broadway Melodies" - the feature highest in overall disinterest - is most unappealing to better educated respondents and to the oldest age group. It excites maximum interest among youth. But even in this group where greatest interest would be expected, the proportion in West Germany who state that they are familiar with the feature and have a real interest in it are but three in ten (42 per cent in West Berlin). Such comparatively meager results even among the most auspicious target element seriously call into question, of course, the advisability of such program material.
8. Ignorance was the predominant response among all population elements to the "Eva and Michael" program. And among those who indicated familiarity, positive expressions of interest are rather uniformly limited. Even when a recent change in title is allowed for, the extent of non-recognition is large enough to suggest that an informal give-and-take feature of this type may be a little too thin and insubstantial for German tastes.

V. DOES VOA HAVE A REAL UNDERSTANDING OF GERMANY?

OVERALL RETURNS ...

An additional slant on VOA evaluation that was deemed to be of value to the present study was whether or not VOA listeners felt that the program showed a "real understanding" for German conditions. It is possible that since the Voice of America emanates from such a far distant source, many would feel that it would not be in a good position to comment on German problems. The overall returns indicate that almost two-thirds of the more regular auditors of VOA to whom the question was put (hear VOA once a week or more) felt that the Voice of America has a real understanding of Germany. In West Berlin, 84 per cent expressed such a view.

"Do you think that the people responsible for the programming of the Voice of America have a real understanding of Germany and conditions over here, or don't you think that this is the case?" (Asked of all frequent to very frequent listeners of VOA, i.e. those who listen once a week or more.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	WEST BERLIN
Have real understanding	64%	65%	63%	68%	84%
Do not have real understanding	20	23	20	16	10
No opinion / No answer	16	12	17	16	6
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
(No. of cases:)	(869)	(154)	(441)	(64)	(455)

CONFIDENTIAL

REASONS ADVANCED FOR NEGATIVE JUDGMENTS ...

The instances and reasons brought forward by the minority who felt that VOA has no real understanding of Germany revolved principally around allegations to the effect that VOA cannot imagine conditions in Germany and lacks intuition and understanding of the German mentality. Small proportions took the opportunity to bring up less relevant charges that VOA is too overbearing, or that it is superficial and incorrect.

"Do you think that the people responsible for the programming of the Voice of America have a real understanding of Germany and conditions over here, or don't you think that this is the case?" (Asked of all frequent to very frequent listeners of VOA, i.e. those who listen once a week or more.)
 "How (where) does that show? (Can you give me examples of that)?"

WEST WEST
GERMANY BERLIN

They cannot imagine conditions in Germany: An American is unable to see all the difficulties over here; sometimes they don't really consider German conditions; the housing and refugee problems are not paid enough attention to and are obviously underestimated; because they cannot have a real insight into the difficult situation of Germany - sometimes the Americans talk without considering our reality; when they picture their wealth and achievements they do not consider that all that will always seem out of reach for us; they don't live over here and don't know anything about the misery of us refugees, that's why I think so; they don't have as much poverty in America as in Germany - those who aren't living in poverty have no understanding for us Germans; etc.

7% 4%

They lack intuition and understanding of the German mentality: They lack understanding of the German mentality; their opinions about Germany they show are based only on hearsay - they aren't over here; it is part of their mentality - they cannot express what they want to in a way that is understandable and agreeable to the Germans; they have opinions different from us and their descriptions do not always show a real understanding; because they express themselves differently and have different opinions; etc.

4 2

They are overbearing and praise America too much: They are rather one-sided and only picture themselves as the best and the most intelligent beings; they mostly present the American point of view - are overbearing and praise their own country too much; etc.

3 1

They are superficial and incorrect: They only bring superficial things - their topics aren't interesting enough; I want something objective - it begins to develop into a kind of overall discussion; they probably don't know us, otherwise they wouldn't consider us to be stupid enough to believe all that junk; that is obvious in their answers to letters from listeners - they generalize our German point of view; etc.

3 1

Other opinions: They would let a German talk if they had a real understanding; in my opinion the broadcasts should be more for the people - I very often feel that the broadcasts are only understandable for the upper classes, for us refugees they do the least; the Germans have experienced too much to take whole-heartedly to what the Americans offer; etc.

3 1

No answer:

1 1
21% 10%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

JUDGMENTS AS RELATED TO FREQUENCY OF VOA LISTENING ...

In accord with expectation, judgments to the effect that VOA exhibits real understanding of Germany are more widespread among more frequent than less frequent auditors of VOA.

"Do you think that the people responsible for the programming of the Voice of America have a real understanding of Germany and conditions over here, or don't you think that this is the case?" (Asked of all frequent to very frequent listeners of VOA, i.e. those who listen once a week or more often.)

Listen to VOA:

	<u>Very frequently</u>	<u>Frequently</u>
WEST GERMANY		
Have real understanding	76%	58%
Do not have real understanding	13	24
No opinion / No answer	11	18
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
(No. of cases:)	(232)	(437)
WEST BERLIN		
Have real understanding	88%	79%
Do not have real understanding	3	14
No opinion / No answer	4	7
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
(No. of cases:)	(249)	(206)

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN JUDGMENTS ...

Opinions as to whether VOA does or does not show real understanding of Germany show some variations among population groups. But among all elements the preponderant judgment is favorable. As would be expected, unfavorable opinions are appreciable among respondents that background questions reveal to be generally negative toward America. But even in this group favorable judgments of VOA understanding prevail.

"Do you think that the people responsible for the programming of the Voice of America have a real understanding of Germany and conditions over here, or don't you think that this is the case?" (Asked of all frequent to very frequent listeners of VOA, i.e. those who listen once a week or more often.)

WEST GERMANY

	Have real understanding	Do not have real understanding	No opinion	No. of cases	WEST BERLIN	Have real understanding	Do not have real understanding	No opinion	No. of cases
--	-------------------------	--------------------------------	------------	--------------	-------------	-------------------------	--------------------------------	------------	--------------

Sex

Men	67%	21%	12%...100%	312	84%	10%	6%...100%	199
Women	62	19	20	291	84	10	6	254

Education

Elementary school	65%	18%	17%	503	81%	11%	8%	320
Secondary school	61	26	13	132	91	9	-	114
Diploma and University	73	27	-	34	95	-	5	19

Income (per month):

0 - 149 DM	64%	21%	15%	142	84%	8%	8%	114
150 - 299 DM	64	18	18	306	81	14	5	207
300 - 599 DM	66	22	12	192	88	8	4	115
600 DM and more	72	20	8	25	93	7	-	15

City Size:

0 - 4,999 pop.	65%	19%	16%	286	-	-	-	-
5,000 - 24,999	67	22	11	124	-	-	-	-
25,000 - 99,999	60	25	15	162	-	-	-	-
100,000 - 249,999	61	20	19	63	-	-	-	-
250,000 and over	70	17	13	100	-	-	-	-

Occupations

Professionals	67%	27	6%	33	82%	18%	4%	11
Businessmen	66	19	15	93	88	7	5	60
White-collar workers	70	20	10	120	87	12	1	76
Skilled laborers	61	21	18	108	77	15	8	65
Semi-skilled laborers	61	19	20	90	82	11	7	62
Dom. & prot. Service	56	22	22	23	94	6	-	18
Farmers	64	13	23	53	-	-	-	-
Housewives	65	20	15	20	100	-	-	6
Unemployed	62	27	11	37	81	13	6	68
Pens., stud., retired, apprentices	67	20	13	92	85	6	9	86
Trade Union Membership:								
Yes, member	63%	24%	13%	137	90%	8%	2%	64
No	65	19	16	532	83	11	6	389

(cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

	Have real under- standing		Do not have real under- standing		No opinion No answer	No. of cases:	WEST BERLIN	Have real under- standing		Do not have real under- standing		No opinion No answer	No. of cases:
	standing	standing	standing	standing				standing	standing	standing	standing		
<u>Age:</u>													
19 - 24 years	72	17	11	100	105			82	10	8	49	8	49
25 - 34 years	59	20	21	14	122			82	14	4	55	4	55
35 - 44 years	65	21	14	14	155			78	16	6	115	6	115
45 - 54 years	61	25	14	14	151			85	9	6	113	6	113
55 years and over	69	17	14	14	134			91	4	5	115	5	115
<u>Party Preference:</u>													
SPD	70	20	10	10	229			84	12	4	220	4	220
CDU/CSU	72	10	18	18	133			90	5	5	83	5	83
FDP/LDP/DVP/SDV	59	36	5	5	59			86	10	4	97	4	97
Other parties	61	23	16	16	49			66	22	12	26	12	26
No party	54	26	20	20	135			73	15	12	9	12	9
Don't know	58	20	22	22	56			67	11	22	9	22	9
<u>Religion:</u>													
Catholics	66	17	17	17	319			90	6	4	51	4	51
Protestants	65	21	14	14	320			83	11	6	325	6	325
<u>Origin:</u>													
Natives (& Aussiedler)	64	20	16	16	524			84	11	5	421	5	421
Expellees	72	20	8	8	106			93	7	-	15	-	15
Refugees (from East Zone after 1945)	49	21	30	30	39			94	-	6	17	6	17
<u>Political activity and interest:</u>													
Completely disinter., inactive	62	15	23	23	204			82	8	10	136	10	136
Little interested, inactive	63	19	18	18	216			83	13	4	139	4	139
Somewhat inter., somewhat act.	70	24	6	6	174			86	12	2	124	2	124
Interested a/o active	63	37	-	-	48			90	3	7	41	7	41
Very interest. & active	73	14	13	13	22			85	15	-	13	-	13
<u>Attitude towards Democracy:</u>													
Democrat	66	18	16	16	316			89	11	4	265	4	265
Undecided	63	24	13	13	307			82	11	7	170	7	170
Non-Democrat	59	23	18	18	17			89	11	-	9	-	9
<u>Attitude towards USA:</u>													
Positive	79	12	9	9	140			88	8	4	183	4	183
Undecided (neutral)	74	16	10	10	256			89	6	5	196	5	196
Negative	49	33	18	18	192			66	26	8	61	8	61
<u>Readiness to learn from USA:</u>													
We can learn very much	82	14	4	4	342			93	5	2	161	2	161
We can learn much	69	18	13	13	201			84	8	2		2	

CONFIDENTIAL

VI. WHAT IS AMERICA'S OBJECTIVE WITH VOA

OVERALL RESULTS ...

To further block in the picture of German reactions to VOA, all respondents who had either heard it or heard of it were questioned as to America's objectives in broadcasting the program. The intent of the inquiry was not only to bring to light the kinds of objectives the respondents would advance, but also to observe the extent and kind of spontaneous evaluations - particular adverse - that might be evident in the remarks. It was judged that an open inquiry about aim and purposes of the VOA program might provide a more indirect and hence possibly more revealing way of measuring antagonism to VOA than is provided by more direct questions on evaluations.

Clearly revealed in the results is that spontaneous reactions to VOA as an effort to exploit or hoodwink the German people are rare. Adverse statements of VOA objectives emanated from only approximately one in twenty in West Germany (6%) and one in a hundred (1%) in West Berlin. The great bulk in both areas spoke about the purposes of VOA in terms that were neutral to favorable - much more often the latter.

"What do you think, why do the Americans broadcast this program? (What do they want to achieve with it? - What do they expect from it?)"
(Asked of all radio listeners who have either listened to VOA or heard of it.)

	WEST GERMANY *	WEST BERLIN
Adverse statements of objective	6%	1%
Neutral to favorable statements of objective	79 15 100%	96 3 100%
No opinion / No answer		
(No. of cases:)	(1419)	(533)

KINDS OF PURPOSES CITED ...

The small minority who spoke in adverse terms of America's objectives in broadcasting VOA (see page following) focused on the following allegations: that it is propaganda to camouflage America's real aims; propaganda to create a buffer against the Russians; propaganda to democratize or Americanize (in disparaging sense).

Respondents who envisaged America's motivation for VOA in a neutral or favorable light advance a variety of views which are listed in considerable detail (see following pages) because of the very valuable concrete insights they provide into German thinking about VOA. Some of the more frequent recurring themes about VOA's purposes were: to inform people about America and correct misimpressions; to create mutual understanding and friendship; to democratize and reeducate (in approving sense); to integrate the Germans into an anti-Communist block. Possible more significant than the kinds of motivations advanced, are the definite overtones of approval that run through a large proportion of the specific comments.

- * Data on the present question were inadvertently omitted from machine tabulation, so had to be tabulated by hand. Group breakdowns have been omitted because such extensive hand-tabulations would have seriously delayed issuance of the present report. The figures reported do not include 80 cases which were not available for the hand tabulation. Their presence, however, would not significantly affect any of the conclusions drawn.

Adverse Statements of VOA Objectives

WEST	WEST
GERMANY	BERLIN

It is propaganda to camouflage the real aims of the Americans: It is typically American to tell the masses something and deceive them; to make us stupid so that we should not become aware of their intentions; they want to keep us down and never again let us get to our feet; to make the German people stupid so as to dupe us more easily; they want to influence us, they like to convince us of their good will, but still keep dominating behind our back; they cajole us and cheat us; they want to make us pliant to their purposes; to the Americans the end justifies the means; I suppose for egoistic reasons, they like to get us where they want us; "I'm no Negro" - they like to colonize us, at least tutor us; because the Americans make propaganda that way, that is the way they want to conquer Germany; etc.

3%

1%

It is propaganda to create a buffer against the Russians: It has political reasons, I suppose they want to stir up the Germans against the Russians, in case it ever came to a conflict; because the Americans want to use us Germans as a buffer against the East; to win the people in Germany to their side and to incite them against Russia; they merely want to trap us so that we stand in the front line in case of war, because they are big whetnecks (weaklings); they want to win us and incite us against the Russians; etc.

2

It is propaganda to democratize (in disparaging sense) the Germans: It has the purpose to teach us democracy, but most people laugh about it - that is for people who haven't knocked around the world; I think they want to drum their democracy into our heads, which, though, doesn't suit us Europeans, as our interests are quite different; the Americans want to teach us democracy and forget that our historical development was quite different from their's; one cannot simply re-educate a people like the Germans over night, as one man's meat is another one's poison, and the American kind of democracy doesn't suit the German people; etc.

1

It is a program to Americanize (in disparaging sense) the Germans: That the Germans get acquainted with their culture, to level our culture with their's; they like to teach us the American mentality, but it does not help, it would be much better if they used these 30 minutes for their own people; they want to drum into our heads as much as possible about the USA; etc.

Propaganda (apparently adverse but without fuller comment):

It is for propaganda purposes only; that is propaganda for the strong sides of America; it is propaganda, they want to give a picture of America that is as favorable as possible; etc.

1

Other adversely stated aims: Because they want to convince us of their honest intentions towards us, but they don't have any; they want to demonstrate something to the German people because it is defeated; etc.

7%

1%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Neutral To Favorable Statements Of VOA Objectives

WEST	WEST
GERMANY	BERLIN

The aim is to inform people about America and to correct wrong impressions: They want to show us how America really is, to correct any wrong conceptions; they want to direct the German opinion about America onto the right track; it offers the only German opportunity for those parts of Germany that have no access to Western newspapers to learn something about America, which is very important; we want to get acquainted with the true life in America and to get rid of false conceptions; that we Germans get a picture of the USA; to acquaint us with the conditions over there; information on America; that we get to hear about their way of life, I've grown up during the Hitler regime when such things were not known and when people had no ideas about other countries, now things have changed - that's why they broadcast such programs; I suppose they intend to inform Germany about America, I don't know, though, what they expect it to be good for; they want to instruct us, to demonstrate that life is better in America whilst we are backward; that we get to hear how they work and live over there; to inform the uneducated population about the American way of life, because they have no other chance to hear about it; to show us what America has got and how people live over there; etc.

23%

30%

For mutual understanding and to win the friendship and sympathy of the Germans: It is broadcast in the interest of the German-American friendship; because they sympathize with the Germans as well as we sympathize with America; it is a sort of a friendship that is fostered through this broadcast; they want to remain good friends with us and that we ought to think well of them; that we realize America doesn't want to be our enemy anymore; to further relations between both America and Germany, for the Americans like us; thereby they want to prove their really good intention in respect to other nations; they want to make us familiar with America, the program is meant for mutual understanding, since we belong also to the Western world; that, as a people, one gets to know each other more closely; one wants to acquaint the nations - Germany and America - and to further mutual understanding; they want understanding with us; they want to establish and further the contact between both countries; to serve as a means of understanding between nations; perhaps America wants thereby to strengthen the ties of friendship of both nations; through it one wants to improve the relations between both nations; etc.

21

34

It is propaganda - for America (and the Western Powers)
(without further specifications): Probably for propaganda; that is propaganda; it is propaganda for America and the Western Powers; political propaganda for America; etc.

12.

8

The aim is democratization and re-education of the Germans: to convey to the man in the street an understanding of the character of democracy; to demonstrate to us the advantages of democracy; the Americans want to show us the American life in freedom, we have to learn from it - that at least, is what my husband says; to acquaint the German people with their institutions and thus add a prop to democratic re-education; educational information work in a democratic sense; they want to inform us about the social as well as about the political conditions in their country, because history has proved that economic advancement is only possible in a truly democratic country; they hope that in the course of time we will be as well off as they are across the ocean - that we will have their way of life and their freedom; democracy in Germany will be furthered so that we all can live more freely and more happily; they want to acquaint us with their liberal ideas so that we will appreciate those ideas; for re-education in the political area - and that wouldn't do us any harm; democratic principles for the ideal of freedom of the individual; they want to tell us what is right, how to run a country; it is just a part of re-education; etc.

9

10

(cont'd on next page)

- 34 -

CONFIDENTIAL

WEST GERMANY WEST BERLIN

The aim is to integrate the Germans into the anti-Communist front; They want to defend freedom against the Eastern dictatorship; propaganda to strengthen the cooperation of the Western world against Communism; they want to enlighten the German people about Communism; as an antidote to Radio Leipzig broadcasts, to immunize the population against Soviet broadcasts; if the Russians make propaganda the Americans have to make counterpropaganda; through this broadcast the USA seeks to exert the greatest possible influence upon us, they want to make us enthusiastic for their cause, to have us as friends against Russia; that we adopt the American policy and take a stand against Russia; they want us to become their friends, we are to help them in case of war against Russia; to inform the people so that Communism cannot invade, and that peace is secured; by no means they want to give Communism a chance in West Germany; etc.

9

9

The aim is enlightenment (without specification); That the German people get informed about their good intentions; they don't want to make propaganda, they just want to tell us the truth; to enlighten the German people; to make the German people better understand the political situation, newspapers alone can't make things properly understood; to inform the Germans of the actual political situation of the world; to inform us of the political situation on the whole continent; to enable everybody to complete his knowledge of the world; they know that not everybody is in the position to read all the newspapers, and these broadcasts spread the political news better among the people; etc.

8

8

The aim is to win the German people to their side; The Americans need us, they know that there is no Europe without Germany, and want to win us over to their side; the Americans want to win us for their interests; to get many foreign peoples to their side, all shall stick together, if possible inclusive of the East Zone - which is to be converted by the VOA ... it's too difficult, since the SED takes precautions that this will not happen; that the Americans win the Germans over to their side, because they need Germany; to influence the Germans in their favor; etc.

8

5

Information on opinions and attitudes of the American goals of the U.S. policy towards Germany; The U.S.A. want to inform the German people about their policy; one wants to inform us about the aims and intentions of the Americans to show the Germans what America thinks of Germany; they want to inform us about their intentions with Germany; to acquaint us with their policy; in the first place to make West Germany more familiar with American opinions and attitudes; to point out the American point of view; one wants to make the Germans more familiar with American thinking; etc.

5

5

The aim is to convey information on advances; They want to give us a share in their advancements; to show us their advancements; they want to raise the living standard of the working class through their advances, especially in technical matters, and want us to do likewise; this way they want to acquaint us with their innovations and inventions, in agricultural matters I already have got many a good hint; they want to acquaint us with Western advancements; these broadcasts are meant to promote our knowledge and to move ahead fast in the economic field; to acquaint us with their achievements, that we do it likewise etc.

4

4

(cont'd on next page)

02312

WEST WEST
GERMANY BERLIN

The aim is to propagate American ideas; to Americanize the Germans; Because America wants to Americanize us to a certain extent; that we become like them; that we get to hear about the American way of life and to make us do as they do; the American wants this century to be an American century and disseminate their ideas everywhere; to recommend themselves for imitation; they want to change us to their way of thinking; that the Germans adopt American views; etc.

2% 2%

The aim to convince people of their good intentions and to show how much they do for them; They want to show through it that they want only our well-being; they want to show that they are good people so that we get a good impression of them; so that the German people know that America has good and honest intentions; perhaps that we should have more faith in them, or something like that; to convince us about the useful and good things coming from there; they want to show what they are doing for us; etc.

2 2

For economic reasons; Because they want to cooperate economically with us; so that good trade relations can be established; naturally the USA wants to make propaganda since they need us urgently as a market outlet; probably because they want to make money; etc.

2 2

For (better) cooperation between Germany and America; They want to achieve closer cooperation between America and West Germany; that we cooperate with them; so that Germany and America help each other and become partners; as to reach cooperation; to establish cooperation with other countries; etc.

2 1

Other aims: America wants to cheer up the German people; they want to enlighten the German people about the conditions in the East Zone and in Berlin; it has political goals; it is more or less for the people in the East Zone who aren't able to read about those things in the newspapers, but like to hear them; so that one can make comparisons between America and Germany; they want to put Germany politically up on their feet again; etc.

2 6
109% 126%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

VII. WHY SOME VOA AUDITORS CEASE TO LISTEN

A final evaluational sidelight that is valuable to include in the present paper is a consideration of the reasons advanced for not listening by respondents who indicated having heard VOA, but not in the preceding month (24 per cent of radio listeners in West Germany and 8 per cent in West Berlin). The reasons most frequently cited revolve around factors largely unrelated to program content, as poor reception and occupation demands at broadcast time. Only approximately a third of the less in listening in West Germany and West Berlin appears to emanate from adverse reactions to the program itself.

"Did you ever listen to the 'Voice of America'?" (Asked of radio listeners who did not indicate having listened to VOA during preceding month)

If "Yes:" "Why don't you listen to this program any more?"

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
<u>Lack of time on account of occupation:</u> I don't switch it on because I have to work; I listen very seldom because I am busy with feeding in the stable between 18 and 20 hrs. and have no time to listen; because I don't have time, don't come home before 19hrs.; because my work doesn't leave me time enough; we switch the radio on when work is finished, at 20 hrs.; because I haven't finished with my work at that time; I have no time left at 19 hrs.; because business does not leave me time to listen; etc.	9%	5%
<u>No or poor reception:</u> Because reception on my set is poor; the Vorarlberg-station drowns it out; I cannot receive it with my small radio set; the jamming is so loud in the evening that I cannot hear a thing; I think we cannot receive it with our small set; because I do not possess a radio set and cannot visit my acquaintances too often; because I cannot receive it; etc.	7	1
<u>No interest, particularly not in lectures and political subjects:</u> Many subjects don't interest me; I'd rather listen to music or humorous subjects; because I don't care; I prefer listening to music; because I want entertainment in the evening instead of lectures or politics; I like diversion then; because the world has gone crazy and I am fed up to hear about this rubbish (politics); I am not interested because I don't understand it; I'm an old man and don't care for politics; etc.	4	1
<u>Voice of America generally or partly disliked:</u> Because the program starts with jazz music, then I switch off immediately; no interest because I don't like the program; because it is propaganda; because it is only rubbish, they talk to us like to people on the moon; it doesn't appeal to me; it hasn't got anything of interest for us Germans; I object to an American speaking who is difficult to understand, such a thing would not be allowed in the German broadcasts; etc.	3	1
<u>Impediments of personal or general nature:</u> Because I'm rather deaf and unable to hear anything; I'm not allowed to touch the radio and switch it on myself; I know the program starts at 7hrs., but my son-in-law doesn't switch it on; etc.	1	1
<u>Preference of other simultaneous programs:</u> The program from Koblenz at 7 hrs. is of immediate interest for us because it deals with our district; because transmissions from Germany are more interesting; etc.	1	--
<u>Other reasons:</u> Because I am no radio listener at all and study my newspapers only; etc.	1	*
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	*	--
	26%*	9%*

* Less than one half of one per cent.

**Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

APPENDIX IBasis For Scoring Respondents On Political Activity And Interest,
And Basic Orientations Toward Democracy And The United States

I. POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND INTEREST

An index of political activity and interest was formulated on the basis of the following questionnaire items, with the scoring weights assigned as indicated.

Item 1: Let's assume you are sitting in a train-compartment and among your fellow-travelers a lively discussion starts, during which you hear the following five opinions (presented on a card):

The first person says: "We are expected today to be active politically, but how can we find the time for it? We have enough personal worries."

The second one thinks: "We vote, that's enough. What the people in the government do then is their business. That's what they are there for."

On that the third: "We should not let it be enough with voting. What the people 'up there' do concerns all of us and we should watch it closely, our voting decision should be made accordingly."

The fourth: "Over and above that an individual has the duty to politically influence at least his environment. And if everyone does that much, it will be felt 'up there' too."

The fifth: "Yes, if all did that much - but they don't, and so what it finally amounts to is that our fate lies in the hands of a few people. Therefore, it is of no use to break one's neck."

"What is your attitude on this?" (Answers to this open question were coded into the following five categories with scores assigned as indicated):

- Take no interest in politics (no idea; no interest; no time; too many worries; bad experience; it's useless;)(0 points)
- Take only a formal interest (participate in elections, but take no further interest in politics;)(1 point)
- Go to the polls and watch political events to base decision on election upon; (2 points)
- Take a vivid interest in politics, talk about politics with others; (3 points)
- Don't know; (0 points)

Item 2: "When you now consider all you have said, which of the statements that were presented to you (in Item 1) comes closest to yours?"

The statements were scored as follows:

- Position 1 0 points
- Position 2 1 point
- Position 3 2 points
- Position 4 3 points
- Position 5 0 points
- Don't know 0 points

R E S T R I C T E D

Item 3: "Did you within last year attend a discussion-evening? A political meeting or something of that sort?" (Once or more times?)

- | | |
|----------------------------------|----------|
| Yes, discussion, several times | 3 points |
| Yes, discussion, once | 2 points |
| Yes, meeting, several times | 3 points |
| Yes, meeting, once | 2 points |
| Yes, both discussion and meeting | 3 points |
| No, nothing | 0 points |

(If respondent participated in anything): "Did you in such a meeting participate in the discussion with questions or interjections or did you hold a speech?"

- | | |
|---------------------------------|----------|
| Yes, participated in discussion | 2 points |
| Yes, held speech | 4 points |
| No, neither-nor | 0 points |

Item 4: "Do you, occasionally, talk with people outside of your family about general political and economic questions? (Does it happen often?)"

- | | |
|-------------------|----------|
| Yes, very often | 3 points |
| Yes, often | 2 points |
| Yes, not so often | 1 point |
| No, never | 0 points |

Item 5: "Does it happen that your acquaintances come to you to learn your views on current political questions?(Does it happen often?)"

- | | |
|-------------------|----------|
| Yes, very often | 3 points |
| Yes, often | 2 points |
| Yes, not so often | 1 point |
| No | 0 points |

Item 6: Political party membership was assigned 2 points, a functionary 3 points.

Item 7: Trade Union membership was assigned 1 point, a functionary 3 points.

Total Score Categories: Total scores on the above seven items bearing upon political activity and interest were categorized into five groups designated as follows:

- | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------|
| 0 - 2 points: | Completely disinterested, inactive |
| 3 - 6 points: | Little interested, inactive |
| 7 - 11 points: | Somewhat interested, somewhat active |
| 12 - 15 points: | Interested a/o active |
| 16 or more: | Very interested and active |

II. ATTITUDE TOWARDS DEMOCRACY

The first basic political orientation - towards democracy as a mode of government was approached with the following questions with scores assigned as indicated:

Item 1: "What would be better in your opinion for Germany in her present situation?"

- (1) A government that has to justify all of its measures to an elected representation of the people, but could not always act so quickly and decisively; (3 points)
- (2) A government that would not have to justify its acts to an elected representation of the people but could always act relatively quickly and decisively; (0 points)
- (3) Don't know (0 points)

R E S T R I C T E D

Item 2: "If a government would promise you work and bread, but ask in exchange for restrictions in your personal freedom - which ones of the following personal rights would you in this case be willing to give up?"
(Presented on a card.)

- (1) To select the political party you like;
- (2) To read all kinds of newspapers and magazines you like to read;
- (3) To educate your children in accordance with your beliefs.

If he would give up no rights, respondent gets	3 points
If he would give up one right, he gets	2 points
If he would give up two rights, he gets	1 point
If he would give up three rights, he gets	0 points

<u>Total Score Categories:</u>	6 points:	Democrat
	2 - 5 points:	Undecided
	0 - 1 point:	Non-Democrat

III. ATTITUDE TOWARDS AMERICA

Item 1: "For which other nation (people) do you have especially friendly feelings?"

If "Americans" mentioned	2 points
Otherwise	0 points

Item 2: "What, in your opinion, mainly induces the Americans to help the European economy?" (Statements on card.)

(1) America honestly takes care to help Europe on her feet again;	2 points
(2) America wants to get an economically sound partner for trade;	1 point
(3) America wants to stop Communism;	1 point
(4) America wants to gain supremacy in Europe, economically and politically;	0 points
Don't know	0 points

Item 3: "Do you believe that America would leave Western Germany in the lurch, if it would gain an advantage from that - or do you think that America would under no circumstances leave Western Germany in the lurch?"

Would	0 points
Under no circumstances	2 points
Don't know	0 points

<u>Total Score Categories:</u>	5 - 6 points:	Positive
	2 - 4 points:	Undecided (neutral)
	0 - 1 point:	Negative

IV. READINESS TO LEARN FROM AMERICA

Item 1: "Can we Germans, in your opinion, learn from the Americans much, something, or nothing in respect to:

Education?
Agriculture?
Social Welfare?
Politics?
In cultural fields?

For every "much" the respondents got 2 points, for every "something" 1 point.

<u>Total Score Categories:</u>	5 or more points:	We can learn very much
	3 - 4 points:	We can learn much
	1 - 2 points:	We can learn something
	0 points:	We can't learn anything

We Answer Letters From Listeners

"May I ask why you take an interest in this program?"

WEST WEST
GERMANY BERLIN

It is instructive and enlightening: Because we get information about matters concerning which we can't get an answer over here; we can thus achieve new knowledge; I like people asking all kinds of questions, thereby I can get the information I need; here we hear something new every time; because we can learn from the answers; we receive information about geography; the answers give information on institutions that are hardly known over here; etc. 10% 13%

It is generally interesting and many-sided: Because many questions are generally interesting; because they mostly deal with interesting questions; because the questions are of general interest; questions and answers are often very interesting; the variety of the questions is interesting; etc. 8 13

It gives an insight into the kind of questions people ask: It is nice to know what kind of questions are asked; because I want to know what the listeners are asking; I am interested in the things people want to know about; it is interesting to see what naive questions are sometimes asked; etc. 8 7

It gives thorough information: Because the questions are answered in such a thorough way, one couldn't get better information anywhere else; the answers are always distinct and detailed; interesting questions are always answered in a nice and thorough way; the answering is done in an easy-going and clever way; etc. 7 11

It interests me personally: Because many of the questions asked interest me personally; they answer questions that concern us; because they often ask significant questions to which one likes to know the answers and questions that are of interest to us; many of the problems are of interest to us; questions which I also would ask; etc. 6 11

It furthers the exchange of opinions: We hear about the difference between question and answer and thus get acquainted with the mentality of both peoples; because those letters are written in Germany and answered in the U.S.; because of the mutual exchange of opinions; because this exchange of opinions is so pleasant, everyone is free to express his opinion; because it interests me to know about the opinions of other people; etc. 6 7

It presents a basis for comparison: We can make comparisons; we hear how everything goes abroad, we can make comparisons; it enables us to see the difference between abroad and here; we can learn from it, we can compare the opinions abroad and over here; we can compare the different attitudes of the listeners; etc. 2 5

It brings much about the U.S.: Because it brings something about life in the U.S.A.; we hear exactly what is going on in America; I like to listen to it because it gives information about America; one gets a good general view of the life in America; it is always fun, we get to know details about America; the questions are up to date and get us acquainted with the country and the people; etc. 2 3

It promotes international friendship: It unites our two peoples; I already emphasized that it is for the benefit of better understanding among the peoples; the problems they deal with brings the Americans near to us; etc. 1 *

Other reasons: The question-and-answer play; I like the questions and answers; etc. 3 3

No opinion / No answer: 2 1
55% 74%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Latest News

"May I ask why you take an interest in this program?"

WEST WEST
GERMANY BERLIN

General interest in politics and world affairs: Because I take an interest in politics; because these things are always mixed with politics in which I am most interested; I like to follow all the latest news; like to listen to the news, what is happening in the world; because it conveys a picture of the world affairs; I want to follow world affairs; I like to share the events of the world; they give news from all the world; I am interested in seeing what happens in the world; I am interested in all the news; etc.

21% 19%

One gets the latest news: One always gets to hear the latest news; to learn the latest news; I hear the latest news and need not buy a newspaper; I like to know the latest news even if I don't care about politics; to keep myself informed on the latest world affairs; it keeps me informed; they are very much up to date; because they inform us most quickly; because one gets the news first-hand, before German stations transmit them; more up to date than the newspapers; because they really have the latest news; etc.

13 14

Interest in the developments in Korea: Because it gives the latest news from the Korean battlefield; to get everything on Korea fast; they broadcast much about Korea and I am of course interested to get to know that; because I like to know everything, how far the Americans got with their war in Korea; the reports on Korea and the situation there; to hear what is going on in Korea; etc.

5 7

Interest in news about America: Because at the present time one wants to know more about America; I get to know what things are like in the U.S.; to hear about the USA; we have to know what America's plan is in regard to us; to learn about the political views of people over there; I want to know what they think over there; I get to know quickly the American views on things; I like to know what is going on in America; etc.

4 9

Gives an opportunity to compare: Because I like to compare it to other news; to make comparisons, as one gets news from many sources; to compare news on world politics with the German news; to compare it to our news; it enables me easily to compare it to other news; because one hears the difference between there and here; I can compare it to our German news; etc.

3 7

Reliable: They give an exact and reliable account; I think this news is rather impartial; gives a picture of the whole situation and I suppose not everything is a lie; informs very well; etc.

2 3

I cannot get this news from any other source: They give news which one does not obtain from any other source; because the Germans don't give it that way; etc.

2 2

News is useful: Because I can make use of it politically; here you always get to hear the news which is really important; short and to the point; it gives political information and enables me to judge; it broadens the scope; etc.

2 3

Other reasons: Because to me both programs are easy to understand and afford a general view of the whole; because of the weather forecast; they are entertaining and report on various subjects; etc.

2 2

No opinion / No answer:

* 1
54%** 67%**

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

This is America

"May I ask why you take an interest in this program?"

WEST WEST
GERMANY BERLIN

General interest in America, the country, the people, life and customs: It interests me because I want to know about conditions in America; because I want information about other countries and other peoples; because I want to know how everything goes in America; because I am interested in the conditions abroad; because America interests me in general; because the customs and habits in America interest me; to get acquainted with the country and the people; etc.

25%

28%

The program is instructive and revealing: We learn something; instructive; because I get a good picture; we learn a lot about America through this broadcast; for our own good we learn something about America and what is going on there; gives information which is instructive, we get a good picture how freely they live there; interesting and instructive; etc.

6

7

The program is lively: This broadcast often gives me the impression that I am present there myself; because we hear about America in such a natural way; very lively; because I can get a real picture of the landscape and the American people; etc.

3

1

A basis for comparison with conditions in Germany: Because I can make comparisons with our own country; we can make comparisons with conditions in Germany; etc.

1

4

Interest in technical inventions: It gives us an idea about inventions and innovations in the technical field; we hear about inventions and progress; they broadcast about the latest inventions, of which otherwise we would never be informed; etc.

1

2

Interest in other topics that are presented: Because they talk about movies which are shown to us in Berlin too; because we get an impression of the rural population and get an idea how everything is handled; I get information about the living standard of the workers, what they earn and what taxes they have to pay; etc.

1

2

Personal interest (Relatives in the U.S.): I have many relatives abroad; personal interest in the country; etc.

1

2

The program offers variety: The variety is to be praised; the program gives us the opportunity to get acquainted with America in an easy way, in every respect; etc.

1

2

The program shows America as it really is: This broadcast shows America as it really is; this program shows America to us as it really is; etc.

1

1

Other reasons: Because it is thrilling to hear so much about a foreign country; very pleasant and easy-going way of announcement, very witty; etc.

1

2

No opinion / No answer:

1

2

42%

53%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

In the Radio Car through America

"May I ask why you take an interest in this program?"

WEST GERMANY WEST BERLIN

Generally instructive (country and people): We learn something about this great country; we learn a lot of new things; we get acquainted with geography, the country and the people and that is good; because I like nature and they tell me a lot about it, that is highly interesting for me; we learn something about America that I didn't know about yet; they get us acquainted with American life; we learn a lot about America and can then talk about it; this way we get familiar with the country and the people; etc.

21% 28%

The program brings colorful descriptions: Presents incomparably descriptive picture of the country and its living conditions; that is just like our RIAS being on a tour, we catch the atmosphere somehow and get a good picture of the country and the people; because it is done in a realistic way; they give a good description of the habits and customs in America; I really imagine I were one of the party; because the radio-car often broadcasts right from the center of a city; etc.

5 9

Instructive on special fields of interest: They tell us about life on farms, how they work and we can learn from it; we get acquainted with the conditions in the American industry; we get to know something about the various fields of profession; because I like to hear about the American landscape; thus we get acquainted with the American cities; because I would like to see it some day; I am interested in power-stations; the living standard of the individual American also interests me; etc.

3 5

The program offers variety: Because it brings something about everything; because every day I learn something about America; because we get to know about many details, not only about one subject; I like about it that we receive information in all kinds of fields about America; because they deal with all fields of interest; etc.

3 3

The program brings news, is up to date: We hear news about the American people; we hear news from America; it is fun to hear news that we don't know yet; because this broadcast is very much up to date; through this broadcast we receive information about the latest news in America; etc.

2 6

The program is well-selected, nice and pleasant: It is interesting and well done; the descriptions are very pleasant; good description of the country and the people, outstandingly pleasant; the way they go through the country is so nice; sometimes they talk about funny things; I like reports like that; the whole set-up; I like the idea; the way this broadcast is done is rather unique; it is funny; etc.

2 4

Personal interest (Relatives in America): Personal interest in that country; because we have relatives over there; etc.

* 1

Other reasons:

1 3

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{3}{40\%}$ ** $\frac{1}{60\%}$ **

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Commentaries

"May I ask why you take an interest in this program?"

WEST	WEST
GERMANY	BERLIN

Interest in the attitude of the Americans: Because it is important to be informed about the American attitude on the problems of the day; to hear about the opinions of the Americans; in order to know what the Americans think about us; to get acquainted with American policy; the attitude of the Americans; to hear the opinion of others; because they express their opinion about Russia; etc.

9%	11%
----	-----

General interest in politics and the world situation: Because I take an interest in politics; in order to know what is going on; because I want to be informed about the world situation; because I occupy myself very much with politics; because we hear what goes on in the world; to hear about the general situation; to get a picture about the world situation; etc.

8	4
---	---

The commentaries are instructive and enlightening: Because they explain certain political problems; we get information about various matters; because I can learn from it; because I got a better insight into happenings; they are always enlightening; etc.

6	9
---	---

Exemplary for free expression of opinion, basis for comparisons: Criticism is exercised in an interesting way, it is quite obvious that everyone is allowed to express his opinion freely; open criticism; deficiencies in the various states are brought to light, which is very important for us; I don't want to hear about Germany exclusively, other people's opinions must be respected also; I can make comparisons with our German news service; etc.

3	5
---	---

The commentaries are up to date: I am interested in politics, the commentaries are up to date; they always bring the latest in details; they broadcast matters of interest and the latest news of the world; it keeps me informed; because they talk about the political problems of the day; etc.

3	4
---	---

The commentaries are objective and clear: They are presented in an objective and simple way; they are short and always hit the nail on the head; they are rather clear cut and easy to understand; etc.

2	3
---	---

Their program is unique (can't be heard anywhere else): We don't find this information in our newspapers; this program contains matters which can't be found in our radio programs; we hear of things that are unknown to us; etc.

1	*
---	---

Other reasons:

2	3
---	---

No opinion / No answer:

<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
35%**	40%**

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Agricultural Program

"May I ask why you take an interest in this program?"

WEST GERMANY WEST BERLIN

For professional reasons; I am from the country; interest in agriculture; for professional reasons, my husband is a gardener; have a garden myself; as a farmer I have to take an interest in it, every businessman is interested in his business; because I have a garden and chickens; that interests me as a farmer; because I like to work in agriculture; I worked a lot in agriculture and I am very fond of nature; etc.

97 113

Because I can learn from it; We can learn something from it; thereby I found out that the Americans are much ahead of us in agriculture and can teach us something about it; this program is very instructive, the Americans are much more progressive than we are; because I believe that I as a former farmer can learn from it; because we can learn a lot in this field; etc.

5 4

Basis for comparison with German conditions; Because I like to make comparisons with German agriculture; in order to make us realize the difference between agriculture here and abroad; because I am interested to know how it is in America compared with here; to see the difference in working opportunities and working methods between America and Germany; because we can compare the American agriculture with agriculture over here; etc.

5 3

Interest in agricultural machines and innovations; I like to hear of innovations; because they bring news on agriculture; because they talk about chickens, farming, etc.; because we hear of innovations; they talk about all the new machines and innovations which we don't know yet; because I take a special interest in agricultural machines; so that we know how they are off abroad, they bring reports on innovations; etc.

6 5

Interest in working methods of American farmers; Their excellent way of cultivating the soil on the big farms; the cultivation of the big farms is interesting; because it interests me to see how American agriculture is superior to ours; the cultivation and the organization and administration of agriculture, for instance canned goods factories; this way we hear of the working methods of the American farmers; etc.

3 3

Interest in the life of American farmers; We hear all sorts of interesting details about the life of the farmers in America; from the description of the life of the American farmers we can learn a lot of things that are unknown to us; they have a marvellous life compared with the life of our farmers here; the farmers have an easier life than our farmers in Germany have; etc.

1 -

Interest in special fields; We hear a lot about poultry-rearing which is useful; etc.

1 .

Other reasons; Because this broadcast is presented in an interesting and lively manner; the way they deal with agrarian matters I consider quite interesting; an uncle of mine is a farmer in the USA - that's why I'm interested; I take an interest in American farms because I have relatives abroad who are farmers; etc.

1 1

No opinion / No answer;

314 275

- * Less than one half of one per cent.
- ** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Press Reviews

"May I ask why you take an interest in this program?"

WEST WEST
GERMANY BERLIN

Provides a basis for comparison: Because one can hear what foreign newspapers write; in order to hear what they write about abroad; we only have one newspaper here - I also want to know what the other papers have to offer; to learn how the news in America is treated in the papers; one gets an over-all picture on all other countries; because I compare the various news comments; because the commentaries represent different opinions; because by that we get to know the various political tendencies and opinions; I can compare them with German news; etc.

8%

8%

General interest in world events: Because I am interested in world affairs; because I want to be informed about the situation in the world; I want to know what the newspapers say about current events in the world; for orientation; because one wants to be informed what is happening over there; etc.

5

5

Current news: Because they give an up to date report on economics and politics; they are always up to date; we can hear the latest news here; etc.

3

2

Objective and understandable information: Because we get correct information on the present situation; they are sometimes very clear and easily understandable; because we get good information on various subjects; they are frank and honest without regard; etc.

2

3

They are useful - save reading the newspaper: Good cross-section, one does not need to read every newspaper and there we get at least good exports, it saves reading the paper and that's an advantage; because I don't have the time to read and this way I learn at least something; etc.

1

2

Cannot get it otherwise:

1

1

Other reasons:

*

1

No opinion / No answer:

1

1

21%** 23%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Broadway Melodies

"May I ask why you take an interest in this program?"

WEST WEST
GERMANY BERLIN

<u>I like music in general:</u> Because I like to hear music to forget my woes and worries; music always interests me; I take an interest in any kind of music; because I like to listen to music; etc.	4%	5%
<u>I like the (modern) American music:</u> Because I like to hear American music; I like this kind of music, it is nice and light; I favor modern music; I always like dance music; etc.	4	4
<u>Good selection of melodies:</u> Quite nice and fast tunes; this program is very cheerful; I like the tunes; I like when they play and sing; very nice for entertainment; I am a music fan and they bring such nice tunes; they have such nice melodies; good selection; etc.	2	6
<u>I like the rhythm:</u> I like rhythm; it is such a strange kind of rhythm; etc.	1	2
<u>It keeps us informed:</u> We hear what tunes are up to date in America; we get information on the kind of music that is favored in America; etc.	1	2
<u>Music is strange but interesting:</u> Strange kind of music, totally different from our music, and it is nice to listen to it; I like to hear the music of that broad-minded country, it is a bit strange but it appeals to me; it is somehow different, although I favor our music; etc.	1	1
<u>Sometimes I like this broadcast and sometimes not:</u> Sometimes this broadcast is very nice but I am not enthusiastic about it; at times I don't like it at all and switch it off; etc.	*	1
<u>Certain music programs are especially liked:</u> Because there we get acquainted with American home music; because it is light opera music; etc.	*	*
<u>Other reasons:</u> Because I am interested in the state of musical decadence; etc.	*	1
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	$\frac{1}{14\%}$	$\frac{1}{23\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

Eve and Michael

"May I ask why you take an interest in this program?"

WEST WEST
GERMANY BERLIN

The program is instructive; Very descriptive to us, informs us about interesting facts on various fields; very stimulating, we hear much about the cultural life and personalities in the U.S.; because we hear of what goes on in the U.S., through these dialogues we learn a lot of things that are worth while; because they talk about culture and research; I take an interest in these interviews; etc.

3% 7%

This broadcast is presented in an easy-going and natural manner; The nice way of talking, it is natural and easy-going; the dialogues are interesting because they are so natural; these two have such a pleasant way of expressing their opinions; because they talk interestingly; etc.

2 9

Program is entertaining; I have had fun with it; this entertainment is stimulating for me; they always are funny; their style is rather entertaining; very entertaining; etc.

2 3

People like this kind of program (general): I like the way this program is presented, only it should be more cheerful; discussion of this kind are exemplary for German radio stations; because they broadcast so much news in such a pleasant manner; because they tell such nice things; etc.

1 2

The broadcast isn't bad, but it's nothing special; I can't name anything in particular, it differs a lot; sometimes it's nice and sometimes not so nice; I can't remember but it does not seem to be anything outstanding; it is quite pleasant but I don't go in for it in a big way; etc.

1 1

Other reasons:

• 1

No opinion / No answer:

- 1

9% 24%*

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

WE ANSWER LETTERS FROM LISTENERS

May I ask you why you don't take any interest at all in this program?

WEST WEST
GERMANY BERLIN

The questions are nonsensical: They sometimes ask questions in an awfully stupid way; they ask such dumb questions; they sometimes ask stupid questions; because it is nonsense; the questions are often ridiculous and silly; the questions that are asked by us are too stupid and childish; nonsense - reminds me of the mailbox questions; because they bring such stupid things about which one has to laugh; some questions seem too stupid to me; I propose a better selection of questions; because the people talk so much nonsense; they are partly very stupid; the questions are too stupid - one could find the answers oneself if one thought a little; they often ask questions which could be looked up in the encyclopedia - the radio does not need to be bothered with that; etc.

2% 3%

It is boring and uninteresting: It is boring and uninteresting; because it is too boring and utterly uninteresting to me; I just don't like the stuff; I don't care for it; boring - I mostly don't even listen to it; it's very specialized and is of no interest to me; this talk about unimportant things does not appeal; because these themes are already discussed in other programs; most of the questions don't interest me; I don't care for anything - the world doesn't mean anything to me anymore; etc.

2 2

The questions are eccentric and unimportant: There are mostly specialized questions of certain people which could be answered by letter from abroad; they answer too many eccentric questions; because unimportant letters are written and answered; etc.

1 1

Other objections: Because I think that they lie a lot; because I haven't written to the Voice of America and it only concerns those who write; because everybody thinks something different; etc.

1 *

No opinion / No answer:

* **
6% 6%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

LATEST NEWS

Get the news as well or better from German sources: The German news will do for me; I hear that in the German news, don't need anything special; I can hear it elsewhere; that is not so interesting for me since I listen to the German news; I am interested in our German affairs; I am more interested in what is happening here; because I listen to the news here and I am not so interested in the American news; I don't understand anything about politics and if I want to hear the news I listen to German stations; the news is much the same as here; etc.

2% 2%

Presentation is biased: Everything has too much of an American flavor; they don't give the news freely but are prejudiced; I don't believe everything, there is always an underlying bias; not everything is true that is broadcast; etc.

1 -

No opinion / No answer:

* **
3% 2%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

THIS IS AMERICA

"May I ask why you don't take any interest at all in this program?"

WEST GERMANY WEST BERLIN

Too propagandistic: They try to show off too much; they just advertise for themselves; especially this part seems a little showy for me; all that seems so exaggerated to me; these programs are too artificial for me - they usually bring just the favorable aspect of their country; one hears too much good about America, that is not plausible; etc.

2%

*

No interest in America (general): We can't be interested in everything; what do I care about America?; I am not interested in the every-day-life of America; I can't make any use of it - an unnecessary burden; because we have enough cares of our own and have to think of ourselves; I have no interest in anything at the moment; etc.

1

1

I will never have the opportunity to see all that: I shall never have the opportunity to see America; there is nothing for me in America since I will never get over there; because I'll never have the opportunity to see America; I haven't lost anything in America - I won't get over there anyway; because I'll never get there; etc.

*

Other objections: Too boring, dull; it doesn't apply to us in this form; it's of no use to us since our life is poor; I don't want to go to America; they don't offer anything interesting; it's too far away for me; what they bring from the past seems very boring to me sometimes; etc.

*

1

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{1}{5\%}$

$\frac{*}{2\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

IN THE RADIO CAR THROUGH AMERICA

General expression of disinterest - no time, no understanding, other interests: Because I don't understand much about it; I can't listen to everything; what do I care about America; I haven't lost anything in America - I won't get over there anyway; we don't have any relatives over there and our life is so oppressed that we are not interested in other nations; might be more interesting for young listeners; that's something for men - I am not interested in it as a woman; I am not interested in the every-day-life in America; because I don't want to know anything about America - I am not interested in it; one can't listen to everything; etc.

2%

1%

The program is biased: Because it's bias only; they select the good sides only; because they are selected and arranged; there is too much to-do about nothing and after all - America is but another country; etc.

1

*

Other objections: Because one doesn't like to hear descriptions of a rich country if one is poor; I don't like the Americans; there are more important problems for me; it should be explained better; once in a while one hears something new, but that is not important in itself; they usually have poor music with it; etc.

1

1

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{1}{5\%}$

$\frac{*}{2\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

COMMENTARIES

"May I ask you why you don't take any interest at all in this program?"

WEST WEST
GERMANY BERLIN

General expressions of disinterest - no time, no understanding rejection of politics: Because I don't know enough about it; I am not interested in politics; that is something for men; this field is not interesting to me as a woman; I don't always understand it; they are too political; lack of time; not very interested in politics; because I want to have as little as possible to do with politics; they are of completely political nature, which I reject; I merely listen to it, but I am not especially interested in politics; never, since it is difficult for me as a woman to understand these commentaries; because they use topics that usually don't interest me; because I am little interested in the opinion of another person; I don't have the time; etc.

4%

3%

Much of it is slanted and isn't plausible: The broadcast is obviously designed to impress - not very plausible; because they are not objective at times; they are only one-sided; all of it is instigation; not plausible; because each of them twists the subject to his liking; because I think that they always instigate in these - sort of neighborhood gossip; etc.

1

*

Other objections: Because I make up my own mind; too much of the stuff they bring is of no interest to us - we have other problems to deal with; etc.

*

1

No opinion / No answer:

 $\frac{1}{6\%}$
 $\frac{*}{4\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

AGRICULTURAL PROGRAM

General expressions of disinterest - nothing to do with agriculture, no understanding, etc.: I don't even have a garden and otherwise I have nothing to do with agriculture; I have nothing to do with agriculture and no interest in it either; can't make any use of it; I have no land and no cattle and besides I don't understand anything about it; agriculture doesn't interest me - I am not a farmer; I have nothing to do with agriculture; it's of little interest to us city people; I grew up in the city and I don't feel very strongly about it; since I live in the city I am not very interested in it; I don't go for these kind of programs - that's more for farmers; I don't understand enough about it; I am not very fond of agriculture; farming doesn't interest me; I just got a few flower-pots; because I am not interested in the country; it's not part of my field of interest; I don't understand anything about it; etc.

12%

23%

Other objections: I am not interested in novelties in America, they just want to degrade German agriculture; I can't picture it; too boring; because farming over there cannot be compared with farming over here; I am just listening to it; etc.

*

-

No opinion / No answer:

 $\frac{1}{13\%}$
 $\frac{-}{23\%}$

* Less than one half of one per cent.

PRESS REVIEWS

"May I ask you why you don't take any interest at all in this Program?"

WEST WEST
GERMANY BERLIN

General expressions of disinterest - no time, no understanding, other interests, etc.: These are political topics and I am not interested in them; these are American newspapers and I'm not interested in them; as a woman I'm interested in other things; I don't want to have much to do with newspapers; because of lack of time; we hear enough over German stations; because that is a purely American matter; I don't care what the American newspapers write; I don't need it, it's something for men; I have other cares; I lack the time; because I don't understand much about it; I'm not politically interested; I don't want politics so detailed; I'm not interested in it, I just want to hear one opinion; I don't even listen to it; I don't like to listen to something like that - German stations broadcast that too; because I don't listen to German press reviews either; it leaves me cold; etc.

3% 3%

They are superfluous: Because I know that from the newspaper already; I can read that myself; our own newspapers are sufficient for me; I hear enough of that over the German radio; that is practically a repetition of the news; I am satisfied with the news of the news-broadcasts; that is too much - our newspapers already bring many different viewpoints; because I can get a picture from the German newspapers; because they are just excerpts from newspapers; etc.

1 2

They are unreliable: They are not always plausible; they all tell us lies; because each of them says something different; because the press over there is the same trash as over here; because the press does not take an impartial stand - I don't believe everything in the newspapers - that is my opinion; etc.

1 1

Other objections: Sometimes they are too boring; what they write in America does not apply to us - they live in different circumstances; when one sees the different press reviews one doesn't know in the end what the game really is; it's too extensive; too boring; they don't seem important enough to me; etc.

1 1

No opinion / No answer:

* 1
6% 8%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

B. CANWAY MELODIES

Dislike this kind of music: I don't like this kind of music; I don't care for this kind of music; it is just noisy, I don't care for this kind of sing-song; I don't care for this modern music; because I have no understanding whatsoever for this type of music; I am not at all in favor of that kind of music; it's not to my taste; I don't care for this modern stuff; because I fundamentally oppose any of the modern dance music; I dislike this music; it's terrible music - I usually turn the radio off; because it's out of taste; because one's ears hurt after that; etc.

11% 14%

Dislike jazz music: I reject jazz music in general; jazz music does not meet my taste, disturbs me; I don't go for jazz music in a big way; I don't care for jazz music; etc.

4 5

Dislike American music: The music of the Americans is awful; I don't care for American music; this Am-music is terrible; it's too much American; I don't like any of the American music - I am not used to it - our German music is different; I don't like this kind of American music; I can't get enthusiastic about this American music; I don't like the American kind of music; American music seems ugly to us Germans; I don't like the American popular songs; etc.

3 2

(cont'd on next page)

WEST' WEST
GERMANY. BERLIN

I prefer German music (dislike foreign music); There is nothing like German music; we want German music; I don't go in for music in a big way, especially not for foreign music; our folk-songs are much nicer; that kind of music is not to our taste - it's too foreign to us; etc.	24	14
I am too old for it; Being an old man I am not interested in it; I don't care for it, one can't keep up with this new kind of music; I am too old for it; I am not young enough for it anymore; etc.	1	2
No understanding for music (general); I don't understand anything about music; I don't understand anything about it - I am not musical enough; I don't care much for music; I don't like music; no understanding for music; I don't appreciate music; etc.	1	1
Can't stand that Negro music (Indian music); Because I can't stand this Indian music; because it seems like Negro music to us; because that's how I imagine Negro music to be; etc.	1	1
Neither speak nor understand English; I don't understand English and it isn't to my taste anyway; we understand neither the music nor the words; the tunes are quite pleasant, but I don't understand the words; etc.	*	*
Other objections: I am too occupied with my work, that's why I don't understand anything about it; the selection is not very good either; that's no music for workers; my husband always says: "Turn that off, we don't want to listen to it"; I am just not interested; etc.	1	1
No opinion / No answer;	1	*
	25	27

* Less than one half of one per cent.

EVA AND MICHAEL

Program regarded as poor: The whole performance has no quality - it's too childish; it doesn't have any standards; somewhat ridiculous, too childish, scanty; they don't convey much meaning - one can't learn anything from it - very superficial; I consider this program out of taste; there are often unimportant things; etc.	24	14
Type of discussion disliked: I don't like these teasing and ironical conversations; there is so much talking back and forth; because I don't approve of their conversation; I don't think the conversation is anything special; they just chatter on and on; etc.	1	1
General expressions of disinterest; I don't attach much value to it; I don't think so much of it; I am not interested in this program; etc.	*	-
Other objections: I think it's rather forced and biased; it's too artificial - doesn't seem genuine; because I can't stand the English accent of Michael; it's too long - too extensive; one has to pay so much attention all the time and one cannot always listen - that makes me nervous; etc.	1	*
No opinion / No answer;	1	1
	5	3

* Less than one half of one per cent.

APPENDIX III: Group Comparisons in VOA Feature Evaluations

Here I am showing you a list of regularly appearing features of the Voice of America. Would you please name those features you are familiar with? (CARD) (asked of all "frequent" to "very frequent" listeners of the VOA, i.e. those who reported listening once a week or more.)

Which of these interest you, which interest you somewhat, and which don't interest you at all? (asked for those of the VOA features with which the respondent indicated familiarity.)

ANSWER LETTERS FROM LISTENERS

	WEST GERMANY	Inter-acted	Some Inter.	No Inter.	Un-familiar	No op/No ans.	No. of cases: WEST GERMANY	Inter-acted	Some Inter.	No Inter.	Un-familiar	No op/No ans.	No. of cases
Sex:													
Men	464	184	16	4	26	24...	372	64	154	4	104	1...	299
Women	59	16	16	4	19	24...	297	71	17	4	7	1...	254
Education:													
Elementary school	52	164	164	6	24	24...	503	71	144	5	8	24	320
Secondary school	54	18	18	7	21	24...	132	86	19	7	5	5	114
Diploma & University	47	32	32	12	6	24...	34	32	37	21	5	5	19
Income (per month):													
0 - 149 DM	55	14	14	6	23	24...	142	65	17	5	12	14	114
150 - 299 DM	51	19	19	6	22	24...	303	70	15	4	12	3	207
300 - 599 DM	52	18	18	5	24	24...	192	60	21	7	7	1	115
600 DM and more	46	12	12	12	28	24...	95	40	20	33	7	1	15
City Size:													
0 - 4,359 pop.	50	18	18	5	29	24...	230	—	—	—	—	—	—
5,000 - 24,999	53	18	18	5	20	24...	124	—	—	—	—	—	—
25,000 - 99,999	53	11	11	7	27	24...	102	—	—	—	—	—	—
100,000 - 249,999	49	16	16	14	19	24...	63	—	—	—	—	—	—
250,000 and over	55	21	21	2	20	24...	100	—	—	—	—	—	—
Occupation:													
Professionals	50	24	24	12	64	24...	33	46	36	18	7	2	11
Businessmen	47	19	19	6	26	24...	63	55	23	13	7	2	60
White-collar workers	62	11	11	3	18	24...	120	72	15	5	3	2	76
Skilled laborers	59	11	11	3	25	24...	108	68	11	5	12	4	65
Semi-skilled laborers	41	17	17	11	28	24...	90	73	13	6	10	1	62
Dom. & prot. Service	30	17	17	13	22	24...	23	61	33	—	—	—	18
Farmers	43	17	17	13	32	24...	23	67	16	—	—	—	5
Housewives	50	21	21	5	30	24...	20	74	14	—	—	—	68
Unemployed	57	22	22	—	19	24...	37	69	19	3	9	—	86
Pensioners, retired, Apprentices, etc.	51	16	16	9	23	24...	92	—	—	—	—	—	—
Trade Union Membership:													
Yes, member	51	13	13	7	28	24...	137	75	17	5	3	2	64
No	52	18	18	6	22	24...	532	67	16	5	3	2	359

(cont'd on next page)

- 18 -

* Since these group breakdowns are based only on "frequent" to "very frequent" listeners to VOA (once a week or more) the number of cases in some population groupings - particularly in Berlin - become vanishingly small. In such instances the number of cases should only be taken as the minimum.

	WEST GERMANY	Inter-estimated	Some Inter.	No Inter.	Un-familiar	No op/No ans.	No. of cases:	WEST BERLIN	Inter-estimated	Some Inter.	No Inter.	Un-familiar	No op/No ans.	No. of cases:
Age:														
19 - 24 years	46%	22%	3%	25%	24...100%		105	68%	14%	2%	10%	64...100%	49	
25 - 34 years	57	22	5	15	1		122	67	24	5	4	-	55	
35 - 44 years	59	14	5	20	2		155	73	13	5	6	3	115	
45 - 54 years	54	11	7	27	1		151	71	18	5	6	-	113	
55 years and over	39	20	10	28	3		134	64	15	10	11	-	115	
Party Preference:														
SPD	56%	17%	4%	23%	*		229	71%	14%	5%	9%	1%	220	
CDU/CSU	47	12	9	27	5		133	69	14	5	12	-	83	
FDP/LDP/DVP/EDV	42	27	12	19	-		59	60	23	10	4	3	97	
Other parties	59	12	4	23	2		49	89	-	-	11	-	9	
No party	53	22	7	16	2		135	62	23	11	4	-	26	
Don't know	45	16	5	30	4		56	73	22	-	-	-	9	
Religion:														
Catholic	50%	16%	8%	24%	2%		319	67%	17%	4%	8%	4%	51	
Protestants	54	19	5	21	1		320	66	18	7	8	1	325	
Origin:														
Natives (Aussiedler)	52%	18%	7%	21%	2%		524	68%	17%	7%	7%	1%	421	
Expellees	54	13	5	27	1		106	80	7	-	13	-	15	
Refugees (fr. E-Zone after 1945)	46	18	3	33	-		39	65	12	-	17	6	17	
Political activity and interest:														
Completely disinter., inactive	50%	18%	4%	25%	3%		205	68%	16%	6%	9%	1%	136	
Little interested, inactive	56	15	6	23	-		217	64	15	7	12	2	139	
Somewhat inter., somewhat active	49	22	6	24	1		146	70	21	4	3	2	124	
Interested a/o active	64	17	11	6	2		47	69	7	12	10	2	41	
Very interested and active	44	13	13	30	-		23	85	15	-	-	-	13	
Attitude towards Democracy														
Democrat	50%	20%	5%	24%	1%		319	66%	18%	7%	8%	1%	265	
Undecided	53	14	8	23	2		304	71	15	5	7	2	170	
Non-Democrat	35	35	12	12	6		17	89	-	11	-	-	9	
Attitude towards USA														
Positive	54%	17%	4%	22%	3%		142	78%	11%	2%	7%	2%	183	
Undecided (neutral)	53	17	5	24	1		257	60	20	9	11	-	196	
Negative	55	20	7	13	-		192	59	23	12	3	3	61	
Readiness to learn from USA:														
We can learn very much	66%	15%	8%	15%	1%		143	72%	16%	5%	7%	-	161	
We can learn much	52	13	6	23	1		200	71	18	4	7	-	136	
We can learn something	51	16	4	21	1		201	72%	16	4	7	-	136	
We can't learn anything	31	22	2	23	3		201	66	11	10	10	2	136	

	WEST GERMANY	Inter-estimated	Some Inter.	No Inter.	Un-familiar	No op/No ans.	No. of cases:	WEST BERLIN	Inter-estimated	Some Inter.	No Inter.	Un-familiar	No op/No ans.	No. of cases:
Age:														
19 - 24 years	46%	22%	3%	25%	24...100%		105	68%	14%	2%	10%	64...100%	49	
25 - 34 years	57	22	5	15	1		122	67	24	5	4	-	55	
35 - 44 years	59	14	5	20	2		155	73	13	5	6	3	115	
45 - 54 years	54	11	7	27	1		151	71	18	5	6	-	113	
55 years and over	39	20	10	28	3		134	64	15	10	11	-	115	
Party Preference:														
SPD	56%	17%	4%	23%	*		229	71%	14%	5%	9%	1%	220	
CDU/CSU	47	12	9	27	5		133	69	14	5	12	-	83	
FDP/LDP/DVP/EDV	42	27	12	19	-		59	60	23	10	4	3	97	
Other parties	59	12	4	23	2		49	89	-	-	11	-	9	
No party	53	22	7	16	2		135	62	23	11	4	-	26	
Don't know	45	16	5	30	4		56	73	22	-	-	-	9	
Religion:														
Catholic	50%	16%	8%	24%	2%		319	67%	17%	4%	8%	4%	51	
Protestants	54	19	5	21	1		320	66	18	7	8	1	325	
Origin:														
Natives (Aussiedler)	52%	18%	7%	21%	2%		524	68%	17%	7%	7%	1%	421	
Expellees	54	13	5	27	1		106	80	7	-	13	-	15	
Refugees (fr. E-Zone after 1945)	46	18	3	33	-		39	65	12	-	17	6	17	
Political activity and interest:														
Completely disinter., inactive	50%	18%	4%	25%	3%		205	68%	16%	6%	9%	1%	136	
Little interested, inactive	56	15	6	23	-		217	64	15	7	12	2	139	
Somewhat inter., somewhat active	49	22	6	24	1		146	70	21	4	3	2	124	
Interested a/o active	64	17	11	6	2		47	69	7	12	10	2	41	
Very interested and active	44	13	13	30	-		23	85	15	-	-	-	13	
Attitude towards Democracy														
Democrat	50%	20%	5%	24%	1%		319	66%	18%	7%	8%	1%	265	
Undecided	53	14	8	23	2		304	71	15	5	7	2	170	
Non-Democrat	35	35	12	12	6		17	89	-	11	-	-	9	
Attitude towards USA														
Positive	54%	17%	4%	22%	3%		142	78%	11%	2%	7%	2%	183	
Undecided (neutral)	53	17	5	24	1		257	60	20	9	11	-	196	
Negative	55	20	7	13	-		192	59	23	12	3	3	61	
Readiness to learn from USA:														
We can learn very much	66%	15%	8%	15%	1%		143	72%	16%	5%	7%	-	161	
We can learn much	52	13	6	23	1		200	71	18	4	7	-	136	
We can learn something	51	16	4	21	1		201	72%	16	4	7	-	136	
We can't learn anything	31	22	2	23	3		201	66	11	10	10	2	136	

"Which of these interest you a little bit, and which don't interest you at all?"

THAT IS AMERICA

Sex	WEST GERMANY	Inter-ested	Some Inter.	No Inter.	Un-familiar	No op/ No answ.	No. of cases:	WEST GERMANY	Inter-ested	Some Inter.	No Inter.	Un-familiar	No op/ No answ.	No. of cases:
Men	38%	17%	7%	36%	2%	100%	372	55%	11%	2%	30%	2%	100%	199
Women	43	15	2	39	1	100%	297	47	11	2	35	5	100%	254
Education:														
Elementary school	37%	16%	4%	42%	1%	100%	503	46%	9%	3%	36%	4%	100%	320
Secondary school	46	20	5	27	2	100%	132	53	17	1	26	3	100%	114
Diploma & University	62	14	6	15	3	100%	34	65	11	1	21	1	100%	19
Income (per month):														
0 - 149 DM	49%	12%	1%	35%	3%	100%	142	51%	9%	3%	32%	5%	100%	114
150 - 299 DM	34	19	4	41	2	100%	306	49	11	2	36	2	100%	207
300 - 599 DM	44	16	9	31	1	100%	192	54	12	3	28	3	100%	115
600 DM and more	36	24	1	40	1	100%	25	40	20	1	40	1	100%	15
City Size:														
0 - 4,999 pop.	35%	18%	2%	43%	2%	100%	280	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	100%	11
5,000 - 24,999	37	15	10	37	1	100%	124	5	4%	4%	4%	4%	100%	60
25,000 - 99,999	41	17	9	33	1	100%	102	5	4%	4%	4%	4%	100%	60
100,000 - 249,999	45	16	3	33	3	100%	63	5	4%	4%	4%	4%	100%	65
250,000 and over	55	13	2	28	2	100%	100	5	4%	4%	4%	4%	100%	62
Occupation:														
Professionals	53%	18%	3%	21%	1%	100%	33	73%	4%	4%	9%	18%	100%	11
Businessmen	33	23	4	38	2	100%	33	50	13	3	32	2	100%	60
White-collar workers	48	11	7	33	1	100%	120	54	16	3	27	1	100%	76
Skilled laborers	40	12	5	42	1	100%	108	52	11	2	34	1	100%	65
Semi-skilled laborers	27	27	5	39	2	100%	90	45	12	3	37	3	100%	62
Dom. & prof. Service	35	9	4	44	8	100%	23	50	6	1	44	1	100%	18
Farmers	23	13	4	55	1	100%	53	50	17	1	33	1	100%	6
Housewives	55	15	1	30	1	100%	20	50	17	1	33	1	100%	6
Unemployed	54	14	1	30	2	100%	37	52	7	4	28	9	100%	68
Pens., stud., retired, apprentices, etc.	45	17	3	34	1	100%	92	47	10	1	40	3	100%	86
Trade Union Membership:														
Yes, member	34%	14%	10%	40%	2%	100%	137	58%	9%	1%	27%	5%	100%	64
No	42	17	3	37	1	100%	532	49	11	2	35	3	100%	189

• Less than one half of one per cent.

(cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

C O N F I D E N T I A L

Age	WEST GERMANY	Inter-ested	Some inter.	No inter.	Un-familiar	No op/ No psw. cases: 100%	No. of cases	WEST BERLIN	Inter-ested	Some inter.	No inter.	Un-familiar	No op/ No psw. cases: 100%	No. of cases
19 - 24 years	51%	16%	3%	28%	1%	105	57%	6%	2%	35%	1%	29	1%	49
25 - 34 years	39	19	5	36	1	122	60	9	2	29	1	29	1	55
35 - 44 years	38	16	6	36	2	155	44	17	3	35	1	35	1	115
45 - 54 years	41	15	5	36	1	151	49	11	1	34	1	34	1	113
55 years and more	36	16	3	43	2	134	51	8	3	32	5	32	6	115
Party Preferences:														
SPD	41%	17%	5%	36%	1%	229	50%	7%	2%	36%	5%	36%	5%	220
CDU/CSU	41	14	3	39	3	133	51	14	1	31	3	31	3	83
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDP	42	17	5	36	-	59	53	17	2	28	-	28	-	97
Other parties	33	20	4	43	-	49	45	22	-	33	-	33	-	9
No party	41	17	6	32	2	135	54	4	4	27	11	27	11	26
Don't know	34	18	5	43	-	56	33	22	-	45	-	45	-	9
Religion:														
Catholics	30%	15%	5%	40%	2%	319	42%	16%	4%	37%	6%	37%	6%	51
Protestants	42	17	5	35	1	320	51	12	2	33	2	33	2	325
Origins:														
Natives (& Descendants)	39%	17%	5%	33%	1%	524	49%	12%	2%	34%	3%	34%	3%	421
Expellees	43	13	5	36	3	106	61	-	6	33	-	33	-	15
Refugees (Fr.-Zone after 145)	46	18	-	36	-	39	70	6	-	18	-	18	-	17
Political activity and interests:														
Completely disinter., inactive	32%	20%	3%	43%	2%	206	43%	8%	4%	40%	5%	40%	5%	136
Little interested, inactive	46	13	3	31	-	217	46	15	1	35	3	35	3	139
Somewhat inter., somewhat active	43	15	5	35	2	176	57	10	1	29	3	29	3	124
Interested a/o active	36	17	17	26	2	47	64	7	3	24	2	24	2	41
Very interested and active	39	17	9	35	-	23	62	8	7	23	-	23	-	13
Attitude towards Democracy:														
Democrat	42%	16%	4%	37%	1%	319	53%	12%	2%	29%	4%	29%	4%	265
Undecided	39	17	5	37	2	304	41	11	3	37	2	37	2	170
Non-Democrat	35	24	6	29	6	17	56	-	-	44	-	44	-	9
Attitude towards USA														
Positive	45%	19%	1%	35%	-	142	52%	12%	2%	32%	2%	32%	2%	183
Undecided (neutral)	41	15	5	37	2	257	51	9	3	34	3	34	3	196
Negative	35	17	8	37	3	192	46	16	3	30	5	30	5	61
Readiness to learn from USA														
No can learn very much	55%	15%	3%	25%	2%	143	64%	12%	1%	22%	1%	22%	1%	161
We can learn much	42	20	5	32	1	200	47	11	3	35	4	35	4	136
We can learn something	36	14	3	45	2	201	42	11	3	36	8	36	8	104
We can't learn anything	26	16	6	50	2	126	31	7	4	54	4	54	4	52

"Which of these interest you, which of these interest you a little bit, and which don't interest you at all?"

IN THE RADIO CAR THROUGH AMERICA

	WEST GERMANY	Inter- ested	Some Inter.	No Inter.	Un- familiar	No op/ No ans.	No. of cases:	WEST BERLIN	Inter- ested	Some Inter.	No Inter.	Un- familiar	No op/ No ans.	No. of cases:
Sex														
Men		36%	9%	6%	44%	34...100%	372		62%	9%	2%	24%	34...100%	199
Women		41	9	3	45	2	297		57	7	2	32	2	294
Education:														
Elementary school		36%	9%	4%	47%	2%	503		59%	8%	2%	28%	3%	320
Secondary school		39	10	6	42	3	132		58	9	2	31	•	114
Diploma & University		53	16	3	26	-	34		64	10	-	26	-	19
Income (per month):														
0 - 149 DM		42%	8%	4%	43%	3%	142		60%	5%	1%	32%	2%	114
150 - 299 DM		35	10	5	49	1	306		65	6	1	25	3	207
300 - 599 DM		43	3	5	41	3	192		50	13	2	33	2	115
600 DM and more		40	24	-	32	4	25		54	13	-	33	-	15
City Sizes														
0 - 4,999 pop.		37%	9%	4%	45%	2%	280		-	-	-	-	-	-
5,000 - 24,999		35	7	8	46	4	124		-	-	-	-	-	-
25,000 - 99,999		39	10	4	41	6	102		-	-	-	-	-	-
100,000 - 249,999		36	14	5	43	-	63		-	-	-	-	-	-
250,000 and over		47	10	3	36	4	100		-	-	-	-	-	-
Occupations:														
Professionals		52%	12%	-	33%	3%	33		46%	18%	9%	27%	1%	11
Businessmen		33	10	3	53	1	93		47	13	2	37	1	60
White-collar workers		41	10	5	43	1	120		62	9	1	29	6	76
Skilled laborers		47	5	4	42	2	106		53	6	2	32	6	65
Semi-skilled laborers		26	11	7	52	4	90		61	6	-	29	11	62
Dom. & prot. Service		31	9	4	52	4	23		55	-	-	28	-	16
Farmers		23	15	4	47	6	53		-	-	-	-	-	6
Housewives		23	15	4	47	5	20		17	-	-	83	-	66
Unemployed		40	5	10	40	2	37		60	6	1	27	6	66
Pens., stud., retir., apprentices, etc.		43	11	3	41	2								
Trade Union Membership:														
Yes, member		37%	7%	8%	44%	4%	137		73	8%	3%	26%	2%	64
No		39	10	4	45	2	532		59	8	1	29	3	369

* Less than one half of one per cent.

(cont'd on next page)

WEST GERMANY

Age	Inter-ested	Some Inter.	No Inter.	Un-familiar	No op/ No ans.	No. of cases	WEST BERLIN	Inter-ested	Some Inter.	No Inter.	Un-familiar	No op/ No ans.	No. of cases
19 - 24 years	36%	10%	6%	43%	3%...100%	105		53%	6%	-%	39%	2%...100%	49
25 - 34 years	45	9	1	44	1	122		56	16	-	26	-	55
35 - 44 years	36	12	5	44	3	155		57	12	-	28	3	115
45 - 54 years	36	7	5	48	4	151		58	4	4	31	3	113
55 years and over	40	8	7	43	2	134		65	6	3	23	3	115
Party Preferences													
SPD	44%	7%	5%	42%	2%	229		61%	7%	-%	30%	2%	220
CDU/CSU	33	8	3	53	3	133		64	10	-	21	5	63
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	41	14	8	36	1	59		55	11	3	29	2	97
Other parties	29	14	6	47	4	49		45	11	-	44	-	9
No party	36	10	4	48	2	135		50	-	8	38	4	28
Don't know	45	11	5	36	3	56		67	11	-	22	-	9
Religion													
Catholics	32%	8%	4%	53%	3%	319		67%	13%	-%	20%	-%	51
Protestants	44	11	5	36	2	320		58	8	2	30	2	325
Origin													
Natives (Aussiedler)	36%	10%	5%	45%	2%	524		59%	9%	2%	28%	2%	421
Expellees	43	8	5	40	4	106		60	7	-	33	6	15
Refugees (fr. E-zone after 1945)	38	8	5	46	3	39		53	-	-	41	-	17
Political activity and interests													
Completely disinter., inactive	36%	11%	2%	47%	4%	206		54%	8%	2%	32%	4%	136
Little interested, inactive	43	10	3	43	1	217		54	6	4	33	3	139
Somewhat inter., somewhat active	37	9	6	45	3	176		64	10	-	24	2	124
Interested a/o active	45	4	17	24	-	47		71	7	-	20	2	41
Very interested and active	31	13	4	48	4	23		77	8	-	15	-	13
Attitude towards Democracy													
Democrat	41%	10%	5%	40%	4%	319		62%	10%	2%	24%	2%	265
Undecided	37	8	5	49	1	304		54	6	1	36	3	170
Non-Democrat	24	18	-	58	-	17		56	-	33	11	-	9
Attitude towards USA													
Positive	39%	10%	4%	42%	5%	142		65%	7%	-%	25%	3%	163
Undecided (neutral)	41	9	4	45	1	257		54	10	3	30	3	196
Negative	37	9	6	47	1	192		57	7	2	31	3	61
Readiness to learn from USA													
We can learn very much	48%	9%	4%	37%	2%	143		69%	8%	1%	21%	1%	161
We can learn much	42	9	3	44	2	200		61	10	4	24	4	136
We can learn something	36	10	6	45	2	201		50	6	4	35	5	104
We can't learn anything	29	10	7	52	2	126		38	10	-	50	2	52

WEST GERMANY

"Which of these interest you, which of these interest you a little bit, and which don't interest you at all?"

COMMENTS

	WEST GERMANY	Inter-ested	Some Inter.	No Inter.	Un-familiar	No op/ No resp.	No. of cases:	WEST GERMANY	Inter-ested	Some Inter.	No Inter.	Un-familiar	No op/ No resp.	No. of cases:
Sex														
Men		405	144	58	384	34..100%	372		544	34	38	354	34..100%	199
Women		26	14	8	52		297		28	14	5	51	2	294
Education:														
Elementary school		314	144	64	434	14	503		364	124	44	474	14	320
Secondary school		39	15	5	39	2	132		46	10	6	37	1	114
Diploma & University		64	12	9	12	3	34		47	21	-	32	-	19
Income (per month):														
0 - 149 DM		354	124	64	454	24	142		334	144	44	474	24	114
150 - 299 DM		32	14	7	45	2	306		40	11	5	44	2	207
300 - 599 DM		35	16	5	43	1	192		42	11	4	41	-	115
600 DM and more		32	16	8	44	-	25		67	6	-	27	-	15
City Size:														
C - 4,999 pop.		314	144	64	494	4	280		4	4	4	4	4	11
5,000 - 24,999		40	17	3	35	-	124		-	-	-	-	-	60
25,000 - 99,999		34	12	9	45	-	102		-	-	-	-	-	76
100,000 - 249,999		27	10	8	54	1	63		-	-	-	-	-	62
250,000 and over		38	13	5	34	5	100		-	-	-	-	-	18
Occupation:														
Professional		434	154	94	334	4	33		554	134	4	184	94	11
Businessmen		38	15	2	43	2	93		43	8	7	42	-	60
White-collar workers		36	12	7	43	2	120		41	15	1	43	-	76
Skilled laborers		34	15	4	45	2	108		45	14	1	39	1	65
Semi-skilled laborers		28	19	6	44	3	90		34	8	6	50	2	62
Dom. & priv. Service		26	9	22	39	4	23		39	-	11	50	-	18
Farmers		25	9	9	55	2	53		-	-	17	-	-	6
Housewives		35	15	-	50	-	20		33	17	6	33	-	68
Unemployed		43	8	6	38	5	37		32	15	-	47	-	26
Pens., stud., retir., apprentices, etc.		33	17	4	46	-	92		38	12	4	44	2	26
Trade Union Membership:														
Yes, member		424	124	54	374	44	137		484	64	24	444	34	64
No		32	15	6	46	1	532		38	13	5	44	-	389

* Less than one half of one per cent.

(cont'd on next page)

Age:	WEST GERMANY	Inter- ested	Some inter.	No inter.	Un- familiar	No op/ No ans.	No. of cases:	WEST BERLIN	Inter- ested	Some inter.	No inter.	Un- familiar	No op/ No ans.	No. of cases:
19 - 24 years	20%	12%	9%	57%	2%	100%	105	23%	3%	16%	53%	2%	100%	49
25 - 34 years	25	17	10	46	2	122	122	35	15	7	35	2	115	55
35 - 44 years	36	15	3	41	2	155	155	40	13	3	43	1	115	115
45 - 54 years	40	9	6	44	1	151	151	44	12	2	40	2	113	113
55 years and over	43	14	4	37	2	134	134	42	8	2	47	1	115	115
Party Preference:														
SPD	37%	10%	6%	46%	1%	229	229	36%	11%	6%	45%	2%	220	220
CDU/USU	35	9	5	49	2	133	133	46	12	1	39	2	83	83
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	41	27	5	27	-	59	59	46	8	4	42	-	97	97
Other parties	29	16	6	47	2	49	49	11	33	11	45	-	9	9
No party	23	16	8	42	6	135	135	39	16	3	42	-	26	26
Don't know	29	23	5	43	-	56	56	11	22	11	56	-	9	9
Religion:														
Catholics	31%	15%	6%	47%	1%	319	319	39%	16%	4%	39%	2%	51	51
Protestants	37	14	6	41	2	320	320	35	11	5	45	1	325	325
Origin:														
Native (Aussiedler)	35%	14%	6%	43%	2%	524	524	37%	12%	5%	45%	1%	421	421
Expellees	34	10	6	42	-	106	106	53	7	-	40	-	15	15
Refugees (fr. E-Zone after 1945)	23	21	10	46	-	39	39	65	6	6	23	-	17	17
Political activity and interest:														
Completely disinter., inactive	23%	13%	6%	55%	3%	206	206	23%	11%	5%	55%	1%	136	136
Little interested, inactive	23	14	7	49	2	217	217	34	11	4	50	1	139	139
Somewhat inter., somewhat active	42	19	5	34	-	176	176	46	11	6	36	1	124	124
Interested a/o active	71	4	6	19	-	47	47	66	15	-	19	-	41	41
Very interested and active	57	13	4	26	-	23	23	62	15	8	15	-	13	13
Attitude towards Democracy														
Democrat	39%	15%	4%	41%	1%	319	319	44%	12%	3%	40%	1%	265	265
Undecided	28	14	8	48	2	304	304	32	13	6	48	1	170	170
Non-Democrat	41	12	6	35	6	17	17	44	-	12	44	-	9	9
Attitude towards USA														
Positive	43%	11%	4%	40%	2%	142	142	40%	12%	3%	43%	2%	183	183
Undecided (neutral)	34	16	5	44	1	257	257	40	12	5	42	1	196	196
Negative	29	15	8	46	2	192	192	36	10	8	44	2	61	61
Readiness to learn from USA														
We can learn very much	51%	15%	4%	23%	2%	143	143	47%	14%	1%	37%	1%	161	161
We can learn much	35	15	3	41	1	200	200	38	14	8	38	2	136	136
We can learn something	26	14	6	52	2	201	201	36	6	5	53	-	104	104
We can't learn anything	24	12	6	55	2	126	126	23	10	4	61	2	52	52

"Which of these interest you, which of these interest you a little bit, and which don't interest you at all?"

AGRICULTURAL PROGRAM

	WEST GERMANY	Inter-ested	Some Inter.	No Inter.	Un-familiar	No op/No famw.	No. of cases	WEST BERTIN	Inter-ested	Some Inter.	No Inter.	Un-familiar	No op/No famw.	No. of cases
Sex														
Men	334	154	134	374	24	1004	312	304	154	254	294	14	1004	199
Women	25	16	13	44	2	1004	297	21	13	21	42	3	1004	254
Education														
Elementary school	334	154	104	404	24	503	284	144	194	374	24	114	320	
Secondary school	16	14	25	42	3	132	15	13	33	35	1	114		
Diploma & University	20	13	24	35	3	34	22	26	26	26	19			
Income (per month)														
0 - 149 DM	424	144	114	314	24	242	344	144	134	334	15	114		
150 - 299 DM	27	11	12	42	2	306	23	15	23	37	2	207		
300 - 599 DM	26	14	16	42	2	192	19	14	24	40	3	115		
600 DM and more	12	12	32	44	..	25	13	13	46	28	15			
City Size														
0 - 4,999 pop.	394	144	74	394	14	230	44	44	44	44	44	44	11	
5,000 - 24,999	21	18	20	31	4	124	60	
25,000 - 99,999	19	11	18	50	2	102	76	
100,000 - 249,999	26	14	17	33	5	63	62	
250,000 and over	25	20	13	33	4	100	18	
Occupation														
Professionals	214	214	184	404	44	33	454	10	464	94	44	44	11	
Businessmen	22	14	16	44	2	93	23	10	25	42	1	60		
White-collar workers	16	11	23	48	2	120	17	17	31	34	1	60		
Skilled laborers	31	20	5	40	4	108	28	14	17	40	1	65		
Semi-skilled laborers	31	15	12	39	5	90	16	18	19	44	3	62		
Dom. & prot. Service	13	13	13	52	4	23	28	11	11	45	5	18		
Farmers	71	5	..	24	..	53	
Housewives	20	15	30	35	..	20	17	17	27	66	..	6		
Unemployed	32	22	14	27	5	37	31	13	17	28	1	68		
Pens., stud., retir., apprentices, etc.	34	17	8	40	1	92	29	17	20	33	1	86		
Trade Union Membership														
Yes, member	284	164	94	424	54	131	264	224	164	364	44	64		
No	30	15	14	40	1	532	25	13	24	36	2	389		

(cont'd on next page)

Age	WEST GERMANY		No op/		No. of cases:	WEST BERLIN		No op/		No. of cases:
	Inter-ested	Some inter.	No inter.	Un-familiar		No ans.	Inter-ested	Some inter.	No inter.		Un-familiar	No ans.
19 - 24 years	23%	20%	15%	34%	34...100%	105	104	16%	45%	49
25 - 34 years	24	16	19	37	4	122	10	33	31	2
35 - 44 years	21	14	15	49	1	155	17	25	36	3
45 - 54 years	33	14	11	41	1	151	13	20	35	2
55 years and over	39	14	8	36	3	134	17	22	30	2
Party Preferences:										
SPD	32%	16%	10%	39%	3%	229	14%	23%	36%	3%
CDU/CSU	32	15	10	41	2	133	13	22	36	-
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	26	15	22	37	-	59	15	26	33	-
Other parties	39	18	8	33	2	49	12	33	31	-
No party	22	14	18	42	4	135	4	23	46	-
Don't know	21	13	21	45	-	56	11	11	45	-
Religion:										
Catholics	33%	16%	13%	37%	1%	319	16%	23%	39%	4%
Protestants	27	15	13	42	3	320	14	22	36	2
Origins:										
Natives (& Yugoslavs)	31%	15%	13%	36%	3%	524	14%	23%	37%	2%
Expellees	26	15	14	45	-	106	20	7	20	-
Refugees (fr. D-Zone after '45)	10	16	18	51	5	39	12	29	18	6
Political activity and interest:										
Completely disinter., inactive	31%	12%	12%	44%	1%	206	15%	20%	42%	1%
Little interested, inactive	30	15	11	40	4	217	15	19	37	3
Somewhat inter.: somewhat active	28	16	15	39	2	176	12	28	34	-
Interested a/o active	28	23	23	26	-	47	15	27	24	-
Very interested and active	22	26	13	39	-	23	23	39	23	-
Attitude towards Democracy:										
Democrat	31%	16%	13%	40%	*	319	15%	25%	33%	1%
Undecided	27	14	15	41	3	304	13	22	40	2
Non-Democrat	41	12	6	35	6	17	22	-	33	-
Attitude towards USA:										
Positive	33%	15%	10%	36%	4%	142	15%	21%	32%	5%
Undecided (neutral)	34	16	10	39	1	257	15	23	37	1
Negative	23	17	16	42	2	192	8	28	39	2
Readiness to learn from USA:										
We can learn very much	30%	18%	17%	32%	3%	143	14%	22%	33%	1%
We can learn much	34	15	13	38	-	200	15	28	27	1
We can learn something	27	12	13	44	4	201	14	25	43	3
We can't learn anything	26	16	10	46	2	126	17	8	56	-

* Less than one half of one per cent.

CONFIDENTIAL

	WEST GERMANY					WEST BERLIN				
	Inter- ested	Some inter.	No inter.	Un- familiar	No op/ No ans.	Inter- ested	Some inter.	No inter.	Un- familiar	No op/ No ans.
Age										
19 - 24 years	115	128	78	663	48...100%	193	38	108	633	3...100%
25 - 34 years	17	10	11	53		15	14	11	58	2
35 - 44 years	17	12	8	59		23	14	11	52	-
45 - 54 years	24	11	5	60		30	15	5	48	-
55 years and over	26	11	1	61		22	7	6	65	-
Party Preferences:										
SPD	244	64	64	613	34	213	113	94	593	1
CDU/CSU	20	12	6	62	-	24	14	4	57	-
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	27	19	12	42	-	30	13	6	51	-
Other parties	10	23	2	63	-	11	22	22	45	-
No party	15	10	5	65	5	27	3	12	58	-
Don't know	11	14	7	64	4	-	-	22	78	-
Religion										
Catholics	173	123	64	643	13	333	163	43	473	3
Protestants	22	10	6	59	3	21	10	10	59	-
Origin										
Natives (d. Tracues)	193	123	73	603	23	233	113	83	573	13
Expellees	21	12	3	62	2	14	13	-	73	-
Refugees (fr. E-Zone after 145)	20	-	8	64	8	23	18	18	41	-
Political activity and interest:										
Completely disinter., inactive	83	33	53	753	43	163	103	103	643	3
Little interested, inactive	17	12	6	62	3	23	9	5	62	1
Somewhat inter., somewhat act.	24	14	7	54	1	24	14	6	55	1
Interested a/o active	49	9	4	35	-	37	14	10	39	-
Very interested and active	48	13	13	26	-	31	23	31	15	-
Attitude towards Democracy										
Democrat	233	103	63	593	23	283	143	73	513	3
Undecided	16	12	6	63	3	15	9	10	65	1
Non-Democrat	24	12	6	58	-	22	22	-	56	-
Attitude towards USA										
Positive	303	93	34	553	33	213	133	53	613	3
Undecided (neutral)	18	12	5	63	2	26	13	8	53	-
Negative	15	11	3	63	3	21	7	15	55	-
Readiness to learn from USA										
We can learn very much	313	143	34	463	13	283	123	63	543	3
We can learn much	16	13	6	63	2	23	13	13	49	-
We can learn something	19	8	8	61	4	19	12	5	64	-
We can't learn anything	13	8	3	72	4	13	8	8	71	-

Which of these interest you, which of these interest you a little bit, and which don't interest you at all?"

BROADWAY METHODS

		WEST GERMANY		Inter-ested		Some Inter.		No Inter.		Un-familiar		No op/No answ.		No. of cases		WEST BERLIN		Inter-ested		Some Inter.		No Inter.		Un-familiar		No op/No answ.		No. of cases	
Sex																													
Men	15%	14%	13%	23%	46%	3%	100%	372	22%	21%	29%	26%	2%	100%	199														
Women	14%	11%	27%	46%	3%	100%	297	24%	21%	25%	30%	2%	100%	254															
Education:																													
Elementary school	15%	10%	22%	51%	2%	503	28%	19%	23%	28%	2%	320																	
Secondary school	12%	20%	30%	35%	3%	132	11%	25%	37%	26%	1%	114																	
Diploma & University	15%	15%	41%	26%	3%	34	4%	32%	32%	32%	1%	19																	
Income (per month):																													
0 - 149 DM	11%	10%	24%	51%	4%	142	27%	17%	24%	32%	4%	114																	
150 - 299 DM	13%	9%	24%	51%	3%	306	25%	21%	25%	25%	4%	207																	
300 - 599 DM	17%	13%	27%	38%	-	192	17%	24%	32%	27%	-	115																	
600 DM and more	24%	24%	24%	28%	-	25	-	33%	40%	27%	-	15																	
City Size:																													
0 - 4,999 pop.	13%	9%	23%	54%	1%	280	4%	4%	4%	4%	-	-																	
5,000 - 24,999	11%	10%	25%	49%	5%	124	-	-	-	-	-	-																	
25,000 - 99,999	16%	14%	31%	37%	2%	102	-	-	-	-	-	-																	
100,000 - 249,999	13%	24%	22%	38%	3%	63	-	-	-	-	-	-																	
250,000 and over	21%	16%	23%	37%	3%	100	-	-	-	-	-	-																	
Occupation:																													
Professionals	6%	13%	46%	30%	4%	33	9%	13%	64%	9%	4%	11																	
Businessmen	21%	16%	19%	43%	1%	93	15%	25%	28%	32%	-	60																	
White-collar workers	17%	16%	23%	43%	1%	120	20%	22%	32%	26%	-	76																	
Skilled laborers	14%	14%	21%	49%	2%	108	28%	21%	20%	28%	3%	65																	
Semi-skilled laborers	15%	9%	24%	48%	4%	90	29%	21%	18%	32%	-	62																	
Dom. & prot. Service	15%	4%	26%	48%	4%	23	28%	28%	28%	16%	-	18																	
Farmers	9%	7%	21%	59%	4%	53	-	-	-	-	-	-																	
Housewives	20%	15%	25%	40%	-	20	50%	-	-	50%	-	6																	
Unemployed	24%	8%	24%	38%	6%	37	21%	27%	29%	22%	1%	68																	
Pens., stud., retir.,																													
Apprentices, etc.	3	10	31	54	2	92	23	15	29	32	1	86																	
Trade Union Membership:																													
Yes, member	16%	13%	28%	39%	4%	137	28%	27%	22%	23%	4%	64																	
No	14	12	24	48	2	532	22	21	28	29	-	369																	
Less than one half of one percent.																													

* Less than one half of one per cent.

(cont'd on next page)

"Which of these interest you, which of these interest you a little bit, and which don't interest you at all?"

EVA AND MICHAEL

	WEST GERMANY	Inter-ested	Some inter.	No inter.	Un-familiar	No op/ No answ.	No. of cases:	WEST BERLIN	Inter-ested	Some inter.	No inter.	Un-familiar	No op/ No answ.	No. of cases:
Sex														
Men	54	64	64	3	79	44...100	372		17	10	5	67	14...100	199
Women	14	6			75		297		28	8	1	63		254
Education														
Elementary school	94	54	24	31	34	503			23	7	2	67	14	320
Secondary school	10	10	6	70	4	132			28	1	5	60		114
Diploma & University	6	18	26	47	3	34			5	32		63		19
Income (per month):														
0 - 149 DM	124	74	44	73	44	142			26	54	4	69	4	114
150 - 299 DM	9	4	5	81	3	306			23	8	3	66		207
300 - 599 DM	3	9	7	74	2	192			24	11	3	59	3	115
600 DM and more	4	12	4	76	4	25				27	6	67		15
City Size:														
0 - 4,999 pop.	94	44	44	81	24	280			4	4	4	4	4	
5,000 - 24,999	6	9	8	72	5	124								
25,000 - 99,999	11	5	3	79	2	102								
100,000 - 249,999	10	6	6	76	2	63								
250,000 and over	9	11	2	71	7	100								
Occupation:														
Professionals	154	64	154	61	34	33			18	4	94	73	4	11
Businessmen	9	4	4	81	2	93			27	5	3	63	2	60
White-collar workers	11	8	4	76	1	120			30	19	4	47		76
Skilled laborers	6	6	1	81	6	108			15	7	2	74	2	65
Semi-skilled laborers	7	4	2	80	7	90			25	2	3	68	2	62
Dom. & prof. Service	4	4	14	74	4	23			10		6	78	6	18
Farmers	6		2	89	3	53								
Housewives	15		10	70	5	20			17	17		66		6
Unemployed	14	8	3	73	2	37			25	9	1	65		68
Pens., stud., retir., apprentices, etc.	10	12	6	71	1	92			21	11	1	67		86
Trade Union Membership:														
Yes, member	54	84	44	80	34	137			25	64	24	64	34	64
No	10	6	5	76	3	532			23	9	3	65		389

(cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Age	WEST GERMANY				WEST BERLIN							
	Inter-ested	Some Inter.	No Inter.	Un-familiar	No op/ No ans.	No. of cases	Inter-ested	Some Inter.	No Inter.	Un-familiar	No op/ No ans.	No. of cases
19 - 24 years	64	54	24	324	54...100%	105	204	84	-4	724	-4...100%	49
25 - 34 years	8	7	7	73	5	122	22	15	5	53	2	55
35 - 44 years	10	4	4	73	4	155	23	8	3	66	-	115
45 - 54 years	11	7	4	75	3	151	25	6	1	65	-	113
55 years and over	8	8	5	77	2	134	24	7	2	65	2	115
Party Preferences:												
SPD	94	84	34	164	44	229	224	64	34	684	14	220
CDU/CSU	9	5	2	81	3	133	29	12	1	58	-	83
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	7	7	13	70	3	59	25	12	2	61	-	97
Other parties	8	6	-	32	4	49	22	11	-	67	-	9
No party	12	4	7	73	4	135	15	4	8	69	4	20
Don't know	7	7	3	81	2	56	11	11	11	67	-	9
1 Religion:												
1 Catholics	104	44	44	794	34	319	304	124	14	574	1	51
1 Protestants	8	9	5	75	3	320	23	9	3	64	-	325
1 Origin:												
1 Natives (& Europeans)	94	64	44	734	34	524	224	84	34	664	14	421
1 Typelless	10	3	8	74	5	106	40	13	-	47	-	15
1 Refugee (F.G. Zone after 145)	5	13	3	74	-	39	35	12	-	53	-	17
1 Political activity and interest:												
1 Completely disinter.: inactive	104	44	34	734	54	206	224	54	34	704	-4	136
1 Little interested, inactive	10	6	3	76	5	217	22	9	3	65	1	139
1 Somewhat inter.: somewhat active	5	9	8	75	2	176	23	9	1	66	1	124
1 Interested a/o active	15	4	9	72	-	47	29	17	5	46	3	41
1 Very interested and active	9	4	9	78	-	23	23	15	8	54	-	13
Attitude towards Democracy:												
1 Democrat	94	74	64	754	34	319	274	104	34	594	14	265
1 Undecided	9	5	3	80	3	304	18	7	3	72	-	170
1 Non-Democrat	6	12	-	70	12	17	11	22	-	67	-	9
Attitude towards USA:												
1 Positive	84	84	14	774	64	142	254	104	14	644	-4	163
1 Undecided (neutral)	8	6	5	79	2	257	22	9	4	64	1	196
1 Negative	9	6	7	75	3	192	23	5	5	65	2	61
Readiness to learn from USA:												
1 We can learn very much	164	104	74	654	24	143	324	94	14	584	-4	161
1 We can learn much	9	6	6	75	4	200	20	10	4	65	1	136
1 We can learn something	6	6	3	31	4	201	15	8	5	69	-	104
1 We can't learn anything	6	1	2	86	5	126	15	4	-	79	2	52

GERMANS VIEW THE VOICE OF AMERICA

IV. The Question Of Effectiveness

DEC 18 1951

Classification cancelled
 BY ~~City~~ Leo P. Crespi
 Series No. 2
 October 17, 1951
 PUB/RAS

CONFIDENTIAL

OFFICE OF THE U. S. DEPT. COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

REACTIONS ANALYSIS STATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

SUMMARY.

I. BACKGROUND AND GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

II. HAS VOA BEEN OF VALUE IN IMPROVING UNDERSTANDING OF AMERICA?

Overall Findings ...
Instances Of Improved Insights Cited ...
Revised Impressions And Frequency Of Listening To VOA ...
Group Variations In Extent Of Revised Impressions ...

III. HAS VOA BEEN OF VALUE FOR DISCUSSION PURPOSES?

Overall Findings And Kinds Of Information Utilized ...
Use In Discussions And Frequency Of Listening To VOA ...
Group Variations In VOA Usefulness In Discussions ...

IV. IS VOA SUPERFLUOUSNESS IN GERMANY?

General Findings ...
Superfluosness And Frequency Of Listening To VOA ...
Group Variations In Judgments Of Superfluosness ...

V. HAS VOA BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN ATTRACTING KEY LISTENERS?

Frequency Of Listening Among Politically Active ...
Frequency Of Listening Among Respondents Negative Toward America...

- 2 -

C O N F I D E N T I A L

INTRODUCTION

The present report is fourth and last of a series emanating from a detailed inquiry into the status of the Voice of America program in West Germany and West Berlin.

The VOA survey marked the initial use of a full-scale probability sample of 3,000 cases in West Germany and 600 cases in West Berlin, obtained between March 27th and May 16th, 1951. To eliminate the possibility of any pro-American sponsorship bias in the reactions to the Voice of America, the interviewing was conducted under the auspices of the Institute of Social Research, Darmstadt, Germany. This is a HICOG-financed institute but among the great bulk of respondents, if known at all, it would be assumed to be a German research agency. This use of the Darmstadt auspices was a transitional expedient until RAS could conclude the negotiations then in process to set up the now established contractual relationship with a newly formed German survey agency "Deutsches Institut fuer Volksumfragen (DIVO).

It should be kept in mind that the present study presents German reactions to VOA as it was prior to the change in broadcast time and program length on July 1st, 1951. Most of the information obtained, however, is applicable to the VOA program in its present form. But whether particular items of information remain currently pertinent or not, they are all important in coming to a reasoned judgment on what has thus far been the general impact of VOA in Germany.

SUMMARY

I. BACKGROUND AND GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

Over the past series of studies the following general indications have emerged:

1. Size of audience for the VOA program in West Germany appears to be relatively good considering its broadcast facilities.
2. Frequency of listening to the VOA program appears to be relatively high - to the extent that listeners' own estimates can be relied upon.
3. General listener reactions to VOA appears to be preponderantly favorable.

However, favorable reactions to VOA do not go so far as preferring it over Echo of the Day. Among those who have heard VOA and Echo of the Day - plus a variable number of other programs - almost six times as many indicate that they like Echo of the Day best of all as give the palm to VOA. In West Berlin this situation does not obtain, with preferences for one or the other program not reliably differing from one another.

These findings are broadly speaking favorable and they add considerably to the knowledge about the status of the Voice of America program in Germany. But it should not be assumed that they provide any complete answer to the fundamental question of effectiveness. Without such positive indications the VOA program could not be effective in Germany. But such evidence partakes considerably of the nature of necessary rather than sufficient conditions. So the findings, though encouraging, should not be judged to be entirely conclusive as to the extent to which the VOA is being effective in accomplishing its mission in Germany.

- b -

C O N F I D E N T I A L

As might be imagined, effectiveness in its most basic sense is not a simple matter to appraise. Ultimately, the real tests lie in the concrete decisions and actions taken by the German citizenry. However, in bringing the present series of reports to a close, the results may be presented on a few questions which shed some additional light on the impact and value of the VOA program in West Germany and West Berlin.

II. HAS VOA BEEN OF VALUE IN IMPROVING UNDERSTANDING OF AMERICA?

OVERALL FINDINGS ...

A source of information of some pertinence to the question of VOA's effectiveness in Germany, is the extent to which the program has contributed to improved understanding and elimination of errors in German conceptions of American life.

A question on this point was put to the more regular listeners of the VOA, i.e. those who reported listening once a week or oftener. The results were that a quarter in West Germany (24%) and a third in West Berlin (33%) indicated that there have been instances wherein their impressions of America have been revised through the medium of VOA programs.

INSTANCES OF IMPROVED INSIGHTS CITED ...

Because of the value of the concrete comments in illuminating the impact of VOA they are listed in some detail. Some of the revised views, perusal of the comments reveal, do not appear to be of more than minor importance. But a large proportion would seem to be revisions in attitudes on very important matters. A number of comments, for one example, center on the point that prior to receiving information over VOA, the respondent had not correctly understood the considerable extent to which social security provisions have been established in America. Correction of misconceptions in this area is of particular moment because alleged indifference to social security matters in America has long been a basic theme of Communist propaganda and a theme to which, studies have revealed, Germans are highly susceptible.

All in all, there are definite indications in the specific comments that through the medium of VOA broadcasts serious misconceptions about America have been remedied. These are certainly important indications of effectiveness. Whether, however, the extent and importance of the attitudinal changes that have been occasioned by VOA represent a good return on the time and effort expended is another question, and one which would require a great deal more information to answer than is at present available.

REVISED IMPRESSIONS AND FREQUENCY OF LISTENING TO VOA ...

In West Germany it is found that the proportion who reported revised impressions of America deriving from VOA broadcasts is somewhat larger among more frequent listeners to VOA than among less frequent listeners. In West Berlin, however, the value of VOA in the present respect appears to be just as great among those who reported listening one to three times a week as those who indicate listening four times a week or more.

GROUP VARIATIONS IN EXTENT OF REVISED IMPRESSIONS ...

The most distinctive indication from group comparisons in the present matter is that instances of the VOA's revising impressions about America are particularly frequent among college educated listeners and among respondents who scored highest on a scale of political interest and activity. These, of course, are population elements among which maximum effectiveness in the present sense is most to be desired as they are the opinion leading individuals who promulgate their views and mold the attitudes of their fellows.

- 6 -

C O N F I D E N T I A L

III. HAS VOA BEEN OF VALUE FOR DISCUSSION PURPOSES?

OVERALL FINDINGS AND KINDS OF INFORMATION UTILIZED ...

It was felt that another useful slant on the question of effectiveness might be obtained by asking respondents if they ever had any occasion to utilize VOA material in discussions. Among the more regular VOA listeners in West Germany and West Berlin approximately a quarter reported in the affirmative.

VOA effectiveness in the present connection covers, to a considerable extent, different individuals than for whom the program had been useful in correcting misimpressions. Such a finding emphasizes that VOA can be effective for different groups in different ways. To the extent that such is the case, of course, judgments of VOA's effectiveness should not be allowed to rest upon any single criterion or small group of criteria.

The items of information that respondents advanced as examples of what had been found useful in discussions covered a variety of subjects - social, political, technical, etc. - rather than emanating preponderantly from any single content area. However, just as in the prior question bearing on instances of revised impressions, there were comparatively frequent references to agriculture. If the nature of these comments appears to represent appreciable impact in the agricultural area, this fact should not be lost sight of in evaluating the desirability of agricultural features over VOA. Readers of the prior reports in this series will remember that such features did not rank very high in general interest, and on this basis the suggestion was raised that perhaps agriculture was too narrow an interest to warrant separate feature treatment.

USE IN DISCUSSIONS AND FREQUENCY OF LISTENING TO VOA ...

Instances of VOA effectiveness in implementing discussions appear to be more widespread in West Germany among more frequent listeners to VOA than among less frequent. In West Berlin, however, just as was the case for the prior question, instances of effectiveness appear to be as frequent among the one to three times a week listeners as among those who report listening more often.

GROUP VARIATIONS IN VOA USEFULNESS IN DISCUSSIONS ...

On the present measure of VOA effectiveness, as in the prior, the better educated and those who score highest in political interest and activity tend to come out relatively high. This means again that effectiveness is relatively better among those population elements for whom it is most important - the opinion leaders.

IV. IS VOA SUPERFLUOUS IN GERMANY?

GENERAL FINDINGS ...

Granting that VOA has some measure of effectiveness in West Germany and West Berlin, among the questions which still remains is whether or not it is superfluous. That is to say, is the information that VOA brings to the German people the sort of material that they can readily obtain from other sources - other radio programs, newspapers, etc. Only one out of ten (11%) of those questioned - the more regular listeners to VOA - express the view that it is easy to obtain from other sources the kind of information broadcast by VOA. Forty per cent in West Germany (55% in West Berlin) state that such information is difficult to obtain elsewhere. Thirty per cent say "not so easy" and the remainder voice no opinion.

SUPERFLUOUSNESS AND FREQUENCY OF LISTENING TO VOA ...

Judgments that it is "not so easy" to "difficult" to obtain elsewhere the information brought via VOA are approximately just as widespread among less frequent listeners as among those who listen most frequently to VOA.

GROUP VARIATIONS IN JUDGMENTS OF SUPERFLUOUSNESS ...

Even among the better educated - who would be more aware of alternate sources - the opinion strongly prevails that it is "not so easy" to "difficult" to find the information given by VOA from other sources.

And among one of the most important target elements - those respondents who rate highest in political interest and activity - the weight of opinion about VOA information is that it is difficult to obtain elsewhere.

All in all the conclusion seems clear that whatever may be the limitations of the VOA in Germany, superfluousness in the present sense is not among them.

V. HAS VOA BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN ATTRACTING KEY LISTENERS?

A final point not yet completely dealt with in the present study, which has considerable relevance to the question of effectiveness, is the extent to which VOA has been successful in establishing an audience among certain key psychological groupings in the population, namely, (a) the more politically interested and active who are hence most important in the further dissemination of American themes and (b) the negatively oriented toward America who are hence most in need of reorientation.

FREQUENCY OF LISTENING AMONG POLITICALLY ACTIVE ...

Comparison of reported frequency of listening to VOA among respondents who range at different points along a scale of political interest and activity, reveals that in West Germany VOA has had a fair amount of success in inducing regular listening among the more politically potent groupings. Thirty-seven per cent among people who measure out as interested and active politically indicate that they listen frequently or very frequently to VOA (i.e. one to three times a week or four to seven times a week). And among the more limited group in the population who rate as very interested and active politically, reported regular listening rises to a figure of 51 per cent.

In West Berlin, frequency of listening among the more politically potent respondents is remarkably high, as is the volume of reported VOA listening generally in that area. For individuals who rank medium or more in the intensity of their political interest and activity the extent of regular listening, according to the respondents' reports, appears to be no less than nine out of ten.

FREQUENCY OF LISTENING AMONG RESPONDENTS NEGATIVE TOWARD AMERICA ...

Scrutiny of the returns indicate that in West Germany VOA achieves some measure of regular listenership among respondents who measure out on background questions as negatively oriented toward America. Twenty-nine per cent among the negative group indicate that they listen frequently to very frequently to VOA. Again in West Berlin VOA success is sharply greater with fully 77 per cent among respondents negative to America reporting listening frequencies of once a week or more.

- o -

C O N F I D E N T I A L

Probably the most significant indication in the comparison of listener frequencies among various attitudinal groups, is that infrequency of listening is not, as one might expect, most related to being negative toward America, but rather is most related to the opinion that there is nothing to be learned from America.

Such a pattern of returns has the encouraging indication that to increase VOA listening it is not always necessary to persuade Germans that they should have favorable attitudes toward America, but only that there is something to be learned from America. This point is important because it would seem to be much easier to persuade potential listeners that America is instructive than to persuade them America is good. So if only the former conviction is necessary to win and hold listeners, so much the better. Once people are among the fold of listeners one can always hope that in time inroads can be made into their more basic attitudes.

I. BACKGROUND AND GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

Over the past series of studies the following general indications have emerged:

1. Size of audience for the VOA program in West Germany appears to be relatively good considering its broadcast facilities. The most notable finding in this connection is that in extent of reported listening the VOA program ties with "Echo of the Day" ⁴⁷ the outstanding domestic German current events program in West Germany and West Berlin.
2. Frequency of listening to the VOA program appears to be relatively high - to the extent that listeners' own estimates can be relied upon. The overall findings that have emerged in this connection are that, exclusive of seldom listeners, (a) listening frequencies reported by 62 per cent of the US Zone radio listeners average 3.3 times per week, (b) listening frequencies reported by 38 per cent of West German radio listeners average 2.7 times per week, and (c) listening frequencies reported by 89 per cent of West Berlin radio listeners average 4 times per week.

Even if these respondents' estimates of their frequency of listening to VOA are discounted somewhat in the interests of caution, they are still rather considerable. It must be kept in mind, however, that they say nothing about length of time spent listening per instance, or the degree of attentiveness involved. These factors will be studied later as time permits.

3. General listener reactions to VOA appears to be preponderantly favorable. Out of a list of adjectives given for selection in characterizing VOA, 52 per cent of West German VOA listeners selected favorable designations only, 18 per cent unfavorable only, 9 per cent both favorable and unfavorable, and the remaining 21 per cent gave no opinion. In Berlin 84 per cent chose only among favorable adjectives in characterizing their general evaluation of the program, and but 4 per cent described it in solely unfavorable terms.

However, favorable reactions to VOA do not go so far as preferring it over Echo of the Day. Among those who have heard VOA and Echo of the Day - plus a variable number of other programs - almost six times as many indicate that they like Echo of the Day best of all as give the palm to VOA. In West Berlin this situation does not obtain, with preferences for one or the other program not reliably differing from one another.

These findings are broadly speaking favorable and they add considerably to the knowledge about the status of the Voice of America program in Germany. But it should not be assumed that they provide any complete answer to the fundamental question of effectiveness. Without such positive indications the VOA program could not be effective in Germany. But such evidence partakes considerably of the nature of necessary rather than sufficient conditions. So the findings, though encouraging, should not be judged to be entirely conclusive as to the extent to which the VOA is being effective in accomplishing its mission in Germany.

As might be imagined, effectiveness in its most basic sense is not a simple matter to appraise. Ultimately, the real tests lie in the concrete decisions and actions taken by the German citizenry. However, in bringing the present series of reports to a close, the results may be presented on a few questions which shed some additional light on the impact and value of the VOA program in West Germany and West Berlin.

II. HAS VOA BEEN OF VALUE IN IMPROVING UNDERSTANDING OF AMERICA?

OVERALL FINDINGS ...

A source of information of some pertinence to the question of VOA's effectiveness in Germany, is the extent to which the program has contributed to improved understanding and elimination of errors in German conceptions of American life.

A question on this point was put to the more regular listeners of the VOA, i.e. those who reported listening once a week or oftener. The results were that a quarter in West Germany (24%) and a third in West Berlin (33%) indicated that there have been instances wherein their impressions of America have been revised through the medium of VOA programs.**

"Have you ever found that any of your attitudes towards, or your impressions of, America have been corrected by a program of the Voice of America?" (Asked of all frequent to very frequent listeners to VOA, i.e. those who listen once a week or more.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	WEST BERLIN
Yes	24%	27%	25%	15%	33%
No	76	73	75	85	67
(No. of cases:)	$\frac{100\%}{(669)}$	$\frac{100\%}{(164)}$	$\frac{100\%}{(441)}$	$\frac{100\%}{(64)}$	$\frac{100\%}{(455)}$

Instances of revised impressions that respondents supplied by way of illustration were not confined to any particular segments of American life but rather embraced a range of areas from agriculture to the status of American women.

"Have you ever found that any of your attitudes towards, or your impressions of, America have been corrected by a program of the Voice of America?" (Asked of all frequent to very frequent listeners to VOA, i.e. those who listen once a week or more.)

If "Yes": "Could you give me examples of that?"

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
Revised views on agricultural conditions in America:	4%	2%
Revised views on life in America generally:	3	4
Revised views on social conditions in America:	3	4
Revised political views and attitudes towards America:	2	2
Revised views on the American people:	1	1
Revised views on the American school system:	1	1
Revised views on the status and activities of American women:	-	1
Other impressions that were changed:	2	4
Cannot give concrete examples:	8	15
No answer:	2 26%	- 34%
(No. of cases:)	(669)	(453)

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

** These findings are conservative in one respect in that the way the question had to be put necessitates, for a positive reply, an admission of error. Under such conditions the affirmative figure is likely to be depressed somewhat by a disinclination on the part of some respondents to imply such an admission.

INSTANCES OF IMPROVED INSIGHTS CITED ...

Because of the value of the concrete comments in illuminating the impact of VOA they are listed in some detail. Some of the revised views, perusal of the comments reveal, do not appear to be of more than minor importance. But a large proportion would seem to be revisions in attitudes on very important matters. A number of comments, for one example, center on the point that prior to receiving information over VOA, the respondent had not correctly understood the considerable extent to which social security provisions have been established in America. Correction of misconceptions in this area is of particular moment because alleged indifference to social security matters in America has long been a basic theme of Communist propaganda and a theme to which, studies have revealed, Germans are highly susceptible.

All in all, there are definite indications in the specific comments that through the medium of VOA broadcasts serious misconceptions about America have been remedied.* These are certainly important indications of effectiveness. Whether, however, the extent and importance of the attitudinal changes that have been occasioned by VOA represent a good return on the time and effort expended is another question, and one which would require a great deal more information to answer than is at present available.

* It might be emphasized here that less than two per cent of the comments were such as to suggest that the respondents developed less favorable impressions of America than they already had, from what they learned from the Voice of America.

"Have you ever found that any of your attitudes towards, or your impressions of, America have been corrected by a program of the Voice of America?" (Asked of all frequent to very frequent listeners to VOA, i.e. those who listen once a week or more.)

Revised Views On Agricultural Conditions In America

"I thought that we are very progressive in the agricultural field in comparison to all other countries, but I have been convinced by the Voice of America that we are far behind America."

"Agricultural conditions - I thought the Americans could only build sky-scrapers, otherwise they were dumb."

"I always believed that the Americans were not so far advanced in agriculture, but they are much more progressive than we are."

"Would have never believed before that the gigantic production figures of American agriculture are true."

"I have not known that everything (for instance in the agricultural field) is done on such a large scale - that the farms are so immense and still much more progressive."

"I wouldn't have believed that the Americans are more progressive in agriculture than we are."

"The agricultural conditions are much more on a large scale and mechanized than I thought."

"I had other ideas about the agricultural conditions there. - not on such an immense scale as seems to be the case there."

"For instance, that the whole farming is mechanized, I didn't have any idea of the extent of mechanizing."

"I didn't have any idea about the modern mechanizing of farming."

"That the German farmers in America were successful; and also that the other Germans are not as bad off as is said sometimes."

"I didn't have any idea of the large-scale operations in agriculture."

"For example, that farming is quite different - mechanized and comfortable - such that the work is made easier."

"That they have agricultural machines over there which do everything in one step, which we don't have here."

"For example, that in America the milking is done by machines (one machine for 35 cows) and we have to do the milking by hand."

Revised Views On Life In America Generally

"I always heard from the soldiers, who had been prisoners of war over there, that the American apartments are not as well furnished as ours, but from the Voice of America I learned that the Americans are much further ahead in this respect than we are."

"I had a different opinion about American life in business and at home, I had thought that the American runs his business only to earn money."

"I had thought that in America the capitalist class predominated, but now I know that the majority consists of workers and the middle class."

"One had imagined America to be quite different, for example I didn't know that the middle class is much better off than anywhere else."

"I would not have thought that there are so many more possibilities for house-building."

"I had always thought that all the people live in sky-scrapers, whereas many people live in quite small places like over here."

"The heating with oil and petrol is so much cheaper compared to our heating with wood and coal, I had not known about the American heating system."

"The traffic connections, high-ways, etc., which I had not imagined being so large and generously laid out as they say."

"The length and width of the Broadway in New York, I could not have imagined it."

"I had not known about the big parks in New York."

Revised Views On Social Conditions In America

"Welfare for the old and invalid people - I used to think that America was not so much advanced in this field, but I have learned how much the big firms are doing in that respect."

"Formerly, I used to think that they had only very wealthy and very poor people, now I know that the worker is well off."

"I thought the Americans are living a life of kings, but they have to work, too, though they earn more than we do."

"I formerly thought that they have no social insurance over there - the Voice of America convinced me of the contrary."

"I thought they had no social welfare but now I know that they have it through the labor unions."

"What the distribution of taxes is - the burden of taxes is not so great for the workers."

"In a lecture on a strike I saw that a faster and more detailed solution was worked out between the unions and management than would have been done over here and that because of that a strike does not expand so much."

"My opinion on the strength of the labor unions, didn't think that they are able to put such a pressure on the government - Europe, especially Germany, could learn from that."

"I got a completely different picture on what a large scale they work in the American labor unions."

"I always used to believe that one could get rich quickly over there. - but they have to work hard, too, as I heard now."

"That America is no land of unlimited possibilities, i.e. that it is more difficult today to make money than it was 10 years ago - that an immigrant has to work very hard during the first years."

"The situation of the unemployed and the old people is better than I used to think."

"That there is such a good relation between workers and management I did not imagine."

"One was not enough informed on social security institutions -- formerly we had been in first place in the world in that respect."

"That social conditions are -- they are much better in general than I had thought."

"I know now that there, too, money does not lie around in the streets and that social conditions aren't so good."

"That the worker is so well off over there, I formerly did not believe it."

"On the social position of the workers and the information that the problem of unemployment is not as big as one always thought."

"Here the papers are reporting of great unemployment and difficulties in America -- the Voice of America tells us that private insurance companies give the people enough assistance."

"How well off the workers are and that they have to pay taxes only on salaries from 1,000 or 2,000 dollars upwards."

"I had the idea that they had insurance facilities in their factories and also an insurance for illness -- but they have to get insured privately."

"Through these broadcasts I learned that making money is not as easy as I used to think."

Revised Political Views And Attitudes Towards America

"The Marshall Plan -- I would not have believed that we couldn't have had economic success without it."

"That the antagonism between political parties is not as strong as here if the well-being of the country is at stake."

"Formerly, I used to think that the Americans have no trouble in keeping democracy, but have learned in the meantime that they too have always to fight for it."

"My appreciation of the Marshall Plan has been awakened."

"I used to have a different attitude towards the E.R.P. relief program, thought it was much talk only, but I gather from these programs that it's not the case."

"Most of all in political matters, got the opinion that America is more honestly trying to help Germany politically and economically than it sometimes appeared to be."

"According to Radio Berlin the Americans want war, that's not true if I ever thought it was, and the Voice of America told us, they don't want war."

"They do want to establish democracy here and not put us under pressure, as I thought."

"Politically -- because formerly we were told they are against us, but now I know that this is not the case."

"Generally, through the influence of the Nazi government one was against the Americans, that is being changed by the Voice of America."

"Those comments have led me to adopt a more positive attitude, I now regard the Americans as reasonable."

"I believed that the American people did not have a friendly attitude towards us Germans."

Revised View On The American People

"I had a different impression of that country, perhaps more primitive with less culture."

"The strongly religious attitude of Americans, I had regarded them more as materialists."

"Before, one used to think of an American as a 'big businessman.'"

"I had thought that the people in America are just like us, but they have much sounder and freer attitudes."

"On some matters one didn't agree with them, but when they are talking there one can see that they are quite reasonable after all."

"The general easy-goingness, especially toward government officials."

Revised Views On The American School System

"Their educational methods are much freer than ours at our conservative schools and universities -- I had a different impression, coming from a town with a university."

"With regard to education of children, that one should not beat an obstinate child but just shouldn't pay attention to it."

"About their school system and its progress, I was surprised."

"Education in America is much freer than here."

"That one should give children a freer education."

"Education in their colleges, I had always thought to be like ours."

Revised Views On The Status And Activities Of American Women

"For housewives everything is much easier and more practical."

"How the housewife is doing her laundry -- I had a different idea about that."

"I was always envious of American housewives because everything is arranged so that it is easy for them and more practical and that they don't have an outside job -- but I see now that they have outside jobs."

"For example, I have heard that the American housewife is also using fresh vegetables and not only canned food."

"That the housewife had it so easy over there I did not imagine."

Other Impressions That Were Changed

"One thought Negroes are pushed back -- but they do have universities."

"On the Negroes, that the race problem is not as bad as I thought it was."

"For example, I never would have believed that a Negro-singer could sing the 'Ave Maria' by Schubert as beautifully as she did."

"My impression of Texas, for example, compared with those cowboy movies they are showing here, now I know how it is there."

"I had to revise some of my attitudes, as e.g. in music, formerly I thought the Americans are mostly composing jazz music, but I had to learn that many of their melodies find our liking."

"The magnificent help people give to each other, I never had imagined that."

CONFIDENTIAL

"That great justice towards all, I did not expect that, I thought it was different."

"Freedom of the press over there, I used to think it was like here formerly, where it was controlled."

"That the president and all parties are independent from religion."

"I had never imagine that democracy is a fact to such an extent, that the freedom of speech and of opinion does exist - that is a great contribution to our knowledge through the Voice of America."

"On the freedom of the individual that reigns in America."

"That the president can't do entirely as he likes."

Cannot Give Concrete Examples

"My general impression has become more favorable."

"One knows that one has corrected some ideas but one doesn't remember them."

"Can't remember, one used to have generally a different picture of America, the propaganda did that."

"America seems to have advanced much further than we, I always thought it was the other way around."

"I can't give details, but many things in America I had thought to be quite different."

"I am generally more willing to accept all things that come from America than in former times."

"It happens all the time, but I can't give an example for it."

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

REVISED IMPRESSIONS AND FREQUENCY OF LISTENING TO VOA ...

In West Germany it is found that the proportion who reported revised impressions of America deriving from VOA broadcasts is somewhat larger among more frequent listeners to VOA than among less frequent listeners. In West Berlin, however, the value of VOA in the present respect appears to be just as great among those who reported listening one to three times a week as those who indicate listening four times a week or more.

"Have you ever found that any of your attitudes towards, or impressions of, America have been corrected by a program of the Voice of America?" (Asked of frequent to very frequent listeners of VOA, i.e. those who listen to it once a week or more.)

WEST GERMANY

WEST BERLIN

Listen to VOA:

	<u>Very frequently</u>	<u>Frequently</u>	<u>Very frequently</u>	<u>Frequently</u>
Yes, have found	32%	20%	33%	33%
No, have not	68	80	67	67
	100%	100%	100%	100%
(No. of cases:)	(232)	(437)	(249)	(206)

GROUP VARIATIONS IN EXTENT OF REVISED IMPRESSIONS ...

The most distinctive indication from group comparisons in the present matter (see following pages) is that instances of the VOA's revising impressions about America are particularly frequent among college educated listeners and among respondents who scored highest on a scale of political interest and activity.* These, of course, are population elements among which maximum effectiveness in the present sense is most to be desired as they are the opinion leading individuals who promulgate their views and mold the attitudes of their fellows.

* The nature of this and other psychological group comparisons are described in an appendix to this paper.

CONFIDENTIAL

"Have you ever found that any of your attitudes towards, or impressions of, America have been corrected by a program of the Voice of America?" (Asked of frequent to very frequent listeners of the VOA, i.e. those who listen to it once a week or more.)

Sex	WEST GERMANY		No. of cases:	WEST BERLIN		No. of cases:
	Yes	No		Yes	No	
Men	27 1/2	73 1/2...100%	372	37 1/2	63 1/2...100%	199
Women	21	79	297	29	71	254
Education:						
Elementary school	23 1/2	76 1/2	503	30 1/2	69 1/2	320
Secondary school	25	75	132	39	61	114
Diploma & University	44	56	34	47	53	19
Income (per month):						
0 -- 149 DM	27 1/2	72 1/2	142	33 1/2	66 1/2	114
150 -- 299 DM	24	76	306	34	66	207
300 -- 599 DM	23	77	192	31	69	115
600 DM and more	24	76	25	33	67	15
City Size:						
0 -- 4,999 pop.	24 1/2	75 1/2	280	43	57	11
5,000 -- 24,999	28	72	124	43	57	60
25,000 -- 99,999	19	81	102	43	57	76
100,000 -- 249,999	22	78	63	43	57	65
250,000 and over	29	71	100	43	57	62
Occupation:						
Professionals	36 1/2	63 1/2	33	45 1/2	54 1/2	18
Businessmen	13	87	93	30	70	68
White-collar workers	22	78	120	32	68	76
Skilled laborers	22	78	108	32	68	65
Semi-skilled laborers	27	73	90	31	69	62
Dom. & prov. Service	26	74	23	22	78	18
Partners	25	75	53	22	78	18
Housewives	25	75	53	22	78	18
Unemployed	25	75	20	33	67	6
Pens., stud., retired, apprentices, etc.	30	70	31	33	67	68
Trade Union Membership:	26	74	92	35	65	66
Yes: member	29 1/2	70 1/2	137	39 1/2	60 1/2	64
No	23	77	532	32	68	389

(cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

	WEST GERMANY		No. of cases:	WEST BERLIN		No. of cases:
	Yes	No		Yes	No	
Age:						
19 - 24 years	27%	73%...100%	105	51%	49%...100%	49
25 - 34 years	26	74	122	44	56	55
35 - 44 years	23	77	155	29	71	115
45 - 54 years	23	77	151	30	70	113
55 years and over	24	76	134	26	74	115
Party Preference:						
SPD	26%	74%	229	26%	72%	220
CDU/CSU	20	80	133	46	54	33
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	36	64	59	37	63	97
Other parties	29	71	49	56	44	9
No party	20	80	135	19	81	26
Don't know	18	82	56	33	67	9
Religion:						
Catholics	21%	79%	319	39%	61%	51
Protestants	23	72	320	33	67	325
Origin:						
Native (& Vacuous)	25%	75%	524	33%	67%	421
Expellees	26	74	106	40	60	15
Refugees (from East Zone after 1945)	15	85	39	24	76	17
Political activity and interest:						
Completely disinterested, inactive	15%	85%	206	21%	79%	136
Little interested, inactive	24	76	217	29	71	139
Somewhat interested, somewhat active	24	76	176	43	57	124
* Interested a/o active to very interested and active	53	47	70	52	48	54
Basic Orientations:						
Attitude towards Democracy						
Democrat	25%	75%	319	36%	64%	265
Undecided	23	77	304	29	71	170
Non-Democrat	41	59	117	33	67	9
Attitude towards USA						
Positive	31%	69%	142	32%	68%	133
Undecided (neutral)	22	78	257	32	68	196
Negative	25	75	192	46	54	61
Readiness to learn from USA						
We can learn very much	36%	64%	143	44%	56%	161
We can learn much	23	77	200	35	65	136
We can learn something	20	80	201	19	81	104
We can't learn anything	20	80	126	21	79	52

* Because of the relatively limited number of cases involved in questioning only very frequent and frequent listeners to VOA, the highest two political interest and activity groups have been combined. This results in a more reliable conclusion on this crucial comparison.

CONFIDENTIAL

III. HAS VOA BEEN OF VALUE FOR DISCUSSION PURPOSES?

OVERALL FINDINGS AND KINDS OF INFORMATION UTILIZED ...

It was felt that another useful slant on the question of effectiveness might be obtained by asking respondents if they ever had any occasion to utilize VOA material in discussions. Among the more regular VOA listeners in West Germany and West Berlin approximately a quarter reported in the affirmative.

"Have you had any occasion to use anything you have heard on the Voice of America in discussions?" (Asked of all frequent to very frequent listeners of VOA, i.e. those who listen once a week or more.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	WEST BERLIN
Yes	22%	22%	21%	25%	27%
No	77%	77%	78%	73%	72%
No answer	1	1	1	2	1
(No. of cases:)	$\frac{100\%}{(669)}$	$\frac{100\%}{(164)}$	$\frac{100\%}{(441)}$	$\frac{100\%}{(64)}$	$\frac{100\%}{(455)}$

VOA effectiveness in the present connection covers to a considerable extent different individuals than for whom the program had been useful in correcting misimpressions. Such a finding emphasizes that VOA can be effective for different groups in different ways. To the extent that such is the case, of course, judgments of VOA's effectiveness should not be allowed to rest upon any single criterion or small group of criteria.

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
Report using VOA information in discussions and also report instances of revised impressions	9%	14%
Report instances of revised impressions only	13	13
Report use in discussions only	14	19
Report neither effect	62	53
No answer	$\frac{2}{100\%}$	$\frac{1}{100\%}$
(No. of cases:)	(669)	(455)

The items of information that respondents advanced as examples of what had been found useful in discussions covered a variety of subjects - social, political, technical, etc. - rather than emanating preponderantly from any single content area. However, just as in the prior question bearing on instances of revised impressions, there were comparatively frequent references to agriculture. If the nature of these comments appears to represent appreciable impact in the agricultural area, this fact should not be lost sight of in evaluating the desirability of agricultural features over VOA. Readers of the prior reports in this series will remember that such features did not rank very high in general interest, and on this basis the suggestion was raised that perhaps agriculture was too narrow an interest to warrant separate feature treatment.

"Have you had any occasion to use anything you have heard in the Voice of America in discussions?" (Asked of all frequent to very frequent listeners of VOA, i.e. those who listen once a week or more.)

WEST GERMANY WEST BERLIN

Information on agriculture; Innovations on their agriculture; talking to acquaintances about agricultural subjects I mention points I have heard through the Voice of America, they can be of use to us; any time I hear of a progressive novelty or invention, I mention this to friends having a garden, how they work better, quicker and in a more practical way on American farms than they do here; for instance, on agricultural methods in America; etc.

4 1/2

4 1/2

Political information; News and commentaries; particularly news; the American opinion on world politics; about the problem of Japan's future; about Korea; I spoke to an American about the news from Korea; on the subject of Korea; on political matters; etc.

4

3

Information on life in America, social conditions; About life over there; knowledge of different institutions gained from program "In the Radio Car through America"; subjects of social conditions in America; position of the worker or of women in America; the fate of emigrants; etc.

3

4

Information on technical matters; I discussed technical questions with colleagues; about technics in the professional school; practical hints on building; many things about the standard of technics in America; etc.

2

2

Information on trade unions; About the trade unions; matters concerning the trade unions; etc.

1

*

Information for the housewife; Recipes on American tins are explained if they are difficult to understand; discussion about nurses; I cannot remember at present, must have been a matter concerning housewives; etc.

*

1

Other examples; For instance about officials; about the American postal service; I got to know American songs and can talk them over with friends; novelties in the field of music; views expressed in letter from a listener; the fact that in Australia they have the greatest number of sheep and an enormous output of wool, and that this is a real industry there; etc.

4

6

Cannot remember; I really cannot remember; I do not know anymore but have discussed it; I cannot give an example but keep comparing everything I hear with a colleague who lived in America for years and it's always right; etc.

6

9

No answer;

* 24 1/2 %

1 30 %

* Less than one half of one per cent.
** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

USE IN DISCUSSIONS AND FREQUENCY OF LISTENING TO VOA ...

Instances of VOA effectiveness in implementing discussions appear to be more widespread in West Germany among more frequent listeners to VOA than among less frequent. In West Berlin, however, just as was the case for the prior question, instances of effectiveness appear to be as frequent among the one to three times a week listeners as among those who report listening more often.

"Have you had any occasion to use anything you have heard on the Voice of America in discussions?" (Asked of all frequent to very frequent listeners of VOA, i.e., those who listen to it once a week or more.)

	WEST GERMANY		WEST BERLIN	
	<u>Listen to VOA:</u>			
	<u>Very frequently</u>	<u>Frequently</u>	<u>Very frequently</u>	<u>Frequently</u>
Yes	32%	17%	27%	27%
No	68	82	73	72
No answer	"	1	"	1
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
(No. of cases:)	(232)	(437)	(249)	(206)

GROUP VARIATIONS IN VOA USEFULNESS IN DISCUSSIONS ...

On the present measure of VOA effectiveness, as in the prior, the better educated and those who score highest in political interest and activity tend to come out relatively high. This means again that effectiveness is relatively better among those population elements for whom it is most important -- the opinion leaders.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

C O N F I D E N T I A L

IV. IS VOA SUPERFLUOUS IN GERMANY?

GENERAL FINDINGS ...

Granting that VOA has some measure of effectiveness in West Germany and West Berlin, among the questions which still remains is whether or not it is superfluous. That is to say, is the information that VOA brings to the German people the sort of material that they can readily obtain from other sources - other radio programs, newspapers, etc. Only one out of ten (11%) of those questioned - the more regular listeners to VOA - express the view that it is easy to obtain from other sources the kind of information broadcast by VOA. Forty per cent in West Germany (39% in West Berlin) state that such information is difficult to obtain elsewhere. Thirty per cent say "not so easy" and the remainder voice no opinion.

"Can one find easily the information given by the Voice of America on other programs, in the newspapers, etc., is it not so easy to find, or is this difficulty?" (Asked of all frequent to very frequent listeners of VOA i.e. those who listen once a week or more.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	WEST BERLIN
Easy	11%	14%	11%	6%	11%
Not so easy	30	28	30	31	21
Difficult	40	42	40	35	55
No opinion/No answer	19	16	19	28	13
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
(No. of cases:)	(669)	(164)	(441)	(64)	(455)

SUPERFLUOUSNESS AND FREQUENCY OF LISTENING TO VOA ...

Judgments that it is "not so easy" to "difficult" to obtain elsewhere the information brought via VOA are approximately just as widespread among less frequent listeners as among those who listen most frequently to VOA.

"Can one find easily the information given by the Voice of America on other programs, in the newspapers, etc., or is it not so easy to find, or is this difficulty?" (Asked of all frequent to very frequent listeners of VOA, i.e. those who listen to it once a week or more.)

	WEST GERMANY		WEST BERLIN	
	Listen to VOA:			
	Very <u>frequently</u>	<u>Frequently</u>	Very <u>frequently</u>	<u>Frequently</u>
Easy	12%	11%	9%	13%
Not so easy	29	30	21	21
Difficult	45	37	58	51
No opinion / No answer	14	22	12	15
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
(No. of cases:)	(232)	(437)	(249)	(206)

GROUP VARIATIONS IN JUDGMENTS OF SUPERFLUOUSNESS ...

Even among the better educated - who would be more aware of alternate sources - the opinion strongly prevails that it is "not so easy" to "difficult" to find the information given by VOA from other sources.

And among one of the most important target elements - those respondents who rate highest in political interest and activity - the weight of opinion about VOA information is that it is difficult to obtain elsewhere.

All in all the conclusion seems clear that whatever may be the limitations of the VOA in Germany, superfluousness in the present sense is not among them.

CONFIDENTIAL

	WEST GERMANY	East	Not so easy	Difficult	No op/ No ansr. cases:	No. of cases:	WEST BERLIN	East	No so easy	Difficult	No op/ No ansr. cases:	No. of cases:
Age:												
19 - 24 years	12%	6	33%	34%	21%...100%	105	22%	39%	35%	13%	49%	
25 - 34 years	14	41	24	37	6	122	11	20	56	13	55	
35 - 44 years	14	24	32	43	19	155	10	15	67	8	115	
45 - 54 years	12	32	32	40	16	151	11	21	52	16	113	
55 years and over	13	19	19	43	25	134	5	22	54	19	115	
Party Preferences:												
SPD	8%	26%	48%	16%	229	11%	21%	56%	11%	220		
CDU/CSU	13	31	36	20	133	12	20	53	15	83		
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	19	21	42	12	59	8	23	59	10	97		
Other parties	8	30	39	23	49	-	22	67	11	9		
No party	13	33	33	21	135	8	23	35	34	26		
Don't know	9	29	30	32	56	11	11	56	22	9		
Religion:												
Catholics	13%	29%	38%	20%	319	10%	23%	47%	20%	71		
Protestants	9	31	41	19	320	11	21	56	12	325		
Origin:												
Natives (Aussiedler)	13%	30%	38%	20%	524	10%	21%	56%	13%	421		
Expatriates	11	27	48	16	106	23	18	53	12	11		
Refugees (from East Zone after 1945)	10	31	36	23	39	23	18	47	12	11		
Political activity and interest:												
Completely disinterested, inactive	13%	25%	29%	34%	206	13%	21%	47%	20%	136		
Little interested, inactive	12	30	41	17	217	12	21	53	14	139		
Somewhat inter., somewhat active	11	31	48	10	175	9	19	65	7	124		
Interested a/o active to very	10	39	47	4	70	7	28	58	7	54		
Basic Orientations:												
Attitude towards Democracy												
Democrat	13%	31%	40%	16%	319	11%	20%	50%	11%	265		
Undecided	10	30	39	21	304	11	23	55	11	170		
Non Democrat	12	29	41	18	17	11	45	22	22	9		
Attitude towards USA												
Positive	7%	26%	43%	24%	142	6%	22%	58%	14%	183		
Undecided (neutral)	13	29	44	14	257	10	23	55	12	196		
Negative	15	33	37	15	192	25	15	46	14	61		
Readiness to learn from USA												
We can learn very much	6%	37%	43%	12%	143	8%	20%	62%	10%	161		
We can learn much	12	33	41	14	200	8	25	56	11	136		
We can learn something	11	28	42	19	201	14	22	49	15	104		
We can't learn anything	14	19	29	38	126	19	14	42	25	52		

CONFIDENTIAL

V. HAS VOA BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN ATTRACTING KEY LISTENERS?

A final point not yet completely dealt with in the present study, which has considerable relevance to the question of effectiveness, is the extent to which VOA has been successful in establishing an audience among certain key psychological groupings in the population, namely, (a) the more politically interested and active who are hence most important in the further dissemination of American themes and (b) the negatively oriented toward America who are hence most in need of reorientation.

FREQUENCY OF LISTENING AMONG POLITICALLY ACTIVE ...

Comparison of reported frequency of listening to VOA among respondents who range at different points along a scale of political interest and activity, reveals that in West Germany VOA has had a fair amount of success in inducing regular listening among the more politically potent groupings. Thirty-seven per cent among people who measure out as interested and active politically indicate that they listen frequently or very frequently to VOA (i.e. one to three times a week or four to seven times a week). And among the more limited group in the population who rate as very interested and active politically, reported regular listening rises to a figure of 51 per cent.

In West Berlin frequency of listening among the more politically potent respondents is remarkably high, as is the volume of reported VOA listening generally in that area. For individuals who rank medium or more in the intensity of their political interest and activity the extent of regular listening, according to the respondents' reports, appears to be no less than nine out of ten.

Relationship Between Political Interest And Activity And
Frequency Of Listening To VOA

WEST GERMANY	ALL VOA LISTENERS	Very fre- quently	Listen to VOA:				Never	No answer	No. of cases:
			Fre- quent- ly	Occasion- ally	Sel- dom				
<u>Political activity and interest:</u>									
Completely disinter- ested, inactive	54%	7%	14%	6%	27%	44%	2%...100%	1015	
Little inter., inactive	70	11	21	9	29	30	*	679	
Somewhat inter., some- what active	79	15	25	10	29	21	-	436	
Interested a/o active	78	15	22	14	27	22	-	126	
Very interested and active	80	20	31	4	25	20	-	45	
WEST BERLIN									
<u>Political activity and interest:</u>									
Completely disinter- ested, inactive	94%	39%	38%	4%	13%	3%	3%...100%	178	
Little inter., inactive	99	47	34	8	10	-	1	172	
Somewhat inter., some- what active	100	51	40	4	5	-	-	137	
Interested a/o active	100	48	45	7	-	-	-	44	
Very interested and active	100	57	36	7	-	-	-	14	

* Less than one half of one per cent.